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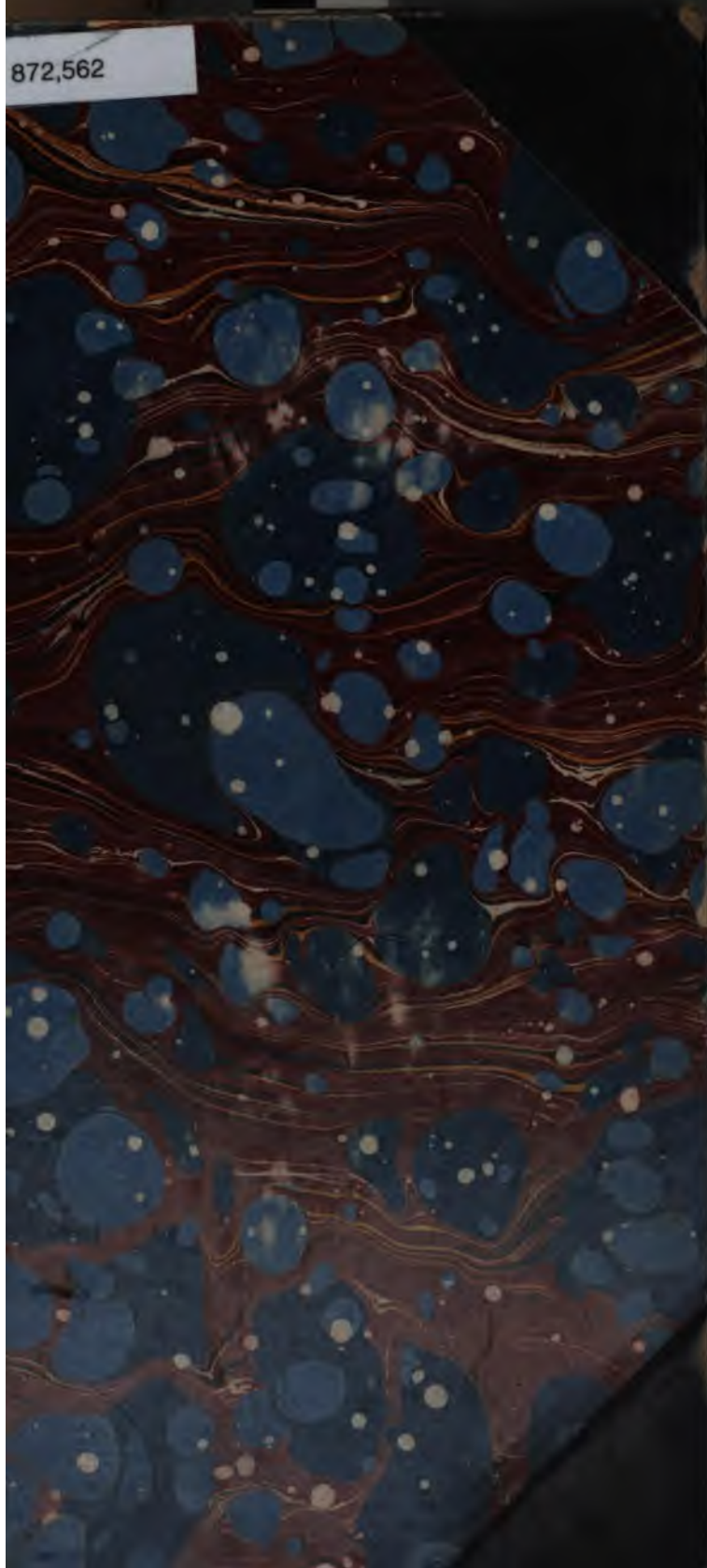
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JANUARY, 1878.

ART. I.—F. CURCI AND THE ROMAN QUESTION.*

La Sovranità Temporale dei Romani Pontefici propugnata dal Suffragio dell' orbe Cattolico. Roma : 1860-1.

Recueil des Allocutions, &c. Paris : 1865.

The Independence of the Holy See. By H. E. Cardinal MANNING. London : 1877.

BY a few strokes of the pen, F. Curci has won for himself a reputation throughout Europe. He figures now in telegraphic despatches and in leading articles of every colour, as a kind of phoenix and nonpareil; as, in fact, if we may briefly sum up the wonderful truth, an "enlightened and patriotic Jesuit." He has taken the world outside of Italy by surprise. Just when it seemed that, between the new order of things at Rome and the ancient there could be no reconciliation, F. Curci has been bold enough to declare that the problem must be dealt with from another and an unexpected point of view; that it is not so much the national policy which requires undoing, as the conduct, past and present, of our Holy Father. Such a convert to Liberal opinions may well deserve the sympathy which non-Catholic Europe has bestowed upon him. Nay, he will find it hard, if not altogether beyond his power, to keep at arm's length the praise and the flattery which, accepted or refused by him, are still certain to lessen his authority with the faithful. "Tell me a man's friends, and I will tell you what he is." And,

* The literature upon this subject—the Pope's Civil Princedom—is so extensive that we have abandoned the thought of referring, as we at first intended, to all the books and articles consulted in the composition of the following pages. As regards F. Curci, we have employed a French translation of his Memoir given in a Döllingerite review, the entire original not having come into our hands. At the moment of writing we still await F. Curci's new volume, and have merely seen the notices upon it in current newspapers.

unhappily, we cannot always disown our friends; the kinship may assert itself in the very words and gestures that would fain deny it. Not the wishes of F. Curci, but his acts, his genuine feelings and the character of his thoughts, will make it clear to us whether he is for or against the Roman Church. That his intentions have been loyal we can easily believe, but intentions await another and a higher judge than the tribunal of this world; and, as we know, the best intentions have not sheltered from misfortune all that have been moved by them. What has F. Curci done to merit the perilous honours so recently accorded him? This is not a day when true Catholics, men of the genuine stamp in conduct and principle, are likely to please. Such men we see proscribed and driven into exile, or, if worse things be impossible, refused the position they should hold in society. Has F. Curci discovered the secret of combining in his own person the ancient and the modern, of setting antagonisms to sleep, and resolving essential differences? One of two things he must be: either he is the man of the future whom we have all been so long expecting, or he is one that has promised and cannot perform. Like his immortal Roman namesake, the new Curtius has leaped into the gulf, armour and all; but has the gulf closed up? We fear the sole result of such ill-advised rashness may be his own disappearance.

This, then, it is that excites on the one hand admiration and pleasure, and mournful anxiety on the other. F. Curci has laid before the Pope a memorandum or remonstrance, and has taken care to put the meaning of it into plain words. A more "unvarnished tale," or one that needed more varnishing, we have seldom perused. Its authorship and its composition are both remarkable. But no one that has known F. Curci in happier years can read it without feeling distress, and even melancholy—the change is so great in him and so much for the worse! He used to be a cheery, eloquent, undaunted spirit, consistent in defending Catholic doctrines, full of a pleasant native humour, and as courteous as he was firm. His name drew crowds to listen when he preached, and he preached in almost every city of the Peninsula. His authority recommended his teaching, and what he wrote was read by Catholics without suspicion. He was credited with excellent powers of judgment on the characters of men and on passing events. His shrewdness, his wit, his large charity, his attractive demeanour, gave him an influence over Italian Catholics which few besides himself have wielded. Somehow, as though he were dreaming at noon-day, he has put on a fresh nature. The

fine traits are overlaid, the sound sense has turned to inconsistent fancy, the trust that he so grandly showed in Holy Church and in divine Providence has given place to Cassandra's temperament of foreboding prophecy. To use an expressive figure, F. Curci has taken umbrage at the Vicar of our Lord, and all the light has gone out of his face and his thoughts. He is altered and his old friends cannot make him out; he perplexes them so that they know not how to render him the services which affection would prompt. For the moment he stands alone in the Church. Is not this very sad? We have ever been told that to affect singularity is fraught with danger. But this danger F. Curci must look in the face, or draw back from the advanced position which he seems bent upon defending.

Individuals before now have instructed the Holy Father in his duties, and that without waiting till they were asked; but the precedents are not of an encouraging sort. From setting lessons to the supreme authorities on one point there is no difficulty in proceeding to set lessons on all the points that can be raised. And F. Curci has not been too modest. The question of the Pope's reconciliation with United Italy opens out such a prospect and so distant an horizon that most Catholics would shrink from discussing it at all, if they could not rely on the judgment of the Church to guide them through its difficulties. Not so F. Curci. With a rare confidence in himself, he quietly waives the teaching of Pope and Bishops. As for the Catholic press, though it represents the laity in this matter, he despises it. He has struck out a pathway of his own. Can it astonish us if he arrives at some very strange conclusions? Perhaps he had made up his mind before beginning the inquiry: such things have been. Did he yield to a strong imagination, to some captivating ideal, which, like Tennyson's Venus before the Shepherd on Ida, smiled at him and whispered in his ear, and would not reason? Certain it is that he disregards realities patent to all others, and that logic is absent from his pages as well as theology. Let us see whether he does indulge in Utopian schemes. A bare recital of his main propositions will enable us to judge.

F. Curci says, with truth, that the present condition of Italy is not destined to endure. Change of some kind there must be, and all things foreshadow that the change is coming on at a great speed. But how will it affect the Church and the Roman Pontiff? That is our concern. F. Curci thinks the change cannot work towards good, unless first of all there is a complete reversal of the policy which has, so far, prevailed at the Vatican. For some things have been accomplished,

by what means it is not necessary to ask or decide, which, he says, never again will be impugned. The middle ages have passed away for Italy as for the rest of civilized Europe, and the last relic of them was the Pope's Roman Princedom, and that is gone too. Whatever it was, now it is no more. Europe is governed on notions, not of religion or vested rights, but of race and nationality. An institution like the Roman State is therefore something anomalous; its continuance would be merely a survival; at all events, the Italian nation has become a living reality, and, as such, has made for itself a position as one of the six great powers, and is a recognized member of the European family. So much is fixed and irrevocable. It is true that Pius IX. has striven his utmost to prevent this consummation; but F. Curci believes that he has done unwisely. What has it availed to resist? The Pope is at variance with Italy, Catholics have been taught to stand aloof from political life, the whole country suffers. Government is only a faction, but, thanks to the passive and silent attitude of the good everywhere, the faction can do what they will, and need not fear the vengeance of any man. What has brought about this unhappy state of things? Why, says F. Curci, nothing but the unreasonable hope which Catholics have cherished and are still too loth to put away. Without ground or warrant they have expected that the Holy Father will be restored. This he terms an immense mistake, which does more harm to the Church and to Italy—we are quoting his own words—than the Revolution itself, and the injurious consequences of which are getting past cure. Catholics have blundered into a path that leads to ruin; they must measure their steps back again. History will say that those are truly answerable for such disasters as may befall Italy, who have put their trust in idle aspirations and in the return of an order which is obsolete. The Civil Princedom is but “a portion and parcel of the dreadful past.” We must leave it out of our calculations or show ourselves to be as stupid as we are imprudent.*

Hence arises the duty of making terms with Italy. The nation, if only permitted to elect a Catholic parliament, is willing and able to arrange a “modus vivendi” with the Roman Pontiff. But it is he that must take the first step. Until he shows signs of yielding, nothing can be proposed to be done. But let him acknowledge Victor Emmanuel

* It must be borne in mind that we are not putting a gloss upon F. Curci, or drawing inferences, but giving the substance of what he says. “Stupid and imprudent” are not our adjectives, but his.

as a Christian sovereign (really, F. Curci, this seems to us somewhat unreasonable: how could any one find out that his Piedmontese majesty is a Christian at all?), and let him approve of the Statute or fundamental laws of the monarchy. Then the people will send up five hundred Catholic deputies to Monte Citorio, the oligarchy will be forced to resign, the ordinances against religion will be abolished, the King will go up to S. Peter's to receive his crown from the Pope, who has forgiven him, and means to convert him into a small Italian Charlemagne; and after that, we suppose, the millennium will not be far off. But it is well to provide against the too speedy passing away of these "Saturnia regna." How is the Pope to keep his independence? F. Curci sees no difficulty in this. The Head of the Church need not be a temporal sovereign. He can enjoy full liberty in the midst of the great Catholic nation which would look on his residence at Rome as their chief title to glory; and he would thus exercise a moral sway such as no accumulation of military and territorial advantages could secure him. This, we think, if it has any definite sense, must be Cavour's axiom in a slightly disguised form. It amounts to the "Free Church in a Free State." So that the course sketched out is pretty nearly the old one, which by this time is familiar enough. The Pope, having lost his territorial position, is to accept a moral sovereignty, guaranteed to him by law, in its stead. The Italian people are to ratify the misdeeds of Victor Emmanuel and his confederates, and to share in the distribution of the spoils. The comic effect of all this might be a little marred, perhaps, unless the injured Father consented, as of course he would, to appear in the last scene, and call down a blessing on his unruly but penitent children. What a subject for Terence!

F. Curci, however, is thoroughly in earnest. No doubt he has himself given ear to these oracular voices before trying to persuade others that they should obey them. But we cannot suppose he dreamt of winning over Pius IX. to the new policy. He must have been well aware that speeches, and letters, and official documents of every description had bound the Supreme Pontiff to resist even to the end. Neither can he have misjudged the character of the august personage whom his remonstrance chiefly concerns. Other men may have chafed and bargained with our modern politicians; this one man, entrusted with the government of the Church, has dismissed them with an absolute phrase: "Non possumus." If any eloquence could have moved him, he might best have yielded to that of Napoleon III.; but the world still remembers the Pope's answer to a famous letter, and how that broke

the meshes in which it was thought to make him prisoner. F. Curci's resolve must have been not to persuade, but to protest. Now Europe is really asking whether he or any Catholic has the right to protest against the Papal resistance to the new order of things. May we think, as F. Curci has implied that we may, that the Roman Question has only to do with politics; that, even if it be somehow connected with religion, there are still no decisions of the Church that restrain our liberty of judgment? Or are we, as Catholics, under an obligation to take a definite view of the Pope's civil Princedom and to shape our acts accordingly?

The Memorandum grants (what could not well be denied) that authority has pronounced on this matter. It has been laid down "that if the Pope is to be independent, he must, of necessity, be a sovereign." "But," remarks F. Curci, "God has not promised any such sovereign independence to His appointed Pastor. God has even suffered it to be taken from him for a lustrum of years, and might let him remain without it for centuries. Still less has God undertaken to provide for him a temporal kingdom like that which fell in 1870." And therefore the Civil Princedom may not be restored at all. As for pretending to look on the restoration as "something like a dogma of the faith," that is mere sophistry, which, of course, may avail to scandalize the weak, but will be laughed at by unbelievers.* That our confidence in the future can borrow no strength whatever from the Church's teaching is the remonstrant's firm conviction. Those that appeal to the faith on such a point must, according to him, employ false reasonings and principles that are not to the purpose; they must be flatterers and sycophants, and, as usual with such, only too willing to hate all who differ from them. These are the writers, he says, that have asserted for themselves a monopoly, and nothing less than a monopoly, of the Papal prerogative to teach *ex cathedra*.

Passion has taken away some of its force from the language here employed. But it is not possible to misinterpret F. Curci's doctrine. He contends that Papal independence does not bring with it a civil princedom as a right; that the two certainly are not connected in themselves or by Divine ordinance.†

* This quotation from F. Curci may mislead. The question between Catholics and F. Curci is concerned with what *ought* to be, not with what *will* be. Catholics hope and pray that Rome may be given back to the Holy Father; but they do not profess their assurance that the world will perform this act of justice.

† In what sense the Pope's independence involves a *right* to the Princedom will be explained later on.

Perhaps he would say that the Pope became a king by the common course of the world, and that circumstances, which crowned him a thousand years ago, have discrowned him to-day. The transaction was a secular one; it had a beginning long after Religion was established in Europe; it has come to an end, and Religion still endures. If a state or condition is thus separable from a thing, we argue that the bond between them is not one of pure necessity or essence; we say they must be distinct. Precisely by such an argument many have held themselves free to believe that the Civil Princedom has no sacred or religious character. There are persons that account the Italian Government indeed guilty of sacrilege as having laid hands on the possessions of the Church, but not guilty of attempting to violate the Church's normal constitution; as sinning, therefore, against justice and charity, but not directly against doctrine. F. Curci may be looked upon as a spokesman for these. They have no very clear notions as to how far and in what sense the Pope is exempt from secular jurisdiction—this, at least, is the impression they leave on others;—but when it has been shown them that he cannot be properly the subject of a State, they refuse to conclude from this his perfect immunity to his demand for a temporal sovereignty. Sometimes even the suspicion lurks in their minds that an Apostolic Pope would not desire to have territories and townships. F. Curci unexpectedly discovers a vein of this Ebionitish temperament in himself. He recalls with emphasis the Gospel principles that lead men to despise this world and its goods; and he is daring enough to say that these principles not only have ceased out of our practice, but have escaped our memory, and that our forgetfulness of them is what keeps us from walking in the right path. Does he mean that, if Pius IX. were not in love with temporal dignities and emoluments, he would be less obstinate in putting aside the King's offer? The innuendo is unworthy of a generous or candid man; it is altogether unworthy, because every one knows it is false. Never was a Pope more simple in his desires and his way of living than our present Holy Father. And as touching Catholics generally, we need observe only this, that the spirit of detachment is quite compatible with the defence of rights entrusted to us.

But we are not minded to imitate F. Curci and treat the Roman Question on its merits, apart from authority. Very grave preliminaries require to be settled ere we can presume to express our opinion. Is it the case that in this matter Holy Church leaves us to our devices, to think what may seem right in our own eyes? The venerable F. Beckx, when granting F. Curci release from his vows as a Jesuit,

took occasion to explain how things had come to so mournful an issue with him. "For some time past," he says, "you have been possessed with certain views which it pleased you to call political; whereas, in reality, they affect the sacred interests of the Church and the way in which it is now governed. And to support these opinions you have not shrunk from rashly setting yourself up as a judge of those whom our Lord has appointed to direct His Church. Against the will of those over you, you have gone on cherishing these ideas, and what is worse, impressing them upon others; and by word and writing you have spread abroad what was nothing if not gravely offensive to the Vicar of Jesus, and a stumbling-block to the faithful." These are very severe words. They must be read in the light of the events that gave rise to them. The General of the Jesuits declares that he found it incumbent on him to satisfy the Holy Father, and to publicly point out that the Society reprobates and rejects the opinions which F. Curci had upheld. He therefore called upon F. Curci to retract them openly.* The preacher and remonstrant would do nothing of the sort; he asked, instead, to leave the Order, of which for more than forty years he had been a distinguished member. Writing since his departure from Rome, he makes large profession of obedience to the supreme authority, promises to let us know, by-and-by, his clear meaning, and begs the public prints in the mean time to occupy themselves with him as little as may be. And thus matters stand for the present.

But it cannot be denied that we have here a remarkable incident, and one that teaches a plain lesson. In what has F. Curci gone astray? The General informs us that he has broached certain opinions, certain views; that it was not, therefore, the manner of his addressing the Pope so much as the matter, which required apology. F. Curci gives out that the Roman policy has been false and fatal; that the Head of the Church is not in his own right a temporal prince; that he ought to let his claims fall into abeyance for the good of souls, and be content to have the respect and love of Italians as his protection. Moreover, the criti-

* It is plain from the letter of F. Beckx that a retraction on F. Curci's part had become necessary, because, without such a measure, the Society would have exposed itself to the suspicion of tolerating false and un-Catholic doctrine. F. Curci was required to publicly withdraw what he had *held and taught*, the reason given being this, that otherwise his superiors would have been held responsible for his errors. So that the matter was one, not internal to the Society, but of consequence to the Church at large; in other words, was a matter of doctrine.

cism itself implies that this question does not concern Religion. Such, we take it, are the principal points of variance between F. Curci and the Pope. But how any mind so clear as his could thus darken itself passes our finding out. Half an hour spent in his own library would have sufficed to show him his mistake, and the consequences of it. He should have known that he was venturing on charmed ground. The Church in this matter has not left us to think for ourselves; she has laid obligations upon us which it is better to understand than to ignore. The Roman Question may be political, but cannot be resolved by the mere politician. For we are told in the Syllabus—and we think no excuse can be needed for making the quotation once again—that besides the errors there explicitly censured “many others are by implication condemned in the assertion and setting forth of that doctrine on the civil principedom of the Roman Pontiff, which all Catholics are bound most firmly to hold.” Has our Holy Father withdrawn the Syllabus? No more than he has withdrawn the *Exurge Domine* of Leo X., or any other *ex cathedra* document. Could he indeed withdraw it consistently with the fact which Cardinal Manning has brought out in the passage we subjoin, and with the witness which that fact bears to the true character of the Syllabus as an infallible act of teaching and censuring? We may be sure, then, that there is an obligatory doctrine extant on the Civil Principedom. It is that doctrine which F. Curci has overlooked, and a clear account of which we will now endeavour, so far as we may, to put forward.

But we wish beforehand to guard against a wildly mistaken notion which has, in spite of its grossness, found acceptance here and there. F. Curci talks of journals claiming to be inspired by the Vatican, but really inspiring it. In his view these are the main promoters of the Pope's long resistance; these, likewise, have been able to make ordinary Catholics hold their peace, and have then interpreted the silence in their own favour. Of all this we know nothing; we can throw no light whatever upon it. Is there not some delusion in the manner of looking at things? Surely, the Pope does not wait to be prompted by a newspaper before deciding on his conduct; F. Curci must have learnt that better than most men,

* “In 1867, five hundred bishops unanimously proclaimed their adhesion to the pontifical acts of Pius IX., both in the teaching of truth and in the condemnation of errors; that is to say, to the Syllabus then recently published, which is a compendium of the acts of Pius IX., in the many Encyclicals and other letters promulgated before that date.”—“The Story of the Vatican Council,” p. 42.

for he has been a writer in Catholic journals himself. Why bring this visionary talk into a grave and practical discussion? What the Pope teaches is not put into his mouth by the "Univers," nor by the "Civiltà Cattolica." But, then, neither are we bidden to wait for particular "inspirations" from the Vatican before speaking upon points of Catholic doctrine. The Holy Father does not instruct us in a whisper. He may truly apply to himself the words of our Lord: "In secret I have taught nothing." The Encyclicals and Allocutions have been written for the whole world to read. Journals, even though they be orthodox, cannot require our submission to them. Who, in fact, has ever had the face to maintain that they possess such authority?

"But," it may be objected, "you are going to teach yourselves,—to lay down the doctrine which all Catholics must hold, as you put it a moment ago." We beg pardon, we are going to do no such thing. What does a teacher mean? We suppose one whose word must be received *because it is his word*: one that has authority, and may dispense with argument. He is one that has a right to command our assent, whether we see the grounds of the particular doctrines or no. Authority to teach in the master has for its correlative faith in the disciple. But how can it be said that we ask any one to put faith in our mere assertion because it is ours? What we propose to do is something quite different. We propose to quote authentic documents, to set down the reasoning they contain, to compare passages from them, and so to enable our readers to get at the meaning for themselves. We fulfil the office of an index, of a finger-post, occasionally of a commentator; but we should think it too stupid to be amusing if any one mistook us for an "authorized exponent" of Catholic truths; and, we maintain, there is no undue presumption in our bringing together passages of the Holy Father's teaching, for it is always he that speaks in his own declarations, and not any one else. Who, for example, can justly accuse us of dogmatizing when we say, "all Catholics are bound to hold most firmly" a given doctrine? The decree is not of our making, it was put forth by the Supreme Pontiff, and by him sent to all the Bishops. As well might you charge upon a lawyer that he makes the law because he quotes the law, or upon an actor that he composes the speeches set for him to recite. If it be said, indeed, that we pervert the Pope's meaning, that is entirely another objection. But we do not anticipate difficulties from that quarter. Pius IX. has the gift of speaking with an admirable perspicuity.

Let us now state our position. F. Curci, it appears to us,

cannot have taken the right course in recommending the Pope to make terms: because he has treated the question strictly and solely from the political point of view, whereas there are Catholic doctrines which determine the principles here to be followed out. And the practical result, when we compare such doctrines as are relevant, is this: the Roman Pontiff cannot abdicate for himself and his successors the claim to be sovereign, in a territorial and more than moral sense, of the Roman States. Circumstances may prevent him from asserting his claims by force, but no combination of events is equal to depriving him of his inherent right to be a temporal prince.* The reason is that such temporal dignity is the proper normal actuation of his God-given immunity. He has, therefore, never existed without the right to acquire it, even when he has been withheld from its actual possession. As the Church, by her very nature, has the right to acquire property, and in her normal condition does and ought to possess some temporal goods, so the Pope cannot renounce for himself the right to enjoy a real and territorial sovereignty; he cannot acquiesce in a compact that would aim at keeping him for ever out of the dominions necessary; and those dominions include the city of Rome. The Roman Princedom is necessary, not for the Pope's bare independence, but for his proper independence. In like manner (and the one case will help us to see how the other must be treated), the Church has a right, not to such things as may be just sufficient and necessary if she is to exist at all, not to those things only which persecution itself does not take away, but to all that normally befits a divine institution acknowledged by the creatures for whom God has intended it. And so the Pope, since he is the infallible and supreme Vicar of Christ, claims lawfully from us a sovereign state and power. It is not enough that he should be free, nor that human ordinances should confer upon him exemptions and immunities. God has exempted him from the control of men: and God, in making him so great, has willed that the temporal sovereignty should protect, and express, and clothe

* Our meaning will be plain enough to a careful reader. But it may be worth while to observe that we do not consider the Roman Pontiff to have been *de jure* sovereign of Rome from the time S. Peter established his see there. What we say is that S. Peter and his successors have had the right inherent in them of *becoming* temporal princes, and that this dignity is a part of their normal state. A peer, who is a minor, has a legal right to sit in the House of Lords, but not to sit there whilst he is a minor. Somewhat in the same manner, the Pope has a right to be the Sovereign of Rome when there are Catholic populations in different countries and the Christian religion has attained certain dimensions, but it does not follow that he must always have been King at Rome.

as it were with a visible splendour his spiritual prerogatives and graces. Hence the throne of the Popes in the Holy City is Providential and supernatural. For, as we have proved in an earlier article, it is the Roman territory that our Lord has set apart for His Vicar. Rome is divinely chosen, and except by an unjustifiable and illegal employment of force, the Pope cannot be torn from his place at S. Peter's shrine. If he has a right to be sovereign anywhere, it must be there most of all.

We crave the reader's patience until he has heard us out. These statements are not unreasonable,—they are merely Christian; and we would ask the modern to suppose for a moment with us that Christianity and unreason are not the same thing. If we desire to ascertain what rights the Pope has on a certain theory, it will be requisite to take the theory for granted. We are to say, then, that all the world, "every human creature," is under the obligation, whether it be recognized or no, to submit to the Roman Church and to its Supreme Head.* From those that submit, the Pope has an evident claim to receive honour: against those that do not submit, he has no less evident a claim to be protected. If men persecute him, hinder him in his government of the faithful, wantonly refuse him the means to fulfil his mission with the dignity, and even the magnificence, that beiseem it, they are guilty of injustice towards God and towards him. He is the Spiritual Father of all the faithful, the Bearer of the Keys of Heaven, the Prince of pastors, the living Representative of our Lord in His triple office as King, and Priest, and Prophet. Think whether the nations of Christendom could endure to see him a pensioner on the bounty of secular governments or treated as in any way beneath the kings that are his children. We know it was this instinct of reverence and love,—feelings which are due to a Father and cannot be denied him without sin,—which has given the Roman territory into his hand. The Christian ages have done it, and, as Napoleon tells us, "they have done well." They have had the grace to discover in the Roman Pontiff the abiding presence of something beyond nature, and they have built a sanctuary for him within the walls of Rome. For if in the ancient Israel there was a sacred portion assigned to the priests of a typical order, how much more ought there to be immunities, and privileges, and consecrated domains, and holy inviolate places for the priesthood which culminates in the Apostolic See? †

* This is the great fundamental definition in the Bull *Unam Sanctam*.

† Since writing the above we have studied with deep interest Mr.

But it is one thing to have a right of acquisition, another to have the power of exercising it. The Church was perfect from the first, but Christendom was not formed till after many centuries. Paganism, and Arianism, and a barbaric stage of social culture, hindered that full and free development which Religion at last was able to reach. Now, can it be said that any given inherent, and, as we may call it, essential prerogative of the Church, did not *exist*, so long as these antagonistic forces prevented its *exercise*? Because idolatry prevailed, was Christianity illegal before God? Here is a remarkable point of difference between the ordinary teaching of the Church and the modern theories. Great and overwhelming facts do not find a justification in their mere existence. It still remains to consider whether they accord with eternal laws and the decrees of Heaven. The Pope truly possessed all his rights, despite of Paganism, and though he could sometimes exercise none of them but the right of suffering for his Master. So far as the Imperial Law was concerned, the Pope had not even immunity, much less sovereignty: yet it is known that, *jure divino*, the Pope cannot be a mere subject. Rebellions and revolutions leave the question of right and equity where it was; at the utmost, they give rise to new conditions, and thus supply the matter with which justice has to deal. Conduct may alter, but not principles. And if it is a principle of the Catholic system that seculars should obey the clergy in matters of religion, or that the Pope should be a prince, these truths retain all their validity, even when seculars disobey and the Pope is a captive. What varies is not the principle, but its applicability. In other words, history and theology are different to this extent, that many historical facts have been mere deeds of violence, proving that moral dictates may be resisted, but not that they admit of repeal. The Church, as a great Pope* has said, knows how to pardon violence; but principles are in her keeping, not at her disposal.

It will appear in the sequel that the Italian Government asks much more from our Holy Father than a concordat—asks, when we get to the bottom of its thought, for the abandonment of the principle itself. He could not accept the terms now offered him, unless with the tacit acknowledgment that from henceforth no Roman Bishop is to be a king. He would have to deliberately erase from the Church's constitution her

Lindsay's remarkable chapter on the principle of the "Temporal Power," in the work we have elsewhere noticed. There the thought we have had only time to indicate is developed with clearness and beauty, and is shown to be again and again shadowed forth in holy Scripture. We strongly recommend this section of Mr. Lindsay to the devout theological reader.

* Paul V. in his contest with the Republic of Venice.

right to develop into visible, and what we may term political perfection. He would, by so doing, be reducing the Church from her status, which is that of a complete and sovereign society, to the inferior condition of a private corporation or "collegiate body," as the jurists have defined these words. And, be it observed, the change would not be one stopping short within the limits of ecclesiastical law, but would affect the divine law as laid down by Christ when the Church was founded. The Pope is not, then, conjured, for the sake of a great right, to do a little wrong; nothing less is at stake than the social perfection which religion may and ought to acquire. It is from this vantage-ground that the civil principedom is properly viewed. Standing so high, we see that it is the foundation upon which the whole fabric of Christian politics has been raised. Christianity is no longer, indeed, the form or ruling principle of secular government, as once it was; but only an infidel can doubt that the State has a duty of embracing and observing the true supernatural religion, just as every member of society has. It is in defiance of right and conscience that Europe has closed with atheism in politics; the duty to be Christian remains, and the penalty for its non-fulfilment will one day be exacted. And few would deny that, on mediæval or theocratic principles, as each government must be Christian, so the Infallible Teacher of all the governments and all the peoples must be an independent temporal sovereign. The point in dispute between Catholics and their adversaries is, therefore, whether theocratic principles can be true in one age and false in another. If they were ever binding, they bind now. They are not obsolete in the nineteenth century, unless they were an imposition and a mockery in the twelfth.

So much regarding the doctrine we hold. Now to show that it is contained in the Church's teaching.* Our materials are almost too abundant to allow of easy dealing with them; but we will select what seems clearest and more immediately decisive. The statement which has served as a kind of rule for both bishops and people in their declarations on the civil Principedom is taken from a well-known encyclical ("*Cum Catholica Ecclesia*," March 26th, 1860). We will quote the opening passage, only delaying to observe that the entire letter

* One of the best treatises, if not quite the best, on the doctrine of the Civil Principedom was published in the "*Month*" by F. O'Reilly, S.J. We would beg to refer the reader to it for the elucidation of various points that are here omitted or only slightly dwelt upon; it is, indeed, a most luminous exposition of the whole subject. See the "*Month*" for September and November, 1871.

was read officially in every diocese of the world when it appeared :—

"The Catholic Church, founded and instituted by Christ our Lord to procure the eternal salvation of mankind, has, by virtue of this divine institution, obtained the form of a perfect society. And therefore it must be endowed with such liberty as that, in the exercise of its ministry, it shall not be subject to any civil power. But to act with the freedom which was befitting, it must needs have such aids and helps as correspond with the condition of the various times and their necessities. And so it came to pass, by the special decree of Divine Providence, that when the Roman Empire fell and was broken up into many kingdoms, the Roman Pontiff, whom Christ had appointed to be the head and centre of the whole Church, was put in possession of a civil principedom. Thus did God Himself, in His wisdom, provide that, in the midst of so many and such different secular princes, the supreme Pontiff should enjoy the political freedom that he needs so much, since he is to put forth his spiritual power, authority, and jurisdiction, without let or hindrance, over the entire globe. And this indeed was as it should be, that the Catholic world might find no reason to suspect the Holy See, 'to which, because it has the principality of power, every other church must have recourse,' of giving way in its acts of policy to the urgency of secular powers, or to the spirit of party. Moreover, it is easy to understand that this principedom, appertaining to the Roman Church, is indeed temporal in its nature, but has nevertheless the character of a spiritual thing, by reason of the sacred purpose which it serves, and of the close bond which unites it with the most important interests of the Christian faith."

A little before, in the encyclical "*Nullis certe verbis*" (Jan. 19th, 1860), Pius IX. had acknowledged the pastorals and addresses which a large majority of the bishops were delivering on this subject. To them he says: "You have strenuously defended the cause of our most holy religion and of justice. You have expressed your abhorrence of the sacrilegious attempts now making against the civil Principedom of the Roman Church; and manfully standing up for that Principedom, you have gloried in professing and teaching that it has been bestowed by a singular decree of the Providence which rules all things, that so the Roman Pontiff might exercise his office in full liberty, subject to no secular power. . . . And the children of the Church, so dear to us, being imbued with your doctrine and aroused by your noble example, have vied with each other, and are vying in their expression to us of the same sentiments." And then he speaks tenderly of the won-

derful Catholic manifestations which we all remember, and which insisted, as he says, on the inviolability attaching to S. Peter's patrimony. The faithful knew how true it was, as the Holy Father declared to them, that "God Himself had willed the Roman See should be endowed with a civil principality for the sake of the apostolic offices" belonging to it. Not because they needed to be taught, but because the enemy persisted in his injustice, did the Pope repeat the same doctrine, and almost in the same words, at short and frequent intervals. We may instance the Allocution of Sept. 28th, 1860 ("Novos et ante"), and another of March 18th, 1861 ("Jamdudum cernimus"). But a most important affirmation of the Catholic teaching on this and kindred subjects, was that expressed by the Supreme Pastor when the Bishops had gathered round him in Rome to celebrate the great canonization of 1862. In substance it was very much the same as the passage we have quoted from the "*Cum Catholica Ecclesia*." The part which most concerns us runs as follows:—

It is a pleasure on this subject to contemplate the truly marvellous agreement with which you, and the other our venerable brethren the bishops of the Catholic world, have never ceased, both in letters to ourselves and in pastoral addresses to the faithful . . . from teaching that this civil principedom was given to the Roman Pontiff by a special counsel of Providence: and that it is *necessary* in order that the same Pontiff may never be subject to any prince or secular power, but may be able to exercise with full liberty his supreme authority . . . and provide for the greater good of Church and faithful.

To this the Bishops desired to make a fitting reply; and under the presidency of our late illustrious Cardinal they drew up and presented a document which of itself is sufficient to preclude all possible controversy.

They begin by confessing the dignity of the Roman Pontiff, and declare their adhesion to whatsoever he has taught, for he is "a second Peter, the master of sound doctrine, the centre of unity, the rock, and the foundation of the Church." When he speaks, they hear the voice of Peter; when he decrees, they obey as if Christ Himself were speaking. Then they say:—

But to touch upon what is nearest us, we see you, most Blessed Father, spoiled of those provinces by the help of which provision was with justice made for the dignity of the Holy See and the government of the entire Church. This has happened by the wickedness and crime of usurpers that "make liberty the cloak of their malice." That your Holiness has resisted their violence with unconquerable spirit deserves, we think, an expression of gratitude from all Catholics, and we render thanks in their name. For we

profess that the Civil Princedom of the Holy See is a necessity (*quiddam necessarium*) and was manifestly set up by the providence of God. Nor do we hesitate to declare that, in the present state of human affairs, this very princedom is altogether requisite for the good and free government of the Church and of souls. For it was surely necessary that the Roman Pontiff, the head of the universal Church, should be the subject of no secular prince, and not even his guest, but that seated in his own kingdom and territory he should be independent, and should protect and defend the Catholic faith, and govern the Christian republic, with a noble, tranquil, and flourishing liberty.

Continuing their declaration, they point out the necessity of some holy place or sanctuary whence, amid so many conflicts of races and opinions, the voice of truth may issue forth to teach mankind. They even add that the liberty of the Bishops has a close connection with the Roman sovereignty of the Pope. They enlarge on the clearness, and authenticity, and venerable antiquity of those rights which the Holy Father will not surrender. But suddenly checking themselves, they forego their own words to quote and accept the pronouncements of their chief:—

It hardly becomes us to speak any further in this weighty matter, since we have heard you again and again not so much discoursing as teaching upon it. For your voice, sounding to the whole earth like a priestly trumpet, has proclaimed “that the Roman Pontiff, by a special decree of Providence, has acquired the civil princedom”: by all of us, therefore, it is most certainly to be held that this temporal government has not by chance accrued to the Holy See, but has been given it by special disposition of God, by length of years and by unanimous consent of kingdoms and empires, and has been sustained and preserved as if by miracle.

The Bishops next recall how Pius IX. has declared he will not relinquish the princedom or the possessions of the Roman Church, which belong, as does the defence of them, to all Catholics, and how he is ready to give up life rather than forsake this cause of God, of the Church, and of justice. They encourage him to persevere in the same mind, and reiterate that the freedom of the faithful, and of Christianity, and the moral and social interests of civilized mankind demand this course of him. To illustrate the Catholic importance of the Princedom they mention how the Fathers at Constance, during the interregnum, took upon themselves to administer the temporal affairs of the Roman State. In concluding this part of their address, they once more express their adhesion to the Pope’s teaching:—

But what need of more? You have, at length, by a just sentence, condemned the wicked spoilers of ecclesiastical property; you have proclaimed

all that they had done to be "null and void," you have decreed all their attempts to be "wholly illicit and sacrilegious," and you have declared that the doers of such evil deeds have fallen under the censures and penalties of the Church. These grave words from your lips, and these admirable acts, it is our duty to receive with reverence, and to renew our assent to them. For as the body suffers in all things with the head to which it is joined in the unity of the members and in the same life, so is it necessary for us to have one feeling with you. . . . We implore God to bring this iniquitous state of things to an end, and to restore the Church, the Bride of His Son, now so miserably despoiled and oppressed, to her former freedom and beauty.

All the Bishops then in Rome, numbering 265, signed these words. Many others afterwards sent in their signatures, nor has a single one (so far as we have ever heard) protested against what was said in the address, that the Bishops present spoke in the name of the entire episcopate and of the faithful clergy and people. The Universal Church agreed in condemning what Pius had condemned, whether false doctrines, or the sacrilegious rapine and violations of ecclesiastical immunity which had been perpetrated against the Holy See.

The prelates of the Church had made their sentiments known as a body: but the matter was urgent, political events had thrown Europe and America into an excited and passionate state; it became necessary for the Bishops to instruct the Great Powers which were at one time inclining to meet in Congress at the instance of the French Emperor, and to strip the Roman See of its remaining possessions. From the outbreak of the war against Austria down to the present day, the Bishops have steadily persisted in justifying by argument and in upholding by deeds the course that our Holy Father has taken. The documents issued would form an immense collection; especially since the occupation of Rome and the inauguration of those pilgrimages to the Vatican which alarm non-Catholic governments. For the latest declarations in this matter we would recommend a study of the Pope's speeches; for he knows how, in replying to them, to suggest what has been their spirit and their doctrine. But the most authoritative papers are those which were published by the "*Civiltà Cattolica*" in some eight huge volumes. They afford what may be termed a perpetual commentary on the solemn address of 1862. Most Catholics must have seen the outside of the work, but some, we fear, have not cared to investigate any further. But if they have never considered what the Catholic Episcopacy has taught about the Roman Princedom, and still think themselves capable of deciding

on the subject, we must beg leave to differ from them : in fact, we would deny that they *can*, under such circumstances, be competent. We do not pretend to say they must read all the pastorals and addresses : but it is not so difficult to find out their general, and we are sure it deserves to be thought, their unvarying tenor. It will suffice to study with care the writings of the Bishop of Orleans on the civil sovereignty, or the letter of Cardinal Caterini (republished in this REVIEW, July, 1869, p. 185), or above all, the full and most instructive pastorals, for which we have to thank the late Cardinal Rauscher, of Vienna.* We have looked all through the collection, and have taken pains to read the longest and most didactic pieces in it. And we believe that the Italian preface to the whole is correct in summing up their contents as it does. The author bids us remember that every bishop throughout the world has accepted and published the declarations of the Supreme Pontiff, in which again and again the specially providential character and the moral and normal necessity of the Principedom are insisted upon. But, taking the words uttered by the Bishops themselves, we find they contain and express the following points—That it is highly becoming, and at least in the present state of society, necessary, that the visible Head of the Church should possess evident freedom in his acts by means of a temporal sovereignty : so that if the Principedom be wanting there remains for the Church nothing but persecution or slavery. And hence, as the sovereignty itself is a sacred thing by reason of its destination and the interests bound up with it, questions concerning it are, to this extent, not political, but religious, though the matter of them may be political. Again, that Providence has supplied this necessity by giving to the Popes a principality that is at once the most ancient, legitimate, and incontestable of all now existing in Europe, and that from this patrimony vested in the successors of S. Peter, no part can be violently taken away without grave injury to the whole, and peril to what may still remain. Further, that the Roman Pontiffs are not hindered by their position in the Church and their spiritual character from governing their states according to the laws of humanity and civilization, that, on the contrary, they are much aided by such great supernatural prerogatives. And, lastly, that the pretended discontent of the Roman people was partly false and a calumny,

* The letters of the German, Austrian, and Spanish Bishops are most valuable as exhibiting the theological and intrinsic grounds of the Principedom : but we think Card. Rauscher's the clearest of all and the most complete. (See Part iii. vol. i. of the Collection.)

and partly got up by a few malevolent and rebellious persons, who hate the Pope's rule because it is Christian.

In 1864 our Holy Father issued the "*Quanta Cura*" with the *Syllabus* subjoined to it. Two propositions touching on the civil principedom are condemned, one affirming that Catholics may question the compatibility of a temporal with a spiritual sovereignty; the other saying that the Church's freedom and happiness would be greatly furthered by bringing the Roman State to an end. It is not impossible, even at this date, that some who wish to be good Catholics may discover these propositions in the sentiments they habitually cherish. But Pius IX. obliges us to much more than the abandonment of the two statements explicitly reprovéd. He specifies by name six pontifical Acts, from most of which we have been quoting, and declares that they contain the doctrine which all children of the Church are bound most firmly to hold—that is to say, to hold with interior assent as true.

We do not propose here to start a technical controversy on the original value of the *Syllabus*; though for ourselves we have no doubt whatever that from the first it was cognizable as an *ex cathedrâ* utterance. At all events let these facts be considered. The Bishops published it, in the usual way, to the faithful; they wrote frequently and abundantly on the doctrines put forth in it and declared they were Catholic teaching. When more than five hundred bishops were assembled in Rome to keep the centenary of S. Peter, our Holy Father set it before them as his act and renewed its force.* It is constantly quoted by Catholics and non-Catholics alike as an authentic expression of what the Church teaches and the world rejects. Pius IX. has repeatedly called it his own act. All these facts are surely equal to proving that no Catholic can affirm what the *Syllabus* brands as erroneous without falling into error. Then no Catholic can deny that the Civil Principedom is religious in its bearings, providential in its institution, and necessary to the Church's freedom.

But all this, it may be replied, is ten years old. Things have changed since then. What, and doctrines too? Can *ex cathedrâ* Acts lose their force by length of time? Have the principles on which the Church must proceed ceased to possess a value now that Rome is in the hands of the Revolution? Have Pope and Bishops drawn back from their solemn words and engagements, published in the face of the civilized world? What was the *Allocution* of March 12th last year

* Compare what we have quoted previously from Card. Manning, who was one of the Bishops present.

but a summing up and confirmation of all that had gone before? Pius IX. refuses to be "reconciled with our new masters" because the reconciliation proposed "would be a betrayal of the highest rights of the Holy See . . . and a surrender of the inheritance of Christ into the hands of an authority" which would gladly destroy religion itself. Once more he proclaims that "in no way does the Roman Pontiff possess, nor can he ever possess full liberty, or exercise his full authority, so long as he is subject to others ruling in his city. In Rome he must be either a sovereign or a captive; and never will there be peace, security, and tranquillity throughout the Catholic Church, whilst the exercise of the supreme apostolic ministry is left exposed to the agitation of parties, the arbitrary power of rulers, the vicissitudes of political elections, and the designs and actions of men that prefer their own interest to what is just." And not very long afterwards, the Pope wrote that letter to the English hierarchy from which we quoted in our previous article. But we will quote the whole reasoning now to show that in 1877 the faithful are just as much required to believe in the necessity of the Princedom as they were in 1860. The main points are in these lines :—

Do not all the faithful in the world hold, as you too hold, that the Church is not contained in this or that kingdom, but embraces within herself all the nations redeemed by the blood of Christ, and joined together under one Head . . . who as Pastor and Teacher exercises over them direct, immediate, and ordinary jurisdiction, and governs all their minds and wills in matters of faith and morals? Do they not *for this reason believe* that the Supreme Pontiff ought not to be subject to the power of any human authority, and that *on this account* a civil princedom was conferred on him by Providence that he might be able to discharge freely his supreme office, not only over the peoples, but over the rulers of the peoples, as they too, like the rest of mankind, are sons of the Church. Do they not think that *these considerations in themselves*, apart from the oaths taken to preserve in its integrity the temporal dominion of the Roman Church, utterly exclude all conciliation with those that have invaded the possessions of the Sovereign Pontiff, and have brought his person into subjection to their power? We rejoice then that you have in your letter so clearly expressed this Catholic sentiment.

It will throw light on some points of theology connected with this matter, and will suggest a large historical treatment of the whole—for which we regret there is just now no time—if we choose a passage here and there from Card. Caterini's letter in 1864. This was a letter addressed by the Cardinal, as Prefect of the Congregation of the Council, and by com-

mand of his Holiness, to a certain bishop, whose canon theologian had imagined that the doctrine on the Civil Princedom was new, and of late introduction into the Church. The Cardinal says therefore :—

Might not your Lordship refer [the canon] to the celebrated collection of documents relative to the temporal power, wherein not only the encyclicals and allocutions of our most Holy Father, but the letters of nearly all the Bishops of the world, are to be found? From what he can there gather, he may easily construct his argument; if the Roman Pontiff and the Bishops—in other words, if the whole Catholic Church—is of such a mind, why should I not hearken to its voice? If I hear not the Church, am I not under the stroke of that dreadful sentence, “whoso hears not the Church let him be to thee as a heathen and a publican”? When the Pope, the universal teacher, speaks, who shall dare to contradict him, and refuse to lead his understanding into captivity, whether the reason of the doctrine or command be plain to him or otherwise? And, granting that the matter in question does not *directly* concern the faith, are we, on that account, to refuse to hearken to the voice of the Supreme Pastor? Who does not know that, besides the articles strictly of faith, there are others closely connected therewith; as, again, with moral precepts, as for example, “Thou shalt not steal”? . . . This is no “new teaching of very recent introduction,” as he thinks it, but of ancient date.

The Cardinal then enumerates authorities on the subject, including Bellarmine. He refers especially to the acts of the Council of Lyons in which Innocent IV. deposed the Emperor Frederic for having seized on the territory of the Roman Church :—

This solemn act of an Ecumenical Council, with the Roman Pontiff at its head, supplies evident proof of the lawfulness and antiquity of the Civil Princedom of the Holy See, and *demonstrates its inviolability, its fitness, and its necessity.*

Again :—

In the Council of Constance the temporal power of the Holy See was no less solemnly affirmed and vindicated by condemning the propositions of Wycliffe; the 33rd of which was “Pope Sylvester and Constantine the Emperor did wrong in endowing the Church.” By this condemnation the Council not only affirmed the lawfulness of the Church’s holding temporal endowments, but insisted particularly on that one which is the most noble of all, the most advantageous, and necessary to the free and unrestricted exercise of the spiritual power committed to the Roman Pontiff, viz. his Civil Princedom. But not only in words but by its deeds did the Council testify to the lawfulness and necessity of the temporal power. It assumed the civil administration of the States of the Church . . . at a time when, in the absence of the visible head, the Church was represented by this General Council of Constance.

The Cardinal adds,—

It may thence be inferred that to assert that the doctrine as to the necessity and fitness of the Civil Princedom of the Holy See is a novelty of but recent introduction, is historically *false*, and doctrinally *erroneous*. It is equivalent to attributing error and usurpation to the Popes who have received and maintained their temporal sovereignty over the States of the Church, and to gainsaying the two councils of Lyons and Constance, which both, by word and deed, have sanctioned this temporal princedom. To assert the contrary would be to *renew the error of Arnold of Brescia, Calvin, and other heretics*. These, in their hostility to the Church and the See of Rome, taught that it was foreign to the spirit of the Gospel to conjoin spiritual jurisdiction with civil power—a proposition deservedly branded as heretical. But the canon may [likewise] consult the constitution of Nicholas III., “*Fundamenta militantis Ecclesiæ*,” given July 18th, 1278, and which would seem expressly written to meet this difficulty. He will find at the very beginning, that *it is not without a miracle* that the sovereignty over Rome is joined to the supreme pastorate of the Roman Pontiff, he being the chief teacher of the Christian people, to whom full power has been committed by Christ. Now, to the free exercise of this high charge . . . the Civil Princedom is useful and even necessary. Hence Nicholas III. treating, in this constitution, of the civil sovereignty of the Popes, very properly alleges the freedom and independence of the apostolic ministry as the main reason for the temporal power. “We do not deem it meet that the earthly emperor should rule where the Heavenly King has set the High Priest and Chief of the Christian religion : rather should the chair of Peter, now established on the throne of Rome, enjoy full liberty in its action, nor be subject to *any*, since, by a divine decree, it has been set over all.”

We may interrupt the Cardinal for a moment to remark that this mediæval document is worthy of most attentive study. There can be no doubt that it embodies principles which are constantly implied throughout the whole of the canon law. Nicholas, in the paragraph quoted, speaks of the donation of Constantine as an established fact, and such, indeed, it was considered for many centuries. But this, instead of weakening his doctrine, tends rather to confirm it. Mediæval Catholics would never have believed in the myth, if they did not already cherish the conviction that Rome belongs to the Vicar of Christ by a divine and providential appointment, and that no king or secular power could with propriety set up an earthly throne by the side of S. Peter's chair. As soon as the empire became Christian, Rome put on a new and supernatural dignity in the face of the world. Any other city, Byzantium, or Milan, or Ravenna might be honoured by the presence of senate and Cæsar. But Rome was now too great to care for such transitory privileges : it was not the Empire but the Church which gave its full

meaning and its predestined scope to the "Urbs Æterna." This was what the Middle Ages understood when they celebrated Constantine's gift to Silvester; they exaggerated the historical fact, but only because they saw the end in the beginning, and perceived the shadow of the future Christendom spreading over the glories of the ancient empire. When Constantine turned the course of the eagles eastward, he left the Roman Pontiff clear space to lay the foundations on which all that is good in modern Europe reposes.

The Cardinal goes on:—

Bellarmino says: "Though it be granted that, strictly speaking, it would be better for the Popes to confine themselves to spiritual things, and leave temporal concerns to princes, yet, on account of the evils of the times, experience proves not only that it is *useful*, but that it is even a *strict necessity*, for Divine Providence to bestow temporal dominion on the Roman Pontiff and on some other Bishops." To the above-named constitution we may add the well-known and most ancient mode of proceeding, "In Cœna Domini," which decrees excommunication against all invaders of Papal cities and territories. Nor should we omit the Bull of that great and Holy Pontiff, S. Pius V., "Admonet" of the 29th March, A.D. 1567. This Pope, being fully convinced, not only of the fitness and advantages, but also of the necessity of the Temporal Power, and wishing to safeguard it in every possible way, forbids every sale, exchange, and even enfeoffment . . . and decrees against cardinals, or any others, the most grievous penalties, and even excommunication *ipso facto*, if they should attempt to persuade the Pope for the time being, to do any of the things aforesaid.

The purpose of citing here such canonical enactments as have just been mentioned, is partly to show how impossible would be the "reconciliation" of which some have dreamt, —except at the cost of absolutely breaking with tradition and the entire legislation of the Pontiffs; but partly, and indeed mainly, to bring out the inviolable character which has been set upon the Roman Princedom, and to argue from that to its necessity. For it would not be so completely outside the range of human eventualities, were it of a merely temporal nature, or not in some way bound up with the very constitution of the Church. Of what sort the bond is we have already pointed out; the Civil Princedom is the perfect and normal actuation of the Pope's necessary independence and immunity. The permanent condition of things, which no Pope, according to S. Pius, may lend a hand to overthrow, has its own theological, and, we do not fear to say, theocratic reason: God gave the kingdom, because He had willed that S. Peter should bear the keys. And that such has been always the Church's

doctrine, Cardinal Caterini makes evident to all in his effective quotations from the ecclesiastical law.*

The reader has not forgotten that F. Curci, in his remonstrance, attributes our hope of the Pontiff's restoration to sophistical reasonings, impertinence, and flattery. He scoffs at the notion of making it into "something like an article of faith" and a dogma. Now, we do not know any Catholic who has said or thought that the Pope's recovery of his dominions is an article of faith. We do not know any single one who has even said that the necessity of the Civil Princedom is a revealed dogma, or that persons cannot deny such necessity without falling into heresy. The Holy Father has declared none of these things, neither have the Bishops; and as for the Catholic press, we seem to get the notion that it has generally confined itself to repeating and explaining official documents from Rome. Therefore we take it that F. Curci is here "darkening counsel with words." But we can scarcely credit him with the strange view which his argument, on the surface at any rate, seems to imply. Is there no middle term between holding something to be an article of faith, and not holding it as infallibly taught by the Holy See? Are we at liberty to reject all doctrines defined *ex cathedra* that are not articles of faith? Readers of the DUBLIN REVIEW need not be told afresh what they know so well. We do not say the necessity of the Civil Princedom, in the sense explained, is a revealed dogma, or its denial a heresy; but we do say with our Holy Father, Pius IX., that all Catholics are bound most firmly to hold (and that means, of course, to internally believe and accept) that there is such necessity. And in accordance with the letter of Cardinal Caterini, we say there are principles involved which it would be simply heretical to call in question. If a man denies the necessity of temporal dominion, because the Church ought not and cannot, without sin or imperfection, possess any property, or because there is an essential incompatibility between the spiritual character of the Pope and the character of a temporal prince, we have no difficulty in measuring the error of these reasons. Or, if he says, in general terms, that the Pope could never become a prince without contravening the spirit of the Gospel, we think it is possible to know exactly where he stands.†

* In the case upon which the Cardinal was consulted, it appears that the canon theologian judged himself to have fallen under the censures, for he besought his bishop to give him absolution, and this was done in the presence of three ecclesiastics (vide DUBLIN REVIEW, July 1869, in loco). Yet he had done no more than say, "The doctrine is new in the Church."

† The condemnation, in mediæval times, of Wycliffe and the Lollards,

But what happens more commonly is this, that the "modern gentleman" informs us that he is not prepared to hold that the Princedom is necessary; he prefers to think the Pope can go without it and still enjoy his proper independence; he would, in fact, advise the Holy Father to trouble himself no more with the Roman State, and he is sure that such a course would greatly improve the Church's prospects. Well,—we say—our "modern gentleman" will have to reckon with the censures of Pius V., and with those of the Bull "*Apostolicæ Sedis*," if he goes so far as to actively recommend the Pope to make away with the territories of the Roman Church. And as regards doctrine, he is at once in opposition to all the Papal Acts we have quoted, to the unanimous teaching of the Bishops, and to the sentiments which almost all the faithful have expressed. He must, in all strictness, be pronounced out of harmony with the mind, spirit, and voice of the Church. It does not need to say that he prefers his own judgment to that of the Universal Pastor, whose obligatory teaching he disregards and disobeys. F. Faber has it somewhere that a man who is bent on going wrong in point of doctrine may choose which one of seven-and-twenty theological censures he will incur: it is, perhaps, advisable to try and incur none of them. However, we decline altogether to transgress the boundaries of our province, which is not that of the theologian qualifying errors for condemnation, nor of authority pronouncing censure. It is enough for us that our Holy Father has told us what we are to believe, and what to avoid. The incident which has coupled with it F. Curci's name, is a significant warning that we cannot pick and choose for ourselves in this matter. Evidently, Pius IX. intends us to listen when he speaks, and to hold what he prescribes. This is no act of severity on his part, but the carrying out of an office for which he is solemnly responsible before God and man. Here then is the test. If we *are* free to think as we like in the Roman Question, let some one come forward and deny what the Pope has asserted; let him set up a counter-opinion, as he might if the discussion were on an indifferent and purely secular interest, and let him see whether the Roman authorities will allow him his way any more than they allowed it to the Italian priest taken in hand by Cardinal Caterini, or than the General of the Jesuits has allowed it to F. Curci.

and of the Men of the Eternal Gospel, throws a vivid light on the exaggerated spiritualism of such Catholics as would gladly see the Church dispossessed of all lands and property. We marvel that the plain doctrine of Popes and Councils is so easily forgotten.

Whom, then, are we to believe on this point, ourselves and our too hasty imagination, or the plain, express, and reiterated teachings of the Holy Father? It is a Catholic principle that the Church alone can define the limits which she must not overpass. It is axiomatic that if the Pope, speaking in his place and with authority, decrees that a certain view is to be taken and a doctrine held, we sin against the faith by not obeying him. What sin we commit, and to what degree we separate ourselves from the Church in the various possible cases, it is not necessary to inquire. But that we cannot withhold our assent except at the cost of sin and separation is evident.

Whether the Pope has taught any doctrine concerning the Princedom, and what that doctrine is, are matters, to our thinking, sufficiently plain. He has not left us in doubt. But there may exist an ignorance of his teaching which the theologians would call affected, one that lasts only because we choose not to let it be removed. The documents, as we see, are plentiful, and not hard to procure, neither do they ask for long and searching studies into them. Moreover, the Pope's line of conduct has confirmed and brought out the signification of his words. He of all men has shown himself consistent from first to last. He has had to unsay nothing; he has not withdrawn nor modified a single statement. Where he was at the beginning he is now. That is the very charge made against him by his enemies: he is thought to be obstinate and unintellectual, because he has not allowed the age to make an impression upon him. Between Pius IX. and Hildebrand, as we are often told, there is nothing to choose. Haughty, unyielding, arrogant, these titles, when given to the Pope by his enemies, merely indicate that he never swerves from principles he has once laid down.

Thanks to the plainspoken language of the Syllabus, there is no one in Europe that imagines the Roman Church can sanction either peace or truce with the Revolution. Between the spirit that rules Catholicity and the spirit of so-called progress, liberalism, and modern civilization, an antagonism exists, and always must continue. One of the two movements in society may abolish the other; but it is inconceivable that they should coalesce or be brought into harmony. It was not our present Holy Father who began the contest, nor will it die out with his decease. Personal disputes come to an end; principles, being like the good and evil they involve, unchangeable, if once opposed, are opposed for ever. What compromise can any man suggest between yea and nay? Religion has its laws no less than geometry; and if the circle must necessarily be

different from a square, and the curve from a straight line, so must the principles and the dominant policy of the Roman Church contradict the Revolution in each stadium of its course. For we understand that Catholic teaching is summed up in the theory which affirms an infinitely perfect and personal God, and the natural subjection and supernatural elevation of finite man; whilst the Revolution holds that we can know nothing, and need not care to learn anything, of a Divine Legislator and a world to come. Speaking roughly, but with a certain broad effectiveness, we may lay it down that the great European struggle going on is between the principle called Supernaturalism and the principle called Secularism. "If the Lord be God, follow Him; and if Baal be God, then follow him."

The Revolution never alters in spirit and tendency, but it is skilful enough to speak many tongues, propound a more or less disguised theory, and hide itself under many forms of religious and political action. Where it cannot wrest all dominion from the Church, it will narrow Catholic influence and authority, will acknowledge the Pope in spiritual things, which it does not practise, and will deny his right to meddle with temporal things of which it gains possession. Sometimes it declares that religion ought not to exist at all, and decrees that there is no God, and that death is an eternal sleep; more often it separates God from the world, and dresses up a plausible doctrine of "the Free Church in the Free State." It would gladly see the last Pope dying, and Christianity proscribed by law. As that cannot be, the Revolution opens a persecution wherever it arrives at the supreme power, secularizes every institution on which it can exercise its tyrannical sway, and, to secure that the old order of things shall never be restored, it dethrones the Pope. Take away the Civil Principdom, and where can a reason be found for acknowledging that society must be Christian, or that Christendom is a legitimate, and should be the normal, union of civilized communities? As the Jewish polity ceased when the Temple was destroyed, so the Revolution hopes that there will never again be a Christian Europe, since Rome has become the Italian capital.

We do not see how any thoughtful person, be his religion and sympathies what they may, can deny the logical and historical correctness of what is here put forward. That the Revolution sometimes cultivates anarchy, and sometimes liberalism, is patent to all the world. That Christendom no longer exists, in name or fact, current events are proving in a way that strikes melancholy and terror into the hearts, not

simply of religious men, but of all that have any serious interest at stake. And that the Roman Princedom of Pius IX. was the last relic of an ancient and venerable system now in ruins we hear proclaimed with exultation by unbelievers, and admitted with growing sadness by the Catholic publicists abroad and at home. It seems even as if there were no longer any doubt as to the object of the attack and defence now so vigorously carried on. Shall the Church be visible or invisible? Shall it be an imperial power with jurisdiction over the earth, or a mere system of thought, impalpable and ghostlike, with no lever to move a single atom out of its place? And, in fact, the Revolution well apprehends that if once it can rob Catholicity of a visible form, and bring it down to the condition of "orthodox" Protestantism, the future is its own. Whilst man is what he is, no disembodied spirit will influence his heart and imagination, or impress upon him, in a practical and effective way, a sense of its reality. The Revolution desires to have the entire material world to itself; its aim is to take from all earthly things their consecration, their sacramental value, their spiritual life, and their relation to God. This is to be accomplished in every order and sphere, but chiefly and first of all in the sphere of political power. If society can be made atheistic, by-and-by the individual will receive from his atheistic education a happy impenetrability to religious ideas; he too will find himself converted into a machine, industrial or military, and his spirit and soul will be murdered. Then will the secular millennium come to pass, and divine honours be paid to the rich banker, the unscrupulous prime minister, the successful and unfeeling commander of armies, the inventive scientific professors, and the blasphemous but refined atheists. Nor can we suppose that the Goddess of Reason will be left without a throne.

There is no romance in this reasoning, nor caprice in the prophecy. Much of what the Revolution has striven after is already a fact. Europe, judged by its political spirit, its laws, its government, and its industry, has fallen below Greek and Roman paganism into the cultivated immorality of the Chinese Empire. Our Holy Father has said that the governments are all under the power of Satan; they do not seem to be their own masters: their acts are directed by a malice and a cunning beyond human nature.* It is not too much to say that the helpers of the Revolution are possessed, and that they need to be exorcised before they can be fit for baptism. They

* The Pope is speaking, not of *populations*, but of *governments*, be it observed.

are violent and sophistical by turns: with one hand they threaten persecution, with the other they offer reconciliation. The most daring and most treacherous amongst them have struck down Pius IX. from his temporal throne, have filled his Holy City with horror and profanation from end to end, have done their best to break his heart by continual and most ingenious tortures, and now, whilst he is defenceless and at their mercy, as they cannot coerce him, and fear to give him the honours of martyrdom, they smoothly propose that he shall accept their friendship, help them out of their present embarrassments, and forget his own rights in their favour. They, like their master, can quote Holy Scripture at need; and, accordingly, they tell Pius IX. that he is "troubling Israel"; they remind him that a priest should not yield to ambition, that he should surrender his wealth lest he seem to cling to perishable goods, and should make no further resistance, lest he be thought to harbour ineffectual and unchristian malice. They glorify the power of a moral sovereignty, which they are willing to guarantee both to him and his successor. They assure Pius IX. that his virtues would touch perfection, did he but add to them the virtue of a meek surrender. They murmur in his ear the sweet sound of concord and reconciliation, and they beseech him to have pity on the innocent Catholics who are suffering so many hardships because he will not give way. All the religious feeling, all the humanity and kindness, would seem to have deserted the breast of the gentlest of Popes, and to have taken up their abode in the swelling bosoms of those who never yet spared any age, or sex, or state in their search after power and plunder. The wolf chides the lamb, and reads him a lesson in Christian forgiveness. But the language is a little too smooth to be genuine, and altogether too lax to be Catholic. Religion is not quite the same thing as imbecile benevolence or peace at any price. The question for Pius IX. is, not what may be expedient just now, but what is the right course in itself.

And therefore he answers, with no slackening courage, though not without tears for his afflicted children: "It may not be." To whatever they say, he answers the same words, and will never change them. What the Italian Government offers as a political compromise, he knows is nothing but a betrayal of sacred interests. He will be no party to it. He has received a Divine commission to feed and rule the Church, and he has made up his mind at all costs to declare the truth, and to assert it in his actions. He will never have it said of him as of Honorius, that whereas his duty bade him quench the flame of falsehood, *negligendo confovit*, he allowed it to

spread all over the Catholic world. Neither directly nor indirectly will he relinquish one iota of his claim on the possessions of the Roman Church which sacrilegious invaders have usurped. Nor will he suffer indifferent and lukewarm Catholics to suppose that he has engaged in so desperate a conflict to preserve merely temporal rights and his status as a European sovereign. He will teach, in plain words, that religion itself is assaulted by the enemy, and he will bring out, for the instruction of all, the close relationship that exists between the Civil Princedom and the freedom which God has bestowed on His Church. He cannot abdicate the sovereignty of Rome. It is not for him to prove unfaithful to the trust he holds, but for the men that have outraged him to ask pardon and make restitution.

This has been the even tenor of the Holy Father's most solemn declarations for at least twenty years. The points of doctrine concerned have found exponents and advocates in all the Bishops of the Old and the New World. Nor can we attach a worthy meaning to the pilgrimages and protests of the Catholic faithful, unless it be granted that the independence of the Holy See and the maintenance of the Civil Princedom are practically one and the same. The misfortunes of our common Father come home to us all, because the Church is affected by them and her proper freedom and dignity threatened. There is a cause at stake of more moment than Italian unity, and before we can dream of taking sides in political discussion, we must try to get perfectly clear on the nature of those immunities which the Pope is defending, and on the consequences which their destruction must involve.

It avails nothing, therefore, to ask whether Pius IX. should accept the friendship of the Italian Parliament and of Victor Emmanuel, until we are satisfied that, in so doing, our Holy Father would not be virtually denying the Revelation which has made him what he is. Let us be quite sure, first of all, that the King and the Parliament are not a concrete instance of the Revolutionary principle: for it might appear afterwards that the Church had been betrayed, and not that a merely secular compromise had taken effect. Perhaps we are living in days that require Christians to be martyrs rather than astute diplomatists: perhaps, as our Holy Father has said, the only safe political creed is the Pater Noster. Reconciliation and concord are words which naturally attract; they have the fragrance of tender memories upon them, and the promise of peaceful times is in their sound. But we know that other words are beautiful also, and there is one strophe of a great anthem which has more in it of needful encouragement: "Te

martyrum candidatus laudat exercitus." We have fallen upon evil days; and we cannot trust the world, unless at the risk of yielding to a great temptation, and exchanging our Christianity for Secularism.

Since the above article was in type, Victor Emmanuel has passed to judgment. It is ill disputing at the side of an open grave; and we defer all comment on the deceased monarch's career to our next number.

ART. II.—DE ROSSI'S ROMA SOTTERRANEA.

Roma Sotterranea Cristiana, tomo iii. Con Atlante di LII. Tavole e molti disegni inscritti nel testo, descritta ed illustrata dal Commend. G. B. DE ROSSI, pubblicata per ordine della Santità di N. S. Papa Pio IX. Roma: 1877.

THE third volume of De Rossi's "Roma Sotterranea" has at length appeared, and so the first series of the gigantic work, of which the beginning was given to the public more than thirteen years ago, has been brought to a close. Three folio volumes, containing altogether more than 1,600 pages of text, and about 160 lithographs and chromo-lithographs, maps, plans, paintings, fac-similes of inscriptions, &c., have now been published; and nearly the whole of this has been taken up with illustrating a single subterranean cemetery, that of Callixtus. In the first volume, indeed, there was a good deal of prefatory matter as to the literary history of the subject, both the ancient authorities from which any particulars about the catacombs could be gleaned, and also all the modern writers who had contributed to our knowledge of them since their re-discovery at the end of the sixteenth century. It also contained some important chapters upon certain general questions which lay at the bottom of the whole subject, and a right understanding of which was an essential foundation for all sound knowledge with respect to it; such questions as the origin of the catacombs, their geological and architectural relations to the sandpits with which they had been sometimes confounded; their condition in the eye of the law, &c. &c. Some of these chapters were a real revelation; they announced and effected a complete transformation of certain portions of

early ecclesiastical history, and they have met with general acceptance from learned men, whether Catholic or Protestant. About a third of the present volume is occupied with the discussion of the same, or of similar general questions, and will not fail to command the same attention and (we anticipate) acceptance. Lastly, about fifty pages also of this volume are devoted to a minute examination of a catacomb, accidentally discovered in an unusual state of integrity about eight or ten years ago under the sacred wood of the *Fratres Arvales* on the *Via Portuensis*. But all the rest of the three volumes is taken up, as we have said, with the one cemetery of Callixtus; and we fear lest the minuteness of detail with which every corner of this cemetery has now been examined, and all its monuments discussed, may tend, in this age of bustle and hurry, to set narrow limits to the circle of De Rossi's readers.

Yet it ought not so to be. The importance of the subject in the interests of religion is immense. We live in an age when even in some seats of learning "men talk of history only to deny it, and in the freedom of social intercourse often express a wish that they could be rid of it. At such a time archæology is specially useful. For one cannot at one's mere will get rid of the importunity of a monument; nothing is so obstinate as a stone inscribed with letters, or a piece of sculpture just recovered from the depth of the earth. Even if it tells us nothing but what we knew before, yet it makes us realize it more vividly. There is a special opportuneness then in archæological studies just now, because they strike directly at that doctrine which resolves ancient history into myths, and which is the idol of the hour. They multiply elements of historic certainty, often more convincing and more readily accepted, because they are more fortuitous in their appearance, and more minute in their character. In this point of view nothing is small; neither fragments of inscriptions, nor the poor remains of old paintings, nor details of astronomy, nor notes of philology. All these various elements of knowledge, infinitesimally minute though they may be in themselves, yet when united in significative groups, conduct to dates; and it is hardly going too far to say, that in the face of the continual vacillations of thought which now characterize certain schools of writers, every date established with certainty in any part of history, but especially of ancient history, is a service rendered to the human intellect." * It is for this reason that we look upon the services rendered to religion by Signor de

* "*Les Nouvelles Etudes sur les Catacombes*," par le Comte Desbassayn de Richemont. Paris: 1870.

Rossi's works as eminently important, and we are hardly disposed to find fault on the score of exaggeration with another French critic of eminence, who says of his volumes that they are *l'ouvrage principal de ce temps*; because they give most instruction to their readers by correcting false ideas that had been heretofore universally received, and by opening out new paths of knowledge.

Time was when Roman catacombs were looked upon as one vast subterranean necropolis, established probably (for so men said) in the midst of deserted sandpits, in which galleries, chambers, and tombs were to be met with on all sides in endless confusion; by-and-by it was discovered that there were a considerable number of different cemeteries along the various Roman roads, and excavated by Christians for their own purposes; now, we know that even in each of these several cemeteries, at least in the largest of them, it is possible to distinguish many centres, round which certain parts were made, and then afterwards united. In this so-called cemetery of Callixtus, for example, there is the crypt of Lucina, belonging to the first and second centuries; the Papal crypt, and the crypt of S. Cæcilia, and others, belonging to the second and third centuries; and lastly, the cemetery of S. Soteris and a whole region of this subterranean world that was made during the Pontificate of Liberius in the fourth century. The development of these successive periods of excavation both here and elsewhere has been established, partly by means of a minute and laborious examination of every detail, whether of construction or of ornamentation, to be seen in the catacombs themselves, partly by the patient study of MSS. and other historical documents of various kinds. For De Rossi has laboured almost as much in critical researches among books, as in the analysis of material monuments; and the one study has, in many ways, greatly assisted the other. The masonry; the marks and names on the tiles; the quality of the plaster, where any has been used; the mode of execution and artistic style of the paintings, and the choice of subjects; the use of stucco, or of mosaics; the use of sarcophagi, whether of marble or of terra cotta; the form of the graves, whether mere shelves in the wall, or larger square-headed, or arched recesses (*arcosolia*); the language, style, symbols, names, writing, and spelling of the inscriptions; these are the solid and exact bases on which De Rossi has conducted his analysis below ground; and the acuteness, learning, and industry, with which he has sought and interpreted MSS. throughout the chief libraries of Europe have not been less admirable. The results attained by these two systems of

investigation combined have been truly amazing ; and even more remarkable than the several discoveries and identification of important monuments which he has thus been enabled to make, is the fact that he has succeeded in establishing certain chronological canons, which are daily more and more confirmed by experience, and by which everything else of a similar kind found elsewhere may now be infallibly tested. For, as he himself says, speaking of earlier works on Christian archæology, the misfortune was, that even those monuments which had been most copiously illustrated with abundant quotations from ancient writers, nevertheless almost always remained in a state of hopeless uncertainty as to their precise date, their *rappports* with history, with the development of the Christian society, its arts, and its whole history, both external and internal. In order to arrive at that precision which assigns to each monument its date, and consequently its value, and so becomes the best guarantee also of the correctness of its interpretation, "I have been obliged," he says, "to make a very long route indeed, and to undertake the minute and immense analysis which had discouraged all who have gone before me. I have studied the inscriptions, the paintings, and the sculptures, not separately, nor according to a classification predetermined upon, but in their original positions, and considered in their relations to one another."

Thanks to the intelligent and the indefatigable assistance of his brother, a practical mathematician and a geologist, he has had before him a complete analysis of all the subterranean galleries, of all the chambers on the various levels, of the staircases or other means of communication between them, and even the measurement of thousands upon thousands of the graves. And at first he was content only to register these facts, without combining them, lest some premature effort of this kind should tempt him to form a system which would so occupy his mind as to render it less open to impressions from other facts that might be discovered later, and offer some apparent contradiction to the system too hastily adopted. By-and-by the time came when he must needs examine his vast accumulation of facts, compare them one with another, and draw deductions from them. And those who have made a conscientious study of his volumes can bear testimony to the cautious moderation with which these deductions have been generally made. Often indeed there is scarcely any process of deduction at all ; the facts speak for themselves. It is a subject of real wonder to see how spontaneously light and order have sometimes seemed to come out of apparent chaos, simply by an intelligent gaze upon the vast mass of *data*, so

important and so scrupulously exact, as De Rossi's singular zeal and patience during five-and-thirty years had succeeded in bringing together.

We would cite, as a special example of this, his chapters in the present volume on the management or temporal administration, first, of the catacombs, and then of the non-subterranean cemeteries which succeeded to them, from the beginning almost down to the Middle Ages. We suppose the first impression of a moderately-learned student, if questioned on this subject, would have been that no reliable record has reached us, and that there are no materials for making one. Yet here we have a complete living history, put together partly from texts, partly from monuments, yet all clear and certain, proceeding steadily from century to century; and in this procession, pope and archdeacon, deacon and priest, priest and *fossor*, *fossor* and *mansionarius*, and *cubicularius*, and *præpositus*, all pass before us and take their places, as regularly as in a well-ordered chronicle; and we can see by the authorities quoted that they are all taking their right places. These, of course, are far too numerous to be transferred to these pages; and, indeed, it is not often that they are to be found, even in the pages of De Rossi, in any synthetical form. For the very nature and essence of his system necessarily involve his text in a kind of topographical labyrinth, very wearisome to an impatient or superficial reader. The details are scattered about in the order required by the description of the subterranean places in which the monuments are found; and analysis occupies by far the larger portion of his work; barely a few pages at the end of each volume are consecrated to synthesis, or the giving of *résumés* of the conclusions he has been able to establish.

For this reason we are delighted to hear that Messrs. Northcote and Brownlow are preparing another edition of their "*Roma Sotterranea*," in which it is intended to embody all the substance of this new volume. Such abridgments are compiled, of course, on the synthetical method, and set the facts before us in their historical and chronological sequence. And to those readers who only desire to gain the latest information on the subject, they are sufficient; but "to him who wishes honestly to examine the evidence for each discovery, nothing will supply the place of a perusal of the original exposition, either in profound interest or in the abiding conviction it will produce. . . . In this way we, as it were, accompany him through the successive labours, the brilliant inductions, the startling verifications of a career which has been full of results. We see the morning twilight, then the first streak of dawn, then the full

brightness of day. His work possesses, too, that peculiar fascination exercised by minds of the highest order alone. It is not more remarkable for bold and original thinking than for profound and varied learning, for extreme calmness and caution. And it is important to insist upon this, because some of his conclusions have not been arrived at without much conjecture, without many inferences on very delicate evidence indeed, the weighing of which depends upon that subtle diagnosis which is the essential difference of a great and skilled observer."

This is the language of a modern scholar,* when speaking of the fragments of ancient history and literature that have been rescued from oblivion by means of Champillon's interpretation of Egyptian hieroglyphics; we know of none that would describe more accurately, both the charm and the value of De Rossi's "*Roma Sotterranea*." We hope to give a specimen or two before our article is finished. But, first, we must say a word about the trustworthiness of the author, whose discoveries and conclusions we are commending to the acceptance of the English public. For in a subject of this kind, which may be expected to trench in many points on matters of religious controversy, it is very important that the reader should have confidence in the absolute candour and impartiality of his guide. We will produce, then, three or four witnesses upon this point, all of them selected, for obvious reasons, from the ranks of undoubted Protestantism. Thus, Mommsen, the learned historian of Rome, whose distance from the Catholic faith may be measured by his attack on the historical veracity of S. Luke, speaks of De Rossi, as an author on the Roman Catacombs, "as conscientious as he is acute."† When some of his statements were called in question in high quarters in Berlin, precisely because they rested only on the evidence of "a Catholic, whose labour in the catacombs was subject to no control," the learned Prussian archæologist, Henzen, Secretary to the Imperial Archæological Society in Rome, at once came forward to defend the scientific integrity of his associate, and declared that "his well-known character and exclusive devotion to the cause of truth placed his testimony above all suspicion."‡ In our own country, Mr. Burgon, the Dean of Chichester, says of his researches that they have been "conducted with a sincere zeal for truth"; and of his conversation, that it was such as "to inspire perfect confi-

* "*Prolegomena to Ancient History*." By Rev. J. P. Mahaffy.

† "*Im neuen Reich*." 1871.

‡ "*Revue des Sociétés Savantes*." Février, 1868.

dence in his statements."* Lastly, the late Mr. Wharton Marriott, whilst writing bitterly about Roman controversialists generally, says of De Rossi, that "he has the rare merit of stating his facts exactly and impartially, precisely as he finds them."†

But now let us take a sample of our author's method of argument; we will trace his progress through one special labyrinth of difficulties, and mark how his mode of handling them exhibits at once his high powers of intellect and his rare candour and sincerity.

When writing in an early part of the second volume (p. 104) on the Papal crypt and the place of burial of each individual Pope in the third century, he came in due course to Caius (A.D. 283—296), but he was obliged to confess that he could say little or nothing of his sepulchre; that the "*Liber Pontificalis*" says of him, that he was buried on the 22nd of April in *cœmeterio Callisti*—a phrase which experience had taught him was used specially to designate the Papal crypt in that cemetery; that the oldest calendars, as well as the "*Martyrologium Hieronymianum*" and its followers, assign the same date; but that some other martyrologies have *X. Kal. Maias*, instead of *X. Kal. Martias*, or rather they have both dates; that different explanations had been given of this, but for his own part he thought it evident that some copyist had first made the very easy blunder of writing *Martias* for *Maias*, and then another had inserted both; but he added that it was far more difficult to account for yet a third commemoration assigned to him in some martyrologies on the first of July; he would only say that he was not himself satisfied with the explanation suggested by the learned editor of the "*Martyr. Hieronym.*," the Bollandists, and others, who had recourse to the theory of some translations of the saint's body at various times, of which no record had reached us.

This was the state of his knowledge on the subject in 1868. In 1875, or 6, when writing the early part of the volume now under review, he interrupts his narrative to tell us of certain fragments which he has found near the crypt of S. Eusebius of a slab of very fine Greek marble, beautifully engraved, with Greek letters of unusual size, and cut more deeply than usual, and the words separated from one another by a very peculiar ornamental figure, which he had seen before on a Christian epitaph of the year 291, and published in his volume on the Christian inscriptions in the year 1861.

* "*Letters from Rome*," p. 139.

† "*Testimony of the Catacombs*," &c., p. 3.

Having hunted with great diligence for every fragment of this slab, however small, and studied attentively how the broken bits should be put together (for unfortunately many of them did not fit into one another), at last I saw, and after much deliberation I was convinced, that they belong to the sepulchre of Pope Caius. When I wrote the second volume, and treated of the Papal crypt, I had not succeeded in putting the fragments together, so I could not make any use of them, though the inscription really illustrates the matter which belongs to that volume. The study of minute fragments, the distinguishing amid so enormous and confused a mass the bits that belong to the same inscription, is an undertaking so long and wearisome, and is often interfered with by so many even material hindrances, that if a conscientious determination to fulfil what has been enjoined me, and what I have promised to do in this work did not oblige me, and if the ordinarily moderate fruit which I reap from so much labour were not occasionally multiplied a hundred-fold by some unlooked-for discovery, my patience would have failed, and I should not have persevered. Let so much be said by way of apology and explanation why I bring forth to the world to-day so remarkable a monument, when its proper place should have been in the preceding volume; and now, without further preface, let us come to the point.

He then gives all the fragments of the slab on which there are any letters or parts of letters, or any of the ornamental stops we have spoken of. Our description will not do complete justice to his ingenuity, for lack of an exact fac-simile of the several fragments; but we will do the best we can by printing the whole inscription as he would restore it, giving the letters which are actually recovered in large type, and his conjectural supplements in small, and marking the stops where they occur:—

· ΓαioΥ · ΕΠισκ
· KAT ·
ΠΡο ι KAA MAIων.

We must add that the position of the ΕΠ in the first line, the T in the second, and the MAI in the third, is fixed with certainty by the way in which the three fragments of stone dove-tail into one another, and it was the arrangement of these three bits which gave the key to the whole. In like manner, the relative positions of the Υ in the first line, KAT in the second, and A in the third, were determined with the same absolute certainty. It remained only to assign their proper places to ΠΡ and to Γ; but even of these it was certain that ΠΡ belonged to the last line, because of the long unscripted portion of marble below them; and of Γ, that it was the initial letter of a word, because of the point before it. Having thus arranged his fragments, De Rossi proceeds as follows:—

The arrangement, now that it has been made, is so evidently correct that it will seem strange that I should have been delayed so long and laboured so hard to make it. The epitaph begins with the proper name of the deceased in the genitive case ; then follows ΕΠ, which in so noble a monument naturally suggests that he was a Bishop ; and then in the two lower lines the burial (*καταθεσις*, *depositio*) is assigned to some day in the latter half of April ; and the deceased man's name began with Γ. Now, of all the Popes and Bishops buried in the cemetery of Callixtus, whose names have been preserved to us by ancient documents, the only one whose name begins with Γ is Caius, who was buried on the 22nd of April, 296 ; and it has been already mentioned that the singular stops between the words have been found precisely on an epitaph of about that time (291). Moreover, the abbreviation KAT is found on a whole group of epitaphs belonging to this very place and period. Thus everything conspires to confirm the reading we have suggested, and the supplements we have made to these mutilated fragments of a noble epitaph. A most attentive analysis of the epitaph, and of the beautifully symmetrical form of the letters convinces me that this is not a mere happy play of fancy, not a mere specious probability, but a true and solid reality. It is scarcely credible that it should be an entirely fortuitous and deceitful combination of circumstances, in such wonderful harmony with one another, which recalls to us the memory of Pope Caius.

He then shows by a still more minute analysis of the arrangement of the letters and stops that there could only have been two or three letters after ΕΠ, and that the name at the beginning can only have consisted of five or six letters ; and so, he says, "the intrinsic and historical reasons which justify his restoration are still further confirmed by extrinsic reasons and material facts." Finally, on a ninth fragment of the stone, which has not yet been mentioned, is found a *graffito* of the name of *Leo*, preceded by a cross, the same as appears on the sepulchre of Cornelius and elsewhere, and which clearly shows that this was no common tomb. In addition to all these arguments, "the very drawing of the epitaph as restored will satisfy, if I am not mistaken, every practised eye and every competent judge that it is no result of ingenious combination, but a happy discovery of the truth."

Having now established the fact, he next examines it in the light of all the historical and archæological *data* which concern it. We have already seen that a number of ancient authorities give April 22 as the date of Caius' burial ; one of these (the catalogue of Popes in the book of Furius Dionysius Filocalus) is almost contemporaneous ; and although two other days are given as commemorations of Caius, it is certain that this is the date of the *depositio*. And this the newly-discovered tablet confirms. But this is the first Papal epitaph which registers the day of the death or burial ; all the others

were more simple, and only give the name. But the development of the form of epigraphy on this tombstone is in exact conformity with the custom which gradually prevailed during the latter half of the third century, so that by the end of it, KAT or ΔEP, and even still shorter abbreviations, sufficed to stand for the whole word. No doubt the solemn registration of the day of the Pontiff's death in the diptychs of the Church would have sufficed, as for Anteros, and Fabian, and Lucius, so also for Caius; but the custom which was then in vogue for others was used also for the Pope. There may have been another reason too which contributed to influence the selection of a less laconic formula for the epitaph of Caius than had been used for those of his predecessors. This was no narrow oblong slab of marble, to shut the mouth of a common grave in the walls. It is large and broad, and must have served for the *mensa* of an *arcosolium*, or it might have been fixed in the middle of the lunette of the *arcosolium*, with some cornice or ornamental border all round it; and this latter conjecture is corroborated by the traces of plaster which may yet be seen upon the upper edge of the stone; and, in fact, in the crypt of S. Eusebius, near which the fragments were found, there are traces of tablets having been so fixed, with slabs of various coloured marbles round them.

This observation may seem trifling, but it is really of some importance. For the fact that the fragments of the epitaph were found in and near the crypt of S. Eusebius, is at least the beginning of a presumption that here must be the sepulchre to which the epitaph belongs; and this presumption receives further confirmation from the fact already mentioned, that the shape of the stone is better suited to the *arcosolia* of this crypt than to the ordinary shelf-like graves of the Papal crypt. And it is much more probable that the fragments should have remained where the perfect original once was, than that they should have been carried out of the cemetery by some plunderer of the Papal crypt, and then fallen down again through the *luminare* into the crypt of S. Eusebius.

But now, if this is assumed to have been the original position of the tomb of Caius, it is certainly contrary to what we expected, and no historical or topographical document of antiquity had given us a hint of it. Cornelius and Eusebius are named as lying in separate chambers, apart from the Papal crypt; but no such remark is made about Caius. And yet there was a great devotion to him in the seventh century, and there was a tradition that he had been forced to hide in these catacombs during the early years of the reign of Diocletian. There was every reason then why the itineraries should have men-

tioned his tomb in the crypt of S. Eusebius, if their authors had really seen it there. Is there any way by which we can reconcile the written testimony of the "*Liber Pontificalis*" and other authorities, with the new archæological discovery which seems to contradict it? De Rossi thinks there is, if we take account of every scrap of knowledge we have on the subject, however minute. And he proceeds to observe (what he had proved elsewhere) that the subterranean region round this crypt was certainly much frequented during the early years of Caius' pontificate; and to conjecture that Caius may have been buried here apart from his predecessors, because it was here that he had presided over the Christian assemblies and himself lived in concealment. But, in 303, the cemeteries were confiscated, and all access to them forbidden. The cemetery of Callixtus would have been specially exposed to danger, and we have proof of extraordinary precautions having been taken in consequence; the Papal crypt was filled with earth; the bodies of some of the martyrs, e.g. Calocerus and Parthenius, were removed from their original resting-places and hidden in more ignoble crypts of the same cemetery. Why may not, then, the body of Caius have been removed to the Papal crypt, there to be concealed with the rest, and then suffered to remain there?

Thus writes De Rossi at p. 115 of the volume before us. A hundred and fifty pages further on, when all that preceded had been (he tells us) already printed, he has something more to say on the same subject. He has found in another part of the cemetery—at no great distance from the crypt of S. Eusebius, it is true; yet still distinctly in another and a later area of it—sixteen fragments of another large slab which had evidently served as the *mensæ* of an *arcosolium*, and from which he is able to gather that a certain Jovina had bought an *arcosolium* in the cemetery of Callixtus, near the tomb of some martyr (*Arcosolium in Callistiat Domn. . .*). This discovery was of great interest and value even in its imperfect state; not only because it speaks of S. Callixtus (omitting the word cemetery) exactly as it is written in the old calendars which were published by F. Dionysius Filocalus in 354, just when this part of the cemetery was in use; but, also, because it confirmed with a seal of absolute certainty what De Rossi had already announced as the result of his own personal examination: that this Liberian district (so to call this part of the Catacomb, from the Pope in whose time it was made) had no specific name, but was considered a part of the famous cemetery with which it was connected. But the inscription would have been a hundredfold more interesting and more valuable, if it had not

been broken off precisely at the middle of the word *Domn*. This was the second time he had been thus cruelly disappointed (see iii. 224) by the mutilated condition of an inscription which seemed to promise important revelations; and the most diligent search was therefore made for the missing fragments. The search was unsuccessful; so, having resigned himself as best he might, he set to work to make the most of what he had, and read a paper upon it to an academic audience. He has given us some account of this paper, rightly judging that, in the light of later discoveries, it would be both amusing and instructive; teaching (he says) a lesson as to the caution that is necessary in pronouncing judgment in cases of this kind, and at the same time leading to a most unexpected discovery of the truth.

The first line of the inscription began, as he then supposed, with *merenti Jovinæ*; and he considered it to be quite perfect on that side, i.e., on the left-hand side as one looks at the stone; so that all his energies were concentrated on an attempt to supply what was wanting on the right-hand side, or at the end of each line. First, he determined that not more than five or six letters could be supplied in any line; and this he judged, 1st, from what he saw of the last two lines, which needed no supplement at all; and 2ndly, from the supplements which were obviously required in the first three lines, to complete the words *cojugem*, *decessit*, and *comparavit*. Unless, then, the fourth line were prolonged out of all proportion to the others, there was only room here also for very few letters. This being assumed, it would seem to follow that the *ita* at the beginning of the fifth line could not be the ending of the word *deposita* (as would otherwise have been thought certain), but must form part of the missing name of the saint; wherefore he suggested *at Domna(m) Soterita(m)*, the name of the martyr, S. Soteris, being sometimes found declined in this corrupt form instead of *Soteridem*. Another adjacent area of this cemetery bears the name of this very martyr; and De Rossi could bring an example to prove that *ad martyrem* did not always mean an immediate and material contiguity of the two sepulchres, but only a certain general and moral proximity; e.g., a husband and wife were buried in the portico of the Vatican Basilica, yet they described their tomb as *ad Sanctum Petrum Apostolum*, though it was a long way off from the "confession" where the body of the Apostle lay. Finally, he observed as a singular coincidence that the feast-day (*Natale*) of S. Soteris was the very day on which the lady whose epitaph was under consideration is stated to have been buried. What conclusion then could seem more obvious and

certain than that he had hit upon the correct restitution of the missing letters ?

De Rossi himself, however, was not well satisfied with his own explanation. All the instances of *ad martyrem* hitherto found in the Catacombs had seemed to denote material contiguity; the example of its use in a wider sense belonged to a later period. Moreover, the inscription seemed imperatively to require *Deposita*; it would have been very strange indeed if that word had been omitted, and so the inscription had announced that Jovina had bought the tomb on such a day, but made no mention of the day on which she died or was buried. A learned colleague also called attention to the strange way in which the inscription must have been arranged, the letters touching the very edge of the stone on the left-hand side, whilst yet there must have been a quantity of unoccupied space on the right. Was it possible that the stone had been cut in half, and that they had only half the inscription before them ? This led to a more minute inspection of the monument itself; and it was discovered that, in the upper corner of the left-hand side, a bit of mortar, which it had never occurred to them to rub off, covered the letter E. *Merenti* had been a possible word; *emerenti* was impossible. It must certainly have been *benemerenti*, and there must be another section of the stone somewhere. And then it flashed upon De Rossi's memory, that he had found a few months before, at some distance from this part of the cemetery, yet in the same quarter, a section of an inscription, containing many letters, which gave no sense whatever. The reader may be sure that no time was lost in bringing the two fragments together, and this was the result :—

BEN	EMERENTI JOVINE QUE CUM COJ
GEM	SUUM HABUIT ANNOS V ET D
CESS	IT ANNORUM XXII QUE COMPA
BIT SIBI	ARCOSOLIUM IN CALLISTI AT DOMN
DEPOS	ITA DIE III IDUS FEBRUARIAS
GAUUM	FECIT COJUGI SUE MERENTI IN PACE.

Strange to say, the fragments originally discovered had given the endings of nearly all the lines, so that there was hardly any need of supplements where it had been attempted to make them; the supplements were wanted at the beginning of the lines, where all had been supposed to be perfect; and in most instances they were precisely what had been suggested. Only the beginning of the last line was new, and made a most unexpected revelation, that the saint whose name had been so eagerly sought for was not S. Soteris, but Caius. The reader will say that the name does not follow the title *Domnum*

immediately ; a whole line intervenes. But if we could reproduce De Rossi's *facsimile* of the original, he would see that, as the inscription was first engraved, the two words did follow each other without any interruption whatever ; at first there were only five lines, written at regular intervals ; the line which records the date of the burial is a manifest addition, squeezed in between lines 4 and 5, to the complete destruction of the symmetry of the engraving.

The inscription being thus restored to its primitive form, three questions present themselves for solution. First, Who is this S. Caius ? Is he the same whose Greek epitaph has been so laboriously restored in an earlier part of this article ? Secondly, If so, how can this topographical notice of his tomb be reconciled with what has been said of his burial in the crypt of S. Eusebius, which lies some way off ? Thirdly, how can we account for his tomb being placed in this Liberian section of the cemetery of Callixtus, which was not made until fifty or sixty years after his death ? De Rossi acknowledges the difficulty of the subject, and the scarcity of materials, yet proceeds to do his best to give as faithful an answer as he can to these questions. To the first, he considers that only one answer is possible. It would be ridiculous to have recourse to some new and unknown Caius, whilst we never find this formula, *ad martyrem*, used, except of martyrs who are famous, and we know that a famous martyr of this name was buried in this very cemetery. On the second question, he reminds his readers of the conjecture he had hazarded as to the translation of the relics of Caius to the papal crypt during Diocletian's persecution. But he says that, at any rate, he considers it certain that the original burial-place of the Pope was in the crypt of S. Eusebius ; and that, if the wider sense of the words *ad martyrem* be admitted, there is no further difficulty at all ; since part, at least, of this newly-discovered stone (which is too heavy to have been moved about unnecessarily) was recovered from a gallery which leads directly from that quarter of the Catacomb. But, he adds, "the fear of allowing myself to be led astray by the very natural satisfaction of finding an opinion which I had advanced long since now confirmed and proved in so unexpected a manner, causes me to distrust this broad interpretation of the words in question, and bids me seek for some probable explanation, which may allow us to leave to those words their stricter and more ordinary sense." Finally, therefore, he falls back upon the theory of Fiorentini and the Bollandists, as to a repeated translation of the relics,—a theory which he had rejected before because it had no foundation in any monuments, being

only invented to account for the three festivals, but which now has received important topographical confirmation from the two newly-discovered inscriptions, neither of which agrees precisely with the notice in the *Liber Pontificalis* and oldest martyrologies. And he quotes, by way of confirmation, the instance of another bishop and martyr, in whose honour three yearly festivals were kept, the occasions of which are known. One was on the 21st of September, his true *Natale*; another on the 23rd of March, because on that day a church was dedicated that had been built over his tomb, A.D. 321; and a third on the 26th of November, in honour of the translation of his body by Pope Damasus to a more worthy crypt (*cryptam condignam*).

We hope our story has not been too long for the patience of our readers; we could hardly have made it shorter, and at the same time done even moderate justice to our author; and we are sure that those who have followed it to the end will have received a far more lively impression of the patient labour, the ingenuity, and the scrupulous conscientiousness of De Rossi than they would have gained from any mere eulogy of his merits, however enthusiastic. One reflection, however, upon the narrative may possibly occur to some of them, on which we should wish to make a remark. It is this; that, as De Rossi has not yet all the facts before him, but is sometimes obliged to correct or modify his views, even within the compass of a single volume, he has begun to publish too soon. To this it would be a sufficient reply, that he had studied the subject for more than twenty years before he published upon it at all (—would that some other authors had been equally reticent—); that he has published only three volumes in thirteen years, and that the means at the disposal of the Pontifical Commission of Sacred Archæology are so miserably inadequate, that if he waited till the work of excavation was even tolerably complete, he could never hope to publish at all. But a second and far better reply is this; that all the corrections which new discoveries oblige him to make are on mere matters of historical or topographical detail; not one of them affects the main outlines of the chronological system he so carefully elaborated at the beginning, still less weakened any of the fundamental principles on which it rests. On the contrary, as he points out with very just satisfaction, though much may remain involved in deepest obscurity, even after most diligent research, still, every new fact that is really ascertained and settled finds its place in that system at once and without difficulty.

We have seen a specimen of De Rossi's ingenuity in dis-

entangling a thread of true history from amidst a web of no ordinary difficulties. We will cull one more specimen of his work from the volume before us, showing what a flood of light his accurate knowledge both of Pagan and Christian history enables him to throw upon each new discovery as it is made.

The College of the *Fratres Arvales*—a sodality which consisted only of twelve members, because they were supposed to be the successors of the twelve sons of *Acca Larentia*—was one of the oldest and most aristocratic of the religious *collegia* of Rome. It was their duty to offer sacrifices in the month of May for a good harvest; also, on the birthdays of the Emperor and the principal members of his family, and on other great state occasions. From the time of Tiberius, they kept a record on tablets of marble of all their acts; and these tablets were at first attached to the walls of their temple, the *templum Deæ Diae*; then to the seats in the grove which surrounded the temple, and finally to the walls of other houses belonging to them. They are of great value for the light they throw on many vexed questions of chronology during the imperial period; and an important work was published by the learned Marini in illustration of such tablets as had come to light before his day. Of these, the principal part had been discovered in the sixteenth century under a vineyard on the right-hand side of the *Via Portuensis*, about five miles from the city. In 1858, a few more fragments, and in August, 1866, an entire tablet, were discovered in the same place; whereupon there was a great desire among the learned to institute a regular search in a place which seemed to promise so much. The necessary funds were supplied by the King and Queen of Prussia, and the work of excavation was carried on under the direction of the great Prussian archæologist, M. Henzen. At first nothing was found; but when they transferred their labour from the bottom of the hill to the top, they came on something quite unlooked-for; graves of a non-subterranean Christian cemetery, some of which were covered with the coveted tablets. Henceforward, the search was continued in the interests of Christian as well as of Pagan archæology; and it was rewarded by a rich and unexpected discovery. Other Christian inscriptions came to light, belonging to the beginning of the fourth century; bases and capitals of columns; fragments of a marble architrave, having on them a few letters of the familiar Damaskine type; and, finally, an entrance to a catacomb was laid open. On the wall of the staircase appeared the Christian monogram; in the first gallery, a painting of the Good Shepherd, whose tunic bore the same kind of *crux gammata* as is to be seen on the

dress of the well-known figure of Diogenes the fossor from the cemetery of Domitilla, and belonging to the age of Damasus. In 1868 they discovered an oratory or small basilica, made according to the usual type of the Damasine buildings. The apse was almost perfect; in the semicircular recess at the end of it was another smaller recess, as in the Basilica of S. Petronilla, for the episcopal *Cathedra*; and behind this chair was a window. At last they penetrated into a *cubiculum*, which bore marks of having been the principal centre of attraction in this cemetery. It was situated immediately behind the apse of the Basilica; and the window which we have described opened directly upon it. On one of the walls of the *cubiculum* were paintings (of very late date, i.e. of the sixth or seventh century) of our Blessed Lord seated, with two saints standing on either side of Him. The legends of those on the left are *SCS + FAUSTINIANUS* and *SCS RUFINIANUS*. Of those on the right, one is hopelessly effaced; the other represents a woman in rich apparel, but we can only decipher the last letters of her name, *TRIS*. More fragments, however, of the Damasine inscription, found within the Basilica, here come to our aid and enable us to supply *VIATRIS*.

With this clue, De Rossi had not long to search before he could identify the martyrs whose memorial was before him. The "*Liber Pontificalis*" records of Leo II., A.D. 683, that he built a church in Rome near S. Bibiana, in which he placed the bodies of SS. Simplicius, Faustinus, and Beatrix, and of other martyrs. There is an inscription on the front of a sarcophagus which has been moved from one place to another in the Basilica, or sacristy, or precincts of S. Mary Major's for the last three or four hundred years, and which was probably written at the time of the translation of the relics by Leo. It runs thus: *Martires Simplicius et Faustinus qui passi sunt in flumen Tiberem et positi sunt in Cemeterium Generosorum super Filippi*. The old martyrologies fix the *natale* of these saints for the 29th of July; and their legend in the martyrology of Ado (compiled in the ninth century) states that they suffered in the persecution of Diocletian; that the two men were thrown into the Tiber from off the bridge called *Lapideus*; that their bodies were recovered by their sister Beatrix and the priests Crispus and John, and were buried in a place called *Sextum Philippi* on the Via Portuensis; finally, that Beatrix herself suffered martyrdom not long afterwards, and was buried by the venerable Lucina near her martyred brothers.

This legend says nothing of S. Rufinianus; nor has De

Rossi been able to identify this saint, unless the name be only another form of Rufus (as Faustinianus certainly is of Faustinus), in which case it appears in the "Martyrologium Hieronymianum" on the same day as the rest. But he is nowhere associated with them in their Acts; and his dress, as represented in this painting, would seem to show that he belonged to a different grade of society; it indicates that he was an officer of the imperial court, and perhaps, like S. Sebastian, he had been called upon to make his choice between the service of his Emperor (Diocletian) and his God. But at any rate nobody can doubt that we have here a memorial of the three other saints whose names have been mentioned, and that we may therefore safely supply the name of Simplicius for the figure which can no longer be distinguished.

But how came the memorial of these saints to be here? Is this the place mentioned in their Acts under the name of *Sextum Philippi*, and in the inscription, *super Filippi*? The evidence of a Christian writer of the fifth century is objected against us, because he put the farm *Sextum Philippi* seven or eight miles further down the river, near the island called *Isola Sacra*. But a careful examination of all the passages in which this place is mentioned, had long since led Bosio to suspect that the name belonged to a considerable tract of country, viz., all the low land which stretches out towards the sea, beyond the height on which this cemetery has been excavated, and which is the last spur of the whole range of hills on that side of the Tiber. There is therefore no real inconsistency between the locality of the newly-discovered cemetery and the description of it in ancient documents. On the contrary, there is a special fitness in the word used, *super Filippi*; for the cemetery is in the hill which overlooked the *prædium Filippi*. Moreover, it is just opposite a reach of the river, where the bodies of the martyrs might easily have drifted ashore, and so been recovered by those who were looking for them; and nothing was more natural than that, in a time of persecution such as was then raging, they should have made use of the nearest and most convenient spot in which to bury, at least temporarily, the sacred relics. It is a part of De Rossi's theory, or rather, as we ought now to say, of the history and chronological development of the catacombs as explained by him, that their connections with sandpits belong precisely to the periods of persecution.

Here, therefore, within the recesses of an *arenaria*, did Viatrix and her assistants deposit the mortal remains of Simplicius and Faustinus; and these became the nucleus of a small subterranean cemetery, which Damasus afterwards honoured in his

usual way, and which continued to be visited by pious pilgrims until the translation of the relics in the seventh century. The history of the catacomb is written with unusual clearness and certainty in its monuments. Not a single grave has been found which would lead us to assign to it an earlier beginning than the reign of Diocletian; indeed, probably, it was not used for general sepulture till after peace was given to the Church, which was within a very few years after the martyrdom of our saints; and it did not remain in use more than ninety years, so that it never became an extensive cemetery. It has been almost thoroughly explored, and does not seem to contain more than eight hundred graves altogether. It was the first catacomb, so far as we know, from which the bodies of the saints were removed; and the reason of this was probably its specially exposed situation on the road which led from Porto, a place the possession of which was so coveted and keenly contested by the various hostile armies which from the year 408 succeeded one another, bringing ever worse and worse ruin upon the doomed city. Thus we have here an epitome, as it were, of the whole general history of the catacombs compressed within very narrow chronological limits. We have its hurried beginning in times of difficulty at the very commencement of the fourth century; its continued use in times of peace; its partial transformation and decoration by Pope Damasus, for the sake of the martyrs who lay in it; then burial within Damasus's basilica; next, the growth of a non-subterranean cemetery above and around it; and finally, the translation of the relics and the complete abandonment of the place before the end of the seventh century. For it would seem that it must have been carefully shut up after the removal of the bodies. We can see the opening that was made in the tomb to effect their withdrawal; then there is no token of its ever having been visited again till our own day.

Our readers will probably agree with us in thinking that we have said more than enough to settle beyond all dispute De Rossi's identification of this cemetery. Yet there remains one grave difficulty which requires some explanation. At first sight it would have seemed almost incredible that the Christians should have dared to penetrate beneath a wood belonging to a Pagan *collegium*, and to have buried their dead there in the days of Diocletian. But the truth is, that we have every reason to believe that the *collegium* of the *Fratres Arvales* had from some cause or other either been suppressed before that time, or else incorporated into some other religious sodality. When Marini first published his great work upon their tablets, he expressed an earnest hope that tablets of a later date would

one day be discovered ; for those that he had had an opportunity of seeing did not come beyond the first quarter of the third century. Not one of those which have now come to light belongs to any later date. Moreover, the emperor Gordian, who reigned about this time (A.D. 240), is the last upon whose statue the title of *Frater Arvalis* is enumerated among all the other imperial titles ; neither does it appear as belonging to any other public magistrate after this time, neither is it named by any later author. So many coincidences seem to warrant the conclusion we have mentioned, and which De Rossi published to the world in 1858. The new discovery in 1866 may be said to set the seal of certainty upon it ; for we could hardly account for finding a Christian cemetery in this place, unless the college had been virtually suppressed and its property abandoned. Nobody, we suppose, except Mr. Parker himself, will accept the conjecture which that gentleman has hazarded, that it was done with the knowledge and consent of the *Fratres Arvales* themselves. In 382, Gratian ordered the confiscation of all property belonging to the heathen places of worship ; but he did not abrogate the decrees of his predecessors (which were also renewed more than once by his successors), that the buildings should not be injured, but preserved in their integrity.* And Pope Damasus appears scrupulously to have followed the rule laid down in this discriminating legislation. He built a basilica as a public monument of the final victory of the martyrs and of the Christian faith in a place that had once been profaned by idolatrous rites ; he destroyed—or at least there was destroyed, and it has been found buried in the earth before this basilica—the round altar, adorned with the usual carvings of festoons and of the skulls of oxen and a serpent (the *genius loci* to whom sacrifices were offered), and the head of the serpent was (probably on purpose) defaced and broken ; but he did not touch, so far as we can ascertain, the tablets that were affixed to the walls of the temple, and therefore (we may be sure) not the temple itself. The tablets that have been found used for gravestones were the coverings of graves later than the time of Damasus ; graves belonging to the non-subterranean cemetery, which were made probably in the sixth century, during the troubled times of the wars against the Goths. Of the wise moderation of Pope Damasus himself, we have an interesting illustration in an incident in the life of Symmachus, to which De Rossi has been the first to call attention in connection with this subject, and with which we will

* “*Ædificiorum sit integritas.*”—Cod. Theod. xvi. 10, 18.

conclude our abridgment of his interesting account of the cemetery of Generosa.

Symmachus was prefect of the city, A.D. 384; and he was denounced to the emperors as having abused his official power in the interests of Paganism, to which he remained obstinately attached. The occasion of the charge was this: Prætextatus, the military prefect, or prefect of the Prætorium, himself also an ardent champion of Paganism, had obtained an imperial rescript authorizing criminal proceedings to be instituted against those who had exceeded the limits assigned in the law of Gratian, and plundered the marble facings, or mutilated the marble ornaments of heathen temples. The execution of this commission had been intrusted to Symmachus, who, however, shrunk at first from undertaking it, foreseeing probably the charge of unjust persecution to which it might expose him. But his forbearance was not allowed to shield him. He was accused, as we have said, of having imprisoned priests and bishops, and tortured others of the faithful, for supposed violation of the imperial laws on this subject; and he received a peremptory order to release all the Christians, and especially all clerics, whom he might hold imprisoned on this charge. In reply, Symmachus appealed to the Romans generally, but especially to a letter of Pope Damasus, in which he denied that any injustice whatever had been done to the professors of the Christian faith: he acknowledged that some Christians were in prison for various offences against the laws, but certainly not for anything which was involved in the practice of the Christian law (*variorum criminum reos, sed a ministerio Christianæ legis alienos*). On a subsequent occasion, Pope Damasus was amongst the foremost of the opponents of Symmachus, when he sought to restore the altar of Victory, which had been removed from the Senate-house; he sent to the emperors the protest of the Christian senators against this partial re-establishment of Paganism, and wrote to S. Ambrose to ask him to use his influence in support of their petition. But this was a very different thing from allowing the heathen temples to stand as architectural and historical monuments. Here he was ready to co-operate even with the heathen magistrates, and what we can see for ourselves in the cemetery of Generosa, taken in connection with the letter quoted by Symmachus, shows how sincere and generous that co-operation was.

ART. III.—THE RENAISSANCE AND LIBERTY.

Renaissance in Italy. The Age of the Despots. By JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS. London : Smith, Elder, & Co.

Renaissance in Italy. The Fine Arts. By JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS. London : Smith, Elder, & Co.

Renaissance in Italy. The Revival of Learning. By JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS. London : Smith, Elder, & Co.

IT is not our intention in this article to make any detailed examination of Mr. Symonds' three books, the titles of which we have prefixed to it. Our judgment of them is in substance this, that they are scholarly volumes, containing much and varied information, but not indicating the possession by their author of any of the higher qualities of the historic mind. On the contrary, they manifest a lamentable deficiency in that mental grasp which is essential to a truly philosophic treatment of any period, and are clouded by a misty sentimentality fatal to the "dry light" in which alone a just apprehension of men and events is possible. As far as regards mere concrete facts, Mr. Symonds is generally accurate. But his deductions, abstractions, and speculations, are, upon the whole, of little value.

Our present object is to inquire into a question which lies at the root of Mr. Symonds' performance, and of much else that is far more important. That question is, whether the meaning now very generally put upon the word Renaissance is true. Renaissance or new birth of what? "Of freedom," we are answered by a crowd of writers in great repute at the present day. Thus, M. Michelet :—"L'aimable mot de Renaissance ne rappelle aux amis du beau que l'avènement d'un art nouveau et le libre essor de la fantaisie. Pour l'érudit, c'est la rénovation des études de l'antiquité ; pour les légistes, le jour qui commence à luire sur le discordant chaos de nos vieilles coutumes. Est-ce tout ?" And he decides that it is by no means all. "Le seizième siècle," he tells us, "dans sa grande et légitime extension, va de Colomb à Copernic, de Copernic à Galilée, de la découverte de la terre à celle du ciel. L'homme s'y est retrouvé lui-même."* So, turning to contemporary English writers, we find that Mr. Pater understands by the word "a general stimulus and enlightening of the human

* "Histoire de France," vol. vii. Int.,

mind," "an outbreak of the human spirit," the qualities of which were "the care for physical beauty, the worship of the body, the breaking down of those limits which the religious system of the Middle Ages imposed upon the heart and the imagination."* Mr. Symonds holds similar views; he tells us that what the word Renaissance really means is

New birth to liberty—the spirit of mankind recovering consciousness and the power of self-determination, recognizing the beauty of the outer world and of the body through art, liberating the reason in science and the conscience in religion, restoring culture to the intelligence, and establishing the principle of political freedom.†

It should be observed that Mr. Symonds regards the Protestant Reformation as being merely a phase of this great movement—and here we think he is undoubtedly right. Once more, Mr. Freeman, discoursing before the University of Cambridge of the "Unity of History," says:—

The revival of learning in the fifteenth and sixteenth century marks, as is agreed on all hands, one of the great epochs in the history of the mind of man. . . . That age was an age when the spirit of man cast away trammels by which it had long been fettered; it was an age when men opened their eyes to light, against which they had been long closed from ages. . . . The revival of learning which brought the men of our modern world face to face with the camp before Ilios and with the Agoré of Athens was indeed a revolution which amounted to hardly less than a second birth of the human mind.‡

It would be easy to multiply quotations to the same effect. But these which we have given from four popular writers of different schools are sufficient for our purpose. It will be seen that they all four concur in regarding freedom as the chief note of the Renaissance. It is defined by one, in express terms, and impliedly by the other three, as "the new birth to liberty" of the modern world. There is something very engaging about this definition. It is no rhetorical flourish, but a simple statement of fact, when liberty, "best beloved of best men," is celebrated as the very breath of life to all that is most excellent in human society, "rarefying and enlightening our spirits like the influence of heaven."§ It is not too much to say that it is in the political order what freewill is in the moral, that it is

* Pater's "Studies in the History of the Renaissance," Pref., p. xi.

† Symonds' "Renaissance in Italy": Age of the Despots, p. 30; so at page 13, we read "The Renaissance was the liberation of humanity from a dungeon."

‡ "Comparative Politics," p. 296.

§ Milton's "Areopagetica." It is a pleasure to us to find expressions which we can quote with full assent, in a great English writer from whom we are obliged to differ often and strongly.

"the nurse of all great wits,"* at whose fair breast, art and science and literature are most purely and happily reared. If the movement known as the Renaissance was indeed a new birth to liberty, no words are too strong to express its claim upon the veneration of mankind. Whether this is a true definition is a question of fact, for the determination of which ample evidence exists, and that question we now proceed to consider.

But as liberty is a word

Defamed by every charlatan,
And soiled with all ignoble use,

we shall here set down, once for all, the sense in which we understand it; namely, the absence of restraints upon the true development and right exercise of the human faculties.† In the political order, protection from such restraints is the very *raison d'être* of government; for the end of government is justice, and justice is rightly described by the juriconsults as "*constans et perpetua voluntas suum cuique tribuendi*"; nor is there any more indisputable "right" or sacred prerogative of man, than to live according to the laws of his being. To uphold this right over the might, whether of "purple tyrants," or of "bibulous clay" collected in polling-booths,‡ is the prime function of the State. It is observed by Milton:—

The whole freedom of man consists either in spiritual or civil liberty. As for spiritual, who can be at rest, who can enjoy anything in this world with contentment, who hath not liberty to serve God and to save his soul? The other part of freedom consists in the civil rights and advancement of every person according to his merit.§

* *Ibid.*

† We are very well aware of the indefiniteness which so often attends definitions, and in particular of the vagueness which attaches to adjectives. To work out what we have said above, in any manner not absolutely inadequate, would require an essay, or rather a volume, so much might be said, and would, indeed, have to be said, about the two epithets, "true" and "right." Mr. Mill, in his "*Essay on Liberty*" writes (p. 27): "The only freedom which deserves the name is that of pursuing our own good in our own way, so long as we do not attempt to deprive others of theirs, or impede their efforts to obtain it." We should not in the least object to adopt this definition ourselves, but the sense to be put upon the words "our own good" would be a question for much discussion. Are we to take "good" in the signification indicated in "Pig Proposition No. 2" ("*Lat.-Day Pamph.*," viii.):—"Moral evil is unattainability of pig's-wash; moral good attainability of ditto"?

‡ Aristotle has pointed out ("*Pol.*," L. iv. c. 4) that the *ἡθός* of monarchical despotism and of mob despotism is the same. Both are *δυσπορικὰ τῶν βελτιόνων*.

§ "*Areopagetica.*"

And, as he says in another place,

This is not the liberty which we can expect; that no grievance should ever arise in the commonwealth; that let no man in the world expect; but when complaints are freely heard, deeply considered, and speedily reformed, that is the utmost bound of civil liberty obtained that wise men look for.*

Harsh and crabbed must be any speech of ours in continuation of these majestic sayings. Still, if we may venture to carry on the thought therein expressed, we would affirm that, in the purely intellectual province, liberty is the undimmed possession of inward light, the enjoyment of "the vision and the faculty divine," unobscured by arbitrary rules, unrestricted by false conventionalisms—there are rules which are not arbitrary, and conventionalisms which are not false—whereby the thinker is enabled to discern, after his measure, the objective reality of things—to look through phenomena upon the venerable face of Nature (*natura naturans*, not *natura naturata*, as the schoolmen distinguish), to apprehend Truth in his own mind, and creatively to fashion it there. For Truth is the object of the human intellect in whatever department of thought engaged; and where its bright beams are shut out there is no freedom,† but—worst imprisonment—the darkened mind becomes the dungeon of itself.‡ Philosophy, morals, art, do but contemplate different sides of Truth, for nothing but Truth is good or beautiful, and nothing is good or beautiful that is not true; all truth, goodness, and beauty of which we have knowledge being but the faint emanations, the dim shadows of Him who alone, in the highest sense, Is; whose revelation of Himself is *Ego Sum Qui Sum*.§

And now, turning aside from these high matters, let us, before we enter upon the inquiry immediately before us, touch briefly upon one of the greatest difficulties of the historian, as distinguished from the annalist—chronology. It is easy to assign dates for specific facts. It is exceedingly hard to give them for vast and complex movements of the human mind, which, with the great religious, intellectual, and social phenomena that they produce, are alone worthy of serious study in the records of the past. For such movements, in the first stages of their existence, are hidden out of sight. Like the individual man, they are made in *occulto*, fashioned in *inferioribus terræ*, and generations in which they have been ma-

* "Ready Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth."

† "Cognoscetis Veritatem, et Veritas liberabit vos."—Evan. sec. Joannem, cap. viii. v. 32.

‡ Thou art become—O worst imprisonment—

The dungeon of thyself.—"Samson Agonistes," 155.

Lib. Ex., c. iii. v. 14.

turing and gathering strength pass away unconscious of their growth, until the fulness of the time appointed for their manifestation.

Still chronological divisions are absolutely necessary, and in the case of modern history there would seem to be no sufficient reason for rejecting those which custom has rendered familiar to us. It is generally correct to speak of the first eight centuries of our era as the period of the formation of Christendom; the next seven are fitly styled the Middle Ages; and the three which follow, down to the end of the last century, the Renaissance epoch. Thus we are brought to the New Age, in which our lot is cast. But it must never be forgotten that in every case the roots of the later period are buried in the earlier. The new idea germinates under the débris of the old order as it falls to decay and dissolution. In this sense, too, the Homeric comparison between the generations of men and the generations of the leaves, holds good. The world of green furnishes an apt emblem of the life in death which we find in the world of ideas. But further, ideas, like the productions of the vegetable kingdom, are subject in their growth and in their decay to the influence of local and other accidents, sometimes exceedingly difficult to trace. In the happy soil,

Where some irriguous valley spreads her lap,

they mature more quickly, flourish more luxuriantly, and die sooner than in a land where nature's gifts are less profusely bestowed. Everywhere they obey the same laws, but in the time, the manner, and the measure of their development there are innumerable differences, because in those laws there is diversity of operation.

Bearing these considerations in mind, we proceed to our inquiry whether liberty is the characteristic note, the motif of the Renaissance. And in pursuing this inquiry it will perhaps be best to glance first at the political order. "The dates 1453 and 1527," observes Mr. Symonds, "marking respectively the fall of Constantinople and the sack of Rome, are convenient for fixing in the mind the narrow space of time during which the Renaissance culminated."* By common consent the highest point of that culmination would seem to have been reached during the eight years of the pontificate of Giovanni de' Medici, celebrated by Pópe and a thousand others as "Leo's Golden Days."† Let us see what, in point of fact, was the political condition of Europe then. Italy presents "the spectacle of

* "Age of the Despots," Pref., p. i.

† "Essay on Criticism," 698.

States founded upon force, controlled and moulded by the will of princes, whose object in each case was to maintain their usurped power by mercenary arms, and to deprive the people of political activity.* In England we find the "all-absorbing, unrestrained despotism"† of the Tudors; forced loans and benevolences strike at the root of private property; attainders, taking the place of trial by jury at the will of the Government, annihilate security of life and personal freedom; the pleasure of the prince is law to his subjects, his "sic volo sic jubeo" the sufficient motive and defence of legislation. In France there is a tyranny not less crushing, gilded, as in England, by the splendour of a luxurious court. In Germany, "an universal reign of force singularly characterizes this period," "the general disorder of the country had become intolerable."‡ In Spain absolutism had attained a sway which Charles V., who probably saw its danger, was unable to remedy.§ One of the wisest and best men then living has left us a faithful picture of the state of his times. As Mr. Brewer testifies:—

If any one wishes to see the real condition of Europe at this period; the arbitrary rule of its monarchs, bent on their own aggrandizement, and careless of the improvement of their people; the disputes among their councillors, agreed in one point only—to flatter and mislead their sovereigns; the wide separation between the luxury of the rich and the hopeless misery of the poor; the prevalence of crime; the severe execution of justice, earnest for punishment, but regardless of prevention; the frequency of capital punishment; the depopulation of villages; the engrossing by a few hands of corn and wool; the scarcity of meat; the numbers of idle gentlemen without employment; of idle serving-men and retainers turned adrift on a life of vagabondism: in short, whoever wishes to see society full of the elements of confusion, requiring only a small spark to kindle them into a flame, may read with advantage the "Utopia" of Sir Thomas More.||

Strange "new birth to liberty!" Let us now turn to the period of gestation which preceded it. That period Mr. Symonds dates, and rightly, so far as the political order is concerned, from the beginning of the fourteenth century.¶ "It was during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries," he writes, "that the conditions of the Renaissance were evolved, and that

* Symonds' "Age of the Despots," p. 126.

† Green's "Short Hist. of the English People," p. 284.

‡ Ranke's "Hist. of the Reformation in Germany," Mrs. Austin's trans., vol. i. p. 220. The whole of the section from which we quote, entitled "Intestine Disorders," is well worthy of careful perusal.

§ Schlegel's "Philos. of Hist.," Robertson's trans., p. 395.

|| "Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII., Arranged and Catalogued by J. S. Brewer." Vol. ii., part i., pref. p. cclxxviii. Sir Thos. Moore's "Utopia" was written in 1516.

¶ "Age of the Despots," p. 12.

the Renaissance itself assumed a definite character in Italy.”* At that era Italy was the fount of the ideas which ruled throughout Europe. It is, therefore, from Italy that we shall obtain the clearest conception of the course of events.

If any historical fact is established beyond the possibility of cavil, it is that of the high and vigorous national life existing in most of the Italian cities in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Fifty years have passed away since Lord Macaulay wrote, “We doubt whether any country of Europe, our own excepted, has at the present time reached so high a point of wealth and civilization as some parts of Italy had attained four hundred years ago”;† and he quotes Giovanni Villani’s well-known account of the state of Florence by way of illustration. “Liberty,” he further observes, “partially indeed, and transiently, revisited Italy; and with liberty came commerce and empire, science and taste—all the comforts and all the ornaments of life.” “The deluge of barbarism receded, the wilderness was as the garden of God, rejoicing on every side, laughing, clapping its hands, pouring forth in spontaneous abundance everything brilliant, and fragrant, and nourishing.”‡ Much has been added to our knowledge of the facts of medieval Italian history since these passages were written, and the evidence which has been so largely accumulated justifies over and over again what is said in them. The offspring, not of revolutionary violence, but of the successful vindication of immemorial rights and chartered immunities against the extortions of feudal lords and barbarian Cæsars; nay, higher glory of the greatest of them, the loyal champions and ever-ready defenders of the Apostolic See in its assertion of the supremacy of the spiritual order over brute force, the Italian republics, during the too brief period of their glory, furnish the noblest example of civilization in its highest sense,§ which the world has ever witnessed. There alone, through all the centuries of our era, do we find the realization of Milton’s grand idea of a Christian Commonwealth, not founded on any idle figment of the “rights of man,” not held together by any visionary threads of social contract, but based upon the religion of Jesus Christ, and firmly compacted by the strong bonds of divinely-sanctioned duties, when “they who are greatest are

* *Ibid.*, p. 35.

† Lord Macaulay should have said five hundred years ago. John Villani’s account relates to the early part of the fourteenth century.

‡ “*Essay on Machiavelli*,” in *Works*, vol. v. p. 52.

§ *Viz.*, that of eminence in the best characteristics of man and of society, advance in the road to perfection, happiness, nobility, wisdom. See J. S. Mill’s “*Discussions and Dissertations*,” vol. i. p. 160.

perpetual servants and drudges to the public at their own cost and charges, neglect their own affairs, yet are not elevated above their brethren, live soberly in their families, walk the streets as other men, may be spoken to freely, familiarly, friendly, without adoration.”*

It is the lot of all things human “to fade, e’en when they to perfection grow.” This flower of liberty, sweet and graceful as the lily of Eden, bloomed fully but for a brief one hundred and twenty years.† Its decadence begins with the removal of the Apostolic Throne, under the shadow of which it had rejoiced. As the years run their course, “the same event repeats itself in the history of a hundred cities : every town gradually . . . loses its liberties ; in each the demagogue stealthily converts himself into the chief of the republic ; in each the chief of the republic stealthily or forcibly converts himself into the tyrant ;‡ in each the tyrant or his successor procures an outward legitimacy of the wrong by some ceremony, which admits him into the favoured order of acknowledged sovereigns.”§ In Venice, indeed, we do not find the sway of a titular despot established upon the ruins of the republic. But the beginning of the fourteenth century saw the completion there of the series of usurpations by which the aristocracy seized upon the powers of the State, and substituted for the old popular constitution that close and tyrannical oligarchy of which the Council of Ten was the organ. Florence, “ever animated by her ancient spirit of freedom,” || as Sismondi remarks, escaped longest the fate of her sister commonwealths ; but if she threw off the dominion of the Duke of Athens, it was only to fall by a slow and irretrievable process into the sordid toils of the

* “Ready way to Establish a Free Commonwealth.”

† Viz., from the Peace of Constance (1183) to the retirement of the Papal Court to Avignon.

‡ Mr. Symonds distinguishes six kinds of tyrants, viz. :—

1. Those whose power was built upon some kind of dynastic or hereditary right.

2. Nobles who obtained the title of Vicar of the Empire, and built an illegal power upon the basis of imperial right in Lombardy.

3. Nobles charged with military or judicial power, as Capitani or Podestás, by the free burghs, who used their authority to enslave the cities they were chosen to administer.

4. Condottieri who made a prey of cities at their pleasure.

5. The nephews or sons of Popes.

6. Citizens of eminence who acquired more than their due weight in the conduct of affairs, and gradually tended to tyranny.—See “Age of the Despots,” p. 46.

§ Freeman, “Essay on Ancient Greece and Med. Italy,” in “Oxford Essays,” 1857, p. 133.

|| “Hist. des Répub. Italiennes,” t. ix. c. lxvi.

Medici. The burning appeals of Savonarola are the "last words of expiring liberty" in Italy.

It is, therefore, with simple accuracy that Mr. Symonds has termed the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Italy, "during which the conditions of the Renaissance were evolved," "the age of the despots"; and in the rest of Europe the current of politics was flowing in the same direction. In England the struggles of the thirteenth century, associated pre-eminently with the heroic name of Simon de Montfort, had given birth to the constitution under which it is still our happiness to live. By the close of that century the principal English towns had secured all the most important rights of self-government which they at present enjoy, and artisan labour was organized with singular completeness in guilds and companies, the disappearance of which from modern society, it is now beginning to be understood, is not, as was once judged, an unmixed benefit. It is extremely difficult to estimate with accuracy the liberty of the subject during the next hundred years. There is a great weight of evidence that by the end of the fourteenth century the condition of the English peasantry was one of abject oppression. It is certain that from the accession of Richard II. security of person and property steadily decreased, notwithstanding the strong assertion by Parliament upon several occasions of the rights and privileges of the people, until the victory of Bosworth gave the crown to Henry VII., and the ancient liberties of England suffered an eclipse under his gloomy despotism.

In France the progress of the decadence of freedom during the period we are considering is even more absolute. It was under S. Louis that French liberty reached the highest point of development which it has ever attained. In his limitation of feudal jurisdiction, in his rigid repression of judicial combats and private wars, in his provision for the exercise of the right of appeal to the Royal courts, in his legislation for guilds, in his solicitude for the protection and development of the ancient republican constitutions of his cities, this monarch stands alone in the long series of French kings. From Philip the Fair we may trace, sadder spectacle even than the anarchy and desolation of the foreign wars, the consolidation of the central authority by the suppression of those privileges which were the fortresses of liberty. Usurpation succeeds usurpation: one encroachment is but the stepping-stone to another, until every vestige of freedom disappears under the twenty years' tyranny of Louis XI. Spanish history tells a similar tale. The old constitutional liberties of Castile and Arragon

were of an amplitude unsurpassed in medieval Europe.* The Valentians and Catalans possessed, by virtue of the ancient usages which they so dearly cherished, rights not less extensive. The fifteenth century saw the gradual infringement and curtailment of these privileges, until under Ferdinand the Catholic, who united the two kingdoms of Arragon and Castile, they were well-nigh rendered a dead letter by the application of arbitrary principles of policy and government. And if we turn to Germany we find there the same course of events under different conditions. The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were the palmy age of Teutonic liberty. Civic independence was secured by illustrious confederations like the Hanseatic Union and the League of the Rhine, while in the several principalities the power of the ruler was strictly limited by immemorial usage and the rights of the provincial states, as well as by the imperial supremacy, which was the "guarantee for legitimacy, security, and permanence."† In the fifteenth century all this is changed. The great princes of the Empire were virtually absolute in their own territories; their allegiance to their elective head had become a mere name: the free cities were torn by factions, and were at variance among themselves. A large body of nobles of various degrees, secure in their fortresses, and acknowledging no feudal lord, were so many centres of anarchy. On every side we find a multitude of opposed and quasi-independent powers, "hateful and hating one another."

It was, says Ranke, the age of universal private war. The right which the supreme independent power had hitherto reserved to itself of resorting to arms when no means of conciliation remained, had descended in Germany to the inferior classes, and was claimed by nobles and cities against each other, by subjects against their lords; nay, by private persons as far as their means and connections permitted, against each other.‡

Thus in utter lawlessness did German freedom find its extinction.

The political condition of Europe, therefore, at the time of Leo X. was the natural sequence and legitimate outcome of the previous two centuries, and the true description of that condition is absolutism. It is a reproduction in the modern world of antique Cæsarism; all power is gathered up in the person of the prince; all liberties sink into nothingness before his prerogative; even the spiritual order, the last surviving check upon his domination, is either openly defied, or secretly debased

* Mr. Hallam has correctly pointed out that the Arragonese had acquired a positive right of maintaining their liberties by arms, under the Privilege of Union granted by Alfonso III. in 1287. See "Middle Ages," c. iv.

† Ranke, "Hist. of the Ref.," Introduction, p. 54, Mrs. Austin's Trans.

‡ Ibid., p. 72.

into an instrument of his authority.* By the end of the sixteenth century despotic monarchy is triumphant throughout Europe. For two centuries more it continues the blight and corruption of national life, until the hour of vengeance, which preachers of justice had tremblingly predicted,† strikes, and in the stern reckoning of the Revolution the uttermost farthing of the long accumulated debt is exacted. It is not easy to overstate that debt or to paint in too deep colours the depths of misgovernment and political servitude into which Europe had sunk during the three hundred years which followed the supposed "new birth to liberty" of the modern world. France languishing in an oriental despotism, which had written in all too legible characters the tale of its merciless extortions on the "miserable starved faces of the people,"‡ which squandered their blood and treasure at the caprice of harlots, which was not ashamed upon occasion to appear before an amazed world in the part of "Sir Pandarus of Troy"; §

* We should be the last to undervalue the work done in the world by the Catholic Church, in a period illustrious for S. Ignatius, S. Charles, and S. Philip—not to speak of the Council of Trent and its urgently-needed and unspeakably valuable reforms. And, of course, the prime object of the Church is the reconciliation of individual souls to God. This object she pursues unswervingly, whether Nero or Charlemagne is Cæsar, whether S. Louis or Louis XV. is king. But that in the Renaissance period the action of the Church in the public order was smitten with an ever-increasing paralysis, is too evident from every page of the history of that period.

† See particularly a very striking passage in Fénelon's Sermon for the Feast of the Epiphany, ending "O Dieu! que vois-je? Le jour de la ruine est proche et le temps se hâte d'arriver. Mais adorons en silence et avec tremblement l'impénétrable secret de Dieu."—"Works," vol. ii. p. 373. Paris: 1838.

‡ The expression is taken from a letter of Lady Mary Wortley Montague ("Works," vol. iii. p. 71). St. Simon remarks "The first king in Europe is great simply by being a king of beggars" (quoted in Taine's "Ancien Régime," book v. c. l.), where a perfectly appalling mass of evidence—not rhetoric—is accumulated as to the abject condition of the people during the century preceding the French Revolution.

§ *E. g.* in the affair of Maurice de Saxe and "la petite Chantilly," of which a full history may be found by those who care to look for it in Grimm's "Correspondance Littéraire," vol. vii. p. 463 (ed. 1829). For most readers, probably, Mr. Carlyle's characteristic account will be sufficient, or more than sufficient. "Playwright Favart had a beautiful clever wife, upon whom the courtships, munificent blandishments, and utmost endeavours of Maréchal de Saxe (in his character of Goat-footed Satyr) could not produce the least impression. For a whole year, not the least. Whereupon the Goat-footed had to get a 'lettre de cachet' for her; had to—in fact produce the brutallest adventure that is known of him, even in this brutal kind. Poor Favart, rushing about in despair, not permitted to run him through the belly and die with his wife undishonoured, had to console himself—he and she, and do agreeable theatricalities for a living, as heretofore. Let us not speak of it!"—Carlyle's "History of Frederic the Great," book xvi. c. iiii.

Spain, in Burke's apt description, rendered "nerveless" by long years of absolutism, not possessing "the use but only the abuse of a nobility"; "the clergy, the only thing in the country that looked like an independent order"; "the Inquisition," "become mostly an engine of state," "the sole but unhappy resource of public tranquillity and order which remained";* Germany, save where the mild sway of the ecclesiastical sovereigns prevailed,† crushed by Hohenzollern militarism or Josephine doctrinairism, or groaning under the foul despotism of some three dozen little potentates, veritable Satyrs and Sileni, who regarded and treated the peasant and burgher classes as mere beasts of burden and sold them like horses for foreign military service;‡—such are the most salient points in the condition of Europe as the eighteenth century draws to its close. Happily the picture is not wholly unrelieved. In the Catholic cantons of Switzerland Christian democracies still survive. Holland and the Netherlands preserve their hard-won immunities: the Tyrolese retain their local privileges: the Hungarians live tranquilly under the laws of S. Stephen: in the States of the Church §, municipal self-government prevails to an extent to which the Italy of the present day is a stranger. In England the old medieval liberties, for the vindication of which our forefathers in the previous century counted not their lives dear, had broadened down from precedent to precedent. But these beams of freedom only serve to render more visible the darkness of the house of bondage in which the rest of the European peoples languished.

So far, then, as the political order is concerned, it may be confidently affirmed that the Renaissance was not "a new birth unto liberty." Let us now see if that title can be justly claimed for it in literature, and especially in poetry—that highest department of literature,—which,

* Burke, "Thoughts on French Affairs" ("Works," vol. iv. p. 568).

† "It is not easy to conceive governments more mild and indulgent than these Church sovereignties."—*Ibid.*, p. 562.

‡ Stigand's "Life of Heine," vol. i. p. 7. Mr. Stigand is of opinion that "in the history of humanity nothing can be found to equal the uninventive grossness and dulness of the majority of the German courts of the last century." "In bestiality and immorality of debauchery, however," he admits, "they may lay claim to some originality."

§ Burke, in his Third Letter on a Regicide Peace ("Works," vol. v. p. 367), in passing a glowing eulogium upon Pius VI., expresses particular admiration of the "free, fertile, and happy city and state of Bologna," and not without reason. Local self-government in the Pontifical States, resulting, as it did from historical events, differed widely in the several provinces, but, upon the whole, it was considerable.

as has been profoundly observed, springing as it does "from man's whole feelings, opinions, activity, may be called the music of his whole manner of being, and is historically the test how far music or freedom existed therein." * Here too the growth and fruit of the new idea is best traced under the bright skies of Southern Europe, where it ripened soonest and flourished most luxuriantly.

The greatest name in Italian literature is that of Dante. It is, in some respects, the greatest in all literature. No poet is so intensely real.† His is a Muse of Fire, ascending the brightest heaven of invention,‡ and bringing thence the essence, the very form of things, to be burnt into his pages ineffaceable, imperishable, for ever. He is a true seer, and his intensity is the outcome of the clearness of his sight. The words of the Hebrew poet, "Credidi propter quod locutus sum," may aptly be applied to him. No mists of doubt, no clouds of sensual passion, no vapours of pedantry, interpose to shut out from him the vision. He

can deem
Of God, of the world, of the soul,
With a plainness as near
As flashing as Moses felt
When he lay in the night by his flock
On the starlit Arabian waste.

But this unfettered freedom of spiritual insight is not due merely to the high endowments of his passionately earnest nature. It results also from the intellectual atmosphere in which he lived. He has been called "the spokesman of the Middle Ages." And so he is, both as to the thought they lived by and as to the conditions under which it was uttered. He is but one, indeed, of a vast multitude whose song fills those far-off centuries, all of whom, differing as much in the measure

* "Poetry, were it the rudest, so it be sincere, is the attempt which man makes to render his existence harmonious, the utmost he can do for that end: it springs therefore from his whole feelings, opinions, activity, and takes its character from these. It may be called the music of his whole manner of being; and historically considered, is the test how far music or freedom existed therein."—Carlyle, "Miscellanies," vol. i. p. 315.

† This has been happily expressed by Lord Macaulay: "The great source," he writes, "of the power of the Divine Comedy is the strong belief with which the story seems to be told. . . . When we read Dante, the poet vanishes, we are listening to the man who has returned from the 'valley of the dolorous abyss': we seem to see the dilated eye of horror, to hear the shuddering accents with which he tells his fearful tale."—"Works," vol. vii. p. 611.

‡ O for a Muse of Fire, that would ascend
The brightest heaven of invention!

First Chorus in "Henry V."

of their natural gift as in the vehicle chosen for its expression, are alike in this, that the stamp of freedom is upon their work. Their insight, be it more or less powerful, is unclouded; whether they employ the simple metres used by S. Francis and his brethren in their divine songs, or practise the intricate elaboration found in some of the noblest medieval Latin poems—compositions for many of which a very high rank may be claimed—"a grace beyond the reach of art" is upon their work. It speaks the thought of the singer, is the true utterance of his own life, all the truer for his entire absence of self-consciousness, his complete self-surrender—as of the nightingale or the linnet—to his strain.

It is just this character of truth which is wanting in the age succeeding that of Dante. The new spirit which arises is not one of creation but of imitation. Men ceased to draw their inspiration from God, the Soul, Nature, and turned instead to the literature, first, of ancient Rome, and then of ancient Greece. Far be it from us to attempt to pluck a single leaf from the laurelled brows of the poet of Vaucluse, but his chief glory is, not that he was the first to feel the influence of the new idea, but that he remained so much under the dominion of the old.* In proportion as he reflects the rising spirit of classicalism, he is frigid and tasteless. It is only when he is distinctly medieval that he is original and true and touching. In him the old and the new order met; after him the new order triumphed; but who remembers even the name of any Italian poet for the next century,—we might almost say for the next two centuries? Of writers of Italian prose in this period, the greatest is undoubtedly Messer Giovanni Boccaccio, the elegance of whose "*Decameron*" we have no wish to deny. But liberty can be claimed for him only in the sense of libertinism; in no other sense, surely. And the taint which is upon his pages, infects ever more deeply the writers who come after him, as classicalism extends its sway, and

* Julius Cæsar Scaliger writes: "*Primus [Petrarca] ex lutulenta barbarie os cœlo attollere ausus est,*" the "*cœlum*" being the Heathen Parnassus. Mr. Landor, in a paper printed in "*Last Fruit off an Old Tree,*" from a note to which we quote this passage, shows how little good Petrarch got from the ancient seat of the muses. We must reckon this paper of Mr. Landor's by far the most judicious criticism on Petrarch which we possess in English. What can be better than the following on Sonetto XX. "*Here are Phœbus, Vulcan, Jupiter, Cæsar, Janus, Saturn, Mars, Orion, Neptune, Juno, and a chorus of angels, and only fourteen lines to turn about in*"; or, the brief comment upon some very beautiful lines in the "*Triumph of Death,*" of which a very beautiful translation is given: "*He who the twentieth time can read unmoved this canzone, never has experienced a love which cannot be requited, and never has known a happy one.*"

with the language which "Dante had created as a thing of power, and which Petrarch had polished as a thing of beauty,"* the principles and standards of those great masters are abandoned too. It is as though a mist had arisen from the valley of the shadow of death, in which the ancient Pagan world lay buried, shutting out the beauty of the heavens, the sun, and the moon and the stars, in whose light previous generations had rejoiced. Saints and angels are no longer seen, but in the gloom there arises the foul spirit of the old idolatry. The place where it had dwelt centuries ago is swept and garnished; and it returns in sevenfold strength. It is hard to conceive of a lower depth of foulness, of more disgusting impurity than is to be found in some of the new Latinists, foremost in the "revival of letters." The authors of classical antiquity deemed most licentious, pale their ineffectual fires before their modern imitators. The grossest verses of Catullus, the uncleanest utterances of Petronius, are almost pure compared with passages which might be cited from Pontanus and Pacificus Maximus.† The present writer has no pretension to speak magisterially upon a question of comparative obscenity. But some who have given special attention to that subject are of opinion, that never was the gift of articulate speech so abused, for the purposes of the vilest sensuality, as in Italy at the period of which we speak. The things said then were the genuine expression of the things done then. "Traditi in passionem ignominie" is the true description of these Patriarchs and Apostles of the Renaissance. And it will be well if the gospel of "Humanism" and "Sensuousness" so perseveringly preached among us by their nineteenth century disciples, does not issue in the practice of the worst of their turpitudes, and induce a wide-spread revival of their abominable and unutterable iniquities.

The only sense, then, in which liberty can be predicated of the humanists, in their palmy Medicean days, is the sense of unbridled licentiousness, which we take to be the deepest slavery. And in truth servitude is the chief note of Renaissance literature from first to last. No subsequent writers in Italy have sinned so deeply in the same way as the new Latinists. But all are to a greater or less extent—to an extent great indeed when least—under captivity to pedantic traditions. Even in Tasso and Ariosto the traces of the

* Symonds' "Revival of Learning," p. 55.

† It will be sufficient to mention the volume called "Quinque Illustrium Poetarum Lusus in Venerem" in support of this assertion. Mr. Symonds has some, on the whole, just remarks on this subject in Chapter VII. of his "Age of the Despots." See especially a note at page 411 of that work.

fetters of classicalism are only too apparent. Whether either of them possessed "that self-springing invention which we find in a few great poets,"* is a question difficult to determine. But it is certain that neither of them could have exercised it, in the conditions under which they wrote. And throughout Europe it is the same. Everywhere, as the spirit of "classicalism" advances, nature gives way to art, creation to copying, life to mechanism. In Spain, it achieves an easy triumph at the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the old national poetry, instinct with the spirit of ancient liberty, of which the crowning glory is the famous Romance of the Cid, "yields to the influence of Italian models, and Castillejo is obliged to give place to Boscar and Garcilasso."† In France, Renaissance literature culminates in the drama of the seventeenth century,—a frigid plagiarism of antiquity, which, not even the great genius of Racine or Corneille, tied and bound by the arbitrary and artificial rules of a system radically vicious, could inform with Promethean fire. No better illustration could be given of the truth of Buffon's dictum—far truer than he deemed—*jamais l'imitation n'a rien créé*. Of Germany, we need not speak. From the "Nibelungen Lied" to the new era heralded by Lessing and introduced by Goethe, Teutonic literature is a blank. In England, happily, our greatest poet, on the whole, undoubtedly, the world's greatest poet, had written before the sway of the new ideas was established among us. Heine has observed that it was a piece of right good fortune that Shakespeare came at the right time, while the popular belief of the Middle Ages, though destroyed in principle, still lived in all its enchantment in the heart of men, and upheld itself in their manners, customs, and intuitions.‡ It was, perhaps, a not less piece of good fortune (or something more) that Shakespeare "knew little Latin and less Greek," and that so the rôle of imitation was closed against him. The rules of classicalism he knows not of, nor is his mental horizon bounded by the master-pieces of antiquity. "Nature's child," he "looks not at, but straight into a thing, so that he constructively comprehends it, can take it asunder and put it

* Hallam's "Literary Hist. of Europe," part ii. chap. v. s. 28. Mr. Hallam goes further than we care to do, and decides this question in the negative. He writes:—"Tasso did not possess much of the self-springing invention which belongs to great poets, and which, in this higher sense I cannot concede to Ariosto. He not only borrows freely, and, perhaps, studiously, from the ancients, but introduces frequent lines from earlier Italian poets, &c."

† Trench's "Sacred Latin Poetry," Int., p. 20. Second edition.

‡ "Shakespeare's Mädchen," p. 3.

together again, the thing melts into light, as it were, under his eye, and anew creates itself before him."* Of intellectual freedom he is our supreme example, and for two centuries well-nigh the last example, among English poets. It is only, indeed, in a limited sense, as Mr. Matthew Arnold has recently well pointed out, that Milton can, with any justice, be claimed as a product of the Renaissance.† In external form, his great epic conforms to its rules, but, in substance, it is no mere reproduction of antiquity. His inspiration comes, not from the Aonian mount, but from Oreb or Sinai, and there is much felicity in the epithet of "Protestant schoolman," which M. Scherer has applied to him.‡ In his earlier poems, "L'Allegro," "Il Penseroso," "Lycidas," Renaissance influence is more strongly traceable. But, even here, as the judicious critic last quoted observes, he has but "passed by the way of Italy," and is still "a true Son of the North," "pure but not too rigorous, grave but not fanatical, wholesome and virginal, gracious and yet strong."§

Milton is, to some extent, in English literature historically considered, what Petrarch is in Italian. Each marks the dissolution of the old idea, and the firm establishment of the new. Our true Renaissance period is from the middle of the seventeenth century to the end of the eighteenth. During those hundred and fifty years the régime of imitation in English poetry is well nigh absolute. We can point to a crowd of more or less successful versifiers,—

The mob of gentlemen who wrote with ease ;

but that ease comes from art not nature; their muse moves in the measured pace of the minuet, not with "steps of virgin liberty." The two greatest names among them are those of Dryden and Pope: great names, indeed, and conspicuous among the glories of English literature; but still to be ranked in the second order of poets, not the first. Sir Walter Scott held that the distinguishing characteristic of Dryden was "the power of reasoning and of clothing the result in appropriate language." Hallam justly observes that this praise is insufficient, and vindicates for him also the merit of "rapidity of conception and readiness of expression."|| It may be

* Carlyle, *Miscellanies*—"Works," vol. iv. p. 152.

† "Nor is it true to say that Milton summed up in himself all the higher influences of the Renaissance. The disinterested curiosity, the humanism of the Renaissance, are not characteristics of Milton—of Milton, that is to say, when he is fully formed and has taken his ply."—"Nineteenth Century," p. 849, December, 1877.

‡ "Études Critiques sur la Littérature," p. 178.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

|| "Literature of Europe," part iv. c. v. s. 38.

added that he was, when he chose, a great master of rhythm. In Pope we have the perfection of mastery of form : he, "as it were, engraved ideas." *

There is no writer from whom so many of these sparkling epigrammatic sentences, which are the staple commodities of quotation, are introduced into conversation. He has always a masculine fancy : more rarely imagination. But you look in vain [to him or to Dryden] for the truths which come from a large heart or a seeing eye ; in vain for the thoughts that breathe and the words that burn ; in vain for those flashes of truth, which, like the lightning in a dark night, make all luminous, open out unsuspected glories of tree and sky and building, interpret as to ourselves, and body forth the shapes of things unknown.†

It was not until the European mind cast away forever the fetters of Renaissance traditions that Byron, Shelley, and Wordsworth became possible in England, that Goethe was possible in Germany, or Alfred de Musset in France. The words of the old world were as dead as its political order ; dead, and buried under mountains of worthless forms which the great tempest of Revolution was to sweep away, with so much else.

Down came the storm ! In ruins fell
The outworn world we knew.
It passed, that elemental swell !
Again appeared the blue.

We pass on to what the nomenclature of the present time calls, in its vague way, "art," meaning thereby generally the arts of design. In them, as in the whole of the intellectual province which the Greeks termed *μουσική*, beauty is inseparable from truth and truth from liberty ; and here, as is generally supposed, is the especial field of Renaissance emancipation. It would be easy to accumulate authorities who put forward this view. But it will perhaps be sufficient to quote Mr. Symonds, who does not hesitate roundly to affirm that "the study of Greek resuscitated a sense of the beautiful in art."‡ Is this true ? The inquiry is not of an abstract kind. The evidence it depends upon is before men's eyes. Let us look at that evidence as existing works of architecture, sculpture, and painting present it.

The architectural monuments (we are not speaking of ruins) at present to be found in Europe, with the exception of the Pantheon, that unique relic of Roman Paganism, a few

* "The Poetical Works of Alexander Pope," by A. W. Ward. Int. Memoir, p. li.

† F. W. Robertson, "Lectures and Addresses," p. 146.

‡ "Revival of Learning," p. 112.

Byzantine structures, and the churches of the basilica form found in Rome, in Ravenna, and in the Patriarchate of Venice, may, with sufficient accuracy, be distinguished as medieval and neo-classical. The former are the product of one idea, the progressive expansion of which may be traced from the rude and inchoate Romanesque through all its diversities of manifestation in the different regions of Europe. The latter are imitations, more or less exact, of antique models, selected at the fancy of the copyist or his patron, and cannot be referred to any one type nor be said to evidence that growth which is never absent from intellectual life. Mr. Ruskin, indeed, allows of a kind of development of Renaissance architecture and distinguishes between three varieties of it,—the Early Renaissance, the Roman Renaissance, and the Grotesque Renaissance.* The distinction, doubtless, rests upon good grounds, but it is unnecessary here to consider it. It is sufficient for our purpose to look at the architecture of the Middle Ages, and at that of the Renaissance period, as a whole. Are beauty and freedom absent from the former, and do they characterize the latter?

Upon this question we unhesitatingly avow ourselves to be of one mind with the accomplished critic just mentioned, who, surveying the arts of design from the loftiest standpoint, has delivered to the world his message concerning them in earnest and noble words, from which we gladly borrow. Mr. Ruskin has pointed out with perfect truth that in the principal schools of the ancient world, the Greek, the Ninevite, the Egyptian, servitude is the note of architectural ornament, inasmuch as "the execution or power of the inferior workman is entirely subjected to the intellect of the higher."† But, as he goes on to show, "in the medieval system of ornament this slavery is done away, Christianity having recognized, in small things as in great, the individual value of every soul." And he deems it, not unjustly, "the principal admirableness of Gothic schools of architecture that they thus receive the results of the labours of inferior minds, and out of fragments full of imperfection, and betraying that imperfection in every touch, indulgently raise up a stately and unaccusable whole." From this proceeds the copiousness and variety of medieval architecture, its "perpetual change both in design and execution,"‡ the "strange disquietude of the Gothic spirit that is its greatness."§ And from the same source comes the naturalism of this architecture; "that is to say, the love of natural objects

* "Stones of Venice," vol. iii. p. 3.

† *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 158.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

for their own sake, and the effort to represent them frankly, unconstrained by artistical laws."* Nor is it amiss to notice here how powerfully the condition of freedom in which the workman in medieval buildings laboured, reacted upon himself.† The thoughts of his heart, grave or gay, simple or fantastic, found expression in his work. The architectural monuments of the Middle Ages which still adorn Europe were wrought by free and intelligent artists, and truly symbolize the dominant principles in the lives of their builders. Faith in the Unseen, aspiration towards the Infinite, are written on "the features which were the distinctive creation of the Gothic schools; in the varied foliage, and thorny fretwork, and shadowy niches, and buttressed pier, and fearless height of subtle pinnacle and crested tower, sent like 'an unperplexed question up to heaven.'"‡

Far other are the characteristics of Renaissance architecture. We are not, indeed, concerned to deny the merit of particular buildings. We cheerfully own the grandiose magnificence of St. Peter's, and the imposing proportions of the rival pile which Sir Christopher Wren has reared among ourselves. We are not insensible to the voluptuous charm of the Madeleine at Paris, to the richness of material and elegance of detail of Santa Maria della Salute at Venice. We do not doubt the excellence, after their kind, of many of the works of Palladio and Galeazzo Alessi, of François Mansard and Inigo Jones. But these structures differ as widely in motif from such piles as the Abbey Church and Hall of Westminster, the Cathedral of Amiens, and the Duomo of Pisa, as a play of Shakespeare differs from a play of Racine. The Renaissance architects, like the Renaissance poets, worked in chains, the iron whereof entered into their soul. For truth, they have a parade of science; for imagination, "correctness": cold and earthly, they are satisfied with the observance of their self-imposed rules; grace and fancy are ruthlessly sacrificed to Procrustean forms. The note of servitude is upon the neo-classical architecture, even more fully than upon the architecture of the ancient world. The designer no longer creates; he copies, adapts, contrives; technical skill is the highest accomplishment of the artisan, sunk into an animated tool, "a mere machine, with its valves smoothed by heart's blood instead of oil, the most pitiable form of slave."§ *Exitus acta probat.* "Renaissance architec-

* "Stones of Venice," vol. ii. p. 181.

† See a powerful passage on this subject in Mr. Ruskin's "Lectures on Architecture," p. 134.

‡ "Stones of Venice," vol. ii. p. 206.

§ Ruskin's "Lect. on Architecture," p. 134.

ture is the school which has conducted men's inventive faculties, from the Grand Canal to Gower-street; from the marble shaft and the lancet-arch, the wreathed leafage and the glowing and melting harmony of gold and azure, to the square cavity in the brick wall."*

Such is, in substance, the base captivity into which the Renaissance has reduced the architecture of Europe. In sculpture its servile worship of antiquity has produced even more fatal effects, inasmuch as it has brought this, the most chaste and ideal of the arts of design, under bondage to vulgar sensuousness and grovelling materialism. Originally employed in Christendom merely in the way of architectural decoration, sculpture received, in the true "golden days" of Italy, the period of her free cities, a development, no less important than that experienced by her literature. And for three centuries the progress of this art "obeyed the impulse which Nicola Pisano primarily gave" and "followed the principle which he first struck out."† What those principles were his bas-reliefs on the Duomo at Lucca, in the Pisan Baptistery, on the shrine of S. Dominic at Bologna, and the fountain with which he adorned Perugia, the most valuable possession of the city, as its magistrates judged, remain to tell us. How faithfully that impulse was followed is abundantly shown by the works of his son Giovanni, of Andrea Pisano and Orcagna, of Lorenzo Maitani and Giacomo della Quercia, of Luca delle Robbia and Matteo Civitali, of Ghiberti and Donatello, to mention only a few great names from the illustrious series of his successors. All these consummate artists, while working in one spirit and true to one idea, developed the gift which was within them with a noble audacity, an untrammelled freedom of conception, which is the secret of their grandeur and their pathos. "The style of these masters," Mr. Symonds remarks, "was distinguished by a fresh and charming naturalism, and by rapid growth in technical processes. . . . The revived interest in antique literature widened their sympathies and supplied their fancy with new materials; but there is no imitative formalism in their work . . . vitalized by the imagination of the artist, and presented with the originality of true creative instinct."‡ New

* "Stones of Venice," vol. iii. p. 2.

† Lord Lindsay's "Christian Art," vol. ii. p. 101.

‡ Symonds' "Renaissance and Italy,"—the *Fine Arts*, p. 178. The whole of this chapter is worth careful study. It is one of the best in Mr. Symonds' book. Of course we differ widely from Mr. Symonds, both as to his general point of view, and as to many particular theories which he broaches. Thus we consider him deplorably in error in dating "the æsthetic Renaissance"—taking the word in the sense of the revival of the old classical spirit—"from

ideas make their way in the library much sooner than in the studio. The fine arts are eminently Conservative. Sculpture and painting held out against the spirit of classicism in Italy far longer than literature. It was not until Michael Angelo had passed away that the triumph of the Renaissance spirit in plastic art was complete. Keenly alive as that great genius was to the beauties of the antique, it was upon the teachings of nature, far more than upon those of any master-pieces of the ancient world that he formed himself. "Absorbed in his own conceptions, he worked from within outwards." * In him, after half a century of barrenness, medieval sculpture culminates. After him, in the place of fancy, invention, the reaching after something beyond the actual, we have the servile copying of the living model, or the equally servile imitation of the Apollos, Mercuries, and Fauns of antiquity, utterly unmeaning and untrue parodies of an extinct past. †

And, as in sculpture so in painting, the effect of the Renaissance was to fetter art by pedantry and unreality, and to render it oblivious of its glorious tradition—a tradition reaching back to the very first days of Christianity, when the Catacombs, which served as the cradle of the infant Church, were also the earliest repositories of Catholic art. In the Pastor Bonus, the Madonna, the symbolic paintings which we find there, touching confessions of the faith, which the rude artists often sealed with their blood, ‡ we have the germs of the pictorial art of Christendom. From the age of the Catacombs to the thirteenth century few relics of Christian painting remain

Nicola Pisano, with the same certainty as from Petrarch that of Humanism" (p. 101). It would be far more correct to parallel Petrarch with Donatello in sculpture, and with Boticelli in painting. The parallel, indeed, must not be pressed too closely; still it is upon Donatello and Boticelli in their respective arts, as upon Petrarch in literature, that the shadow of revived paganism first distinctly falls. It is, in truth, only a shadow. But previously, we may say, the purely Christian motif of the great Italian masters is unclouded. Those earlier masters indeed enlarged their artistic range, and refined their artistic sense, by drawing from every fresh source which opened out to them. But what they thus acquired they assimilated into the old medieval idea, not overlaying that idea with foreign accretions, still less, contemptuously casting it away, as the men of the Renaissance did.

* Perkins' "Tuscan Sculptors," vol. ii. p. 7.

† Mr. Perkins, at the close of the first volume of his admirable work, gives the following summary of the history of Tuscan sculpture:—"The artist had first spoken, because he had something to say; then perceiving that he might say it better, he reached a more perfect stage. Lastly, he arrived solely at beauty of surface, and thought died; upon the death of which vital principle, technical perfection also expired, and nullity remained."—"Tuscan Sculptors," vol. i. p. 266.

‡ "Formules matérielles et permanentes de leurs actes de foi, d'espérance et de charité," as M. Rio happily says ("L'Art Chrétien," Int., xxxiv.).

to us ; but the frescoes discovered of late years in San Clemente sufficiently show that the old ideals were lovingly followed, and received such expansion as the times allowed. It is in the culminating age of medieval liberty that the greatest advance is made, when the genius of Cimabue "solved the problem how to reconcile respect for traditional types with the liberty of individual inspiration."* Who can gaze unmoved at his venerable Madonna of the Rucellai, so pensive and pitiful in her serene, unearthly beauty, as she turns

The star-lit sorrows of immortal eyes

upon the generations of her worshippers ? Six centuries have passed away since she was brought forth with shouting and carried to her New Church, the Quarter through which she passed thenceforward to be known as Joyful ; † and there she still hangs, the type and fount of the development of Christian art, as of Christian doctrine. ‡ From Cimabue, and his greater disciple Giotto, taken, like the Hebrew monarch, "as he was following the ewes great with young ones," to feed the people "in the innocence of his heart, and to conduct them by the skilfulness of his hands," § the tradition is uniform, and it is a tradition of liberty. Whether we turn to the school of Sienna or of Florence, of Umbria, or Milan, or Ferrara, we find the painter, whatever period of development his art may have reached, boldly opening fresh paths, as his genius prompts, but ever drinking in his inspiration from Truth and Nature. What man can look at Orcagna's Triumph of Death, the Angel Choirs of Beato Angelico, the Madonnas of Fra Francia and Fra Bartolommeo, the S. Michael of Perugino, or Raphael's S. Catherine, and doubt the perfect freedom with which these masters worked, their undimmed inner sight discerning the thing in its wholeness || which their hands were to body forth ?

All medieval art leads up to Raphael. ¶ He is its supreme product. All Renaissance art leads down from him. Mr.

* Rio, "L'Art Chrétien," vol. i. p. 183.

† "Il Borgo Allegro."

‡ See J. H. Newman's Sermon on the "Theory of Development in Christian Doctrine," the fourteenth of his Oxford University Sermons.

§ "Et elegit David, servum suum, et sustulit eum de gregibus ovium ; de post foetantes accepit eum.—Pascere Jacob, servum suum, et Israel, hereditatem suam. Et pavit eos in innocentia cordis sui, et in intellectibus manuum suarum deduxit eos.—" Psalmus lxxvii. 70-72.

|| It is an aphorism of Fuseli, "He alone can conceive and compose who sees the whole at once before him."

¶ "The medieval principles lead up to Raphael ; the modern principles lead down from him."—Ruskin, "Lectures on Architecture and Painting," p. 215.

Ruskin ventures to fix the very moment in the centre of his artist life when he broke with the old free traditions of the Christian schools, and bowed his neck to the yoke of pagan antiquity.* Whatever may be the value of this theory, it is certain that in the later works of Raphael there is a loss of purity, a mannerism, an unreality, which, even if we did not know the story of his life, would tell their own tale only too clearly. And what shall we say of the fate of pictorial art in Italy for the three centuries after his death? Ranke pronounces, in his calm judicial way, that,

with one exception,† the scholars of Raphael were wholly degenerate. While they endeavoured to imitate him, they lost themselves in artificial beauty, theatrical attitudes, affected graces; and their works bear sufficient evidence of the total want of warmth or sense of beauty in the soul which conceived them. The scholars of Michael Angelo did no better. Art had lost all comprehension of her object; she had discarded the ideas which she had formerly taxed all her powers to clothe with forms; she retained nothing but the externals of method. . . . Some traces of inspiration remained in the Venetian school alone.‡

By-and-by, it is true, painting again essayed to return to the ancient paths. But classicalism had destroyed her freedom, her simplicity, her purity and truth. The Carracci, Domenichino, Guido Reni, are as inferior to the old masters in originality as they are superior in technical execution. There is ever "something forced and fantastic about them,"§ and after them, as Kugler truly observes, there is the completest degeneracy, and the art of painting is degraded to the lowest mechanical labour.

What we have said of painting and sculpture has been confined to Italy advisedly; for, so far as these arts are concerned, that land of beauty stands forth as the representative of Europe, testifying only too clearly that the Renaissance was

* "The great change which clouds the career of medieval art was effected, not only in Raphael's time, but by Raphael's own practice . . . He died at thirty-seven; and in his twenty-fifth year—one half-year only past the precise centre of his available life—he was sent for to Rome to decorate the Vatican for Pope Julius II.; and having until that time worked exclusively in the ancient and stern medieval manner, he, in the first chamber which he decorated in that palace, wrote upon its walls the *Mene, Tekel, Upharsin* of the arts of Christianity. And he wrote it thus: on one wall of that chamber he placed a picture of the World, or kingdom of Theology, presided over by Christ, and on the side-wall of the same chamber he placed the World, or kingdom of Poetry, presided over by Apollo; and from that spot, and from that hour, the intellect and the art of Italy date their degradation."—"Lectures on Architecture and Painting," p. 213.

† It is hardly necessary to observe that the "one exception" is Giulio Romano.

‡ Ranke's "History of the Popes," vol. i. p. 337 (Mrs. Austin's translation).

§ Ibid., p. 342.

in no sense a "new birth unto liberty." Mr. Ruskin has admirably observed, "Art is nothing but a noble and expressive language, invaluable as the vehicle of thought, but in itself nothing."* The effect of the Renaissance upon this language was to restrict it to the ideas of a dead world. It held out antiquity to the artist as a sort of dictionary, where phrases ready made were to be found; and the result is, that there is as much freedom in the conceptions thence derived as in schoolboys' verses tessellated together from a "Gradus ad Parnassum." As in politics and in literature, so here also, the Renaissance was a spirit of slavery, a veritable Goddess of Dulness, at whose

felt approach and secret might
Art after art goes out, and all is night.

There is one exception, and only one—unless, indeed, saltation and cookery are to be reckoned among the fine arts—and that exception is just where we might expect to find it in a period of servitude. The art of music put forth marvellous developments during those three centuries of enslavement. The music of the Middle Ages was a fitting accompaniment of their life. Grave, earnest, heart-stirring, the melodies of the old modes, so austere beautiful, were true Tyrtean strains, worthy of freemen. But when freedom had departed, and the deadening régime of classicalism oppressed a weary and heavy-laden world, the great masters of the modern school arose, and made of musical sound an instrument potent to cheer, to tranquillize, to subdue, welcome as sleep to weary eyes, as the springing well to the parched throat; nay, it may be said, without hyperbole, able

to create a soul
Under the ribs of death.

From Palestrina to Carissimi, from Pergolese to Bach, from Gluck to Mozart, from Handel to Haydn, the heavenly secret was whispered down. No generation lacked gifted souls, who caught and recorded, for the perpetual joy and solace of mankind, the "outpourings of eternal harmonies" the "echoes from our home," which fell upon their trembling ears. Thus, in an age of the world becoming ever more and more sensual and material and slavish, the spiritual liberty of man is not left without witness. The source of deep and pure emotion, of sublimity and beauty, opened to him in music, is an imperishable vindication of his divine birthright, of

the glories he hath known,
And that imperial palace whence he came.

* "Mod Painters," part i. sec. i. c. 2.

It remains that we pursue our inquiry in the domain of "Science." Was the Renaissance there a new birth unto liberty? And here, once more, we are under the necessity of defining. It is the fashion of the day to narrow the application of the term science to physics, as though there were no sciences except the physical, as though the physical sciences, dealing as they do merely with the "beggarly elements" of the external universe, were not in truth the lowest and least noble of all. Let us here record our protest against this deep degradation of so high a word. For ourselves we use it to denote the logical apprehension of the facts as underlain by principles, which relate to any department of human knowledge.* But as all facts are from the One God,† who is the Maker, Guardian, Worker, Perfecter of all, and bear the impress of His Unity, so each science being but the classification of this, or that set of facts, or, to speak more accurately, of particular aspects of those facts, is intimately connected with—nay, in some sense is dependent upon—all the rest.‡ Each is "a partial view or abstraction, by means of which the mind looks out upon its object," "a form of knowledge enabling the intellect to master and increase it," "an instrument to communicate it readily to others." "And as all taken together form one integral subject for contemplation, so there are no natural or real limits between part and part: one is ever running into another: all, as viewed by the mind, are combined together, and possess a correlative character one with another, from the internal mysteries of the Divine Essence down to our own sensations and consciousness, from the most solemn appointments of the Lord of all down to what may be called the accidents of the hour, from the most glorious seraph down to the vilest and most noxious of reptiles."§

Thus do we deem of the sciences, rightly figured in the phrase which still lingers among us, although with small rem-

* "Scientia est ordinatio depicta in anima universitatis et diversitatis causatorum," as an unknown medieval writer expresses it. See Mr. Brewer's Preface to Roger Bacon's "*Opera quædam hactenus inedita*," lxx.

† "All that exists is from Him, and if evil is not from Him, as assuredly it is not, this is because evil has no substance of its own, but is only the defect, excess, perversion, or corruption, of that which has substance."—J. H. Newman, "*Idea of a University*," Dis. iii. sec. 7. It is a commonplace of the schools, "Omne ens in quantum ens, est bonum."

‡ So Roger Bacon: "Omnes scientiæ sunt connexæ et mutuis se foveant auxiliis, sicut partes ejusdem totius, quarum quælibet opus suum peragit, non solum propter se sed pro aliis; ut oculus totum corpus dirigit, et pes totum sustentat, et de loco ad locum deducit; et sic de aliis. Unde pars extra totum est sicut oculus erutus, vel pes abscissus; et sic erit de partibus sapientiæ; nam nulla consequitur sui utilitatem sine alia, cum sint partes ejusdem sapientiæ totalis."—"Opus Tertium," c. iv.

§ J. H. Newman, "*Idea of a University*," Dis. iii. sec. 2.

nant of its true meaning, as a circle. And surely at the very centre of that circle must be placed theology, the science of God, as much transcending all other sciences as the Infinite transcends the Finite, the Creator the Created. If there are any facts about God, the apprehension of those facts must, without controversy, take the first place among the subjects of human knowledge. This was the place theology held in the Middle Age. That it was indeed a science, and the queen of sciences, no one doubted, and the great works which remain to us testify sufficiently with what vigorous originality it was cultivated. One colossal intellect after another toiled in building up the mighty fabric of the School divinity, the chief of all, the Angelic Doctor, appearing, as was congruous, in the age of Dante and Giotto. It is not necessary here for us to dwell upon the "immense learning" and "acute knowledge"* with which these mighty masters pursued their profound speculations. In no other age of the world, probably, could they have accomplished the task to which they set themselves, for in no other age of the world would they have worked with the same freedom of light. Their method was the most exact and careful application of human reason to the truths of revelation. Evidential theology, as it is called, entered but little into their system, for the age in which they wrote accepted the primary facts of grace with as little misgiving as the primary facts of nature. The existence of God and His revelation of Himself were no more doubted than the existence and mortality of man. The Divine Law supplied first principles, which all men accepted. And from these the whole system of divinity and morals was deduced by a proof as strict as that by which the propositions of the several books of Euclid result from the definitions, postulates, and axioms. For, strange as it sounds in these days, with the old Schoolmen "that God was the basis of all truth," "the foundation of all science," "was not a piece of pious rhetoric, but a scientific axiom. Necessary truth is unchangeable, they said, simply on account of His immutability: His All-holy Nature is the source of morality, His Eternal Word the sanction of certainty."† In this spirit they pursued their labours in every department of human thought, freely using in their search after truth every instrument proper for its discovery: observation, induction, deduction, abstraction, speculation: ever breaking fresh ground and everywhere reaping abundant harvests.

* See Coleridge's "Table Talk," p. 338.

† Dalgairns' "Holy Communion," p. 45. Whether or no it be literally true that such language is to be found in the scholastics, they undoubtedly recognize man's knowledge of necessary truths as in reality dependent on the Immutability of God's Nature.

One of the first effects of the "Revival of Letters" was to bring scholasticism into discredit. To "the empty-headed pedants and conceited rhetoricians who had eaten out all that was valuable in their lives in the successful attempt to acquire a correct Latin style,"* the vigorous living medieval Latinity of S. Anselm, S. Thomas, and S. Bonaventure, was a rock of offence. The methods and doctrines of the masters of the medieval schools soon shared in the discredit which was cast upon their diction. Their exactness was vilified as verbal hairsplitting, their profound speculations as idle subtilty, by "an age of conceited, self-sufficient half-learning, of meretricious eloquence, of inflated, arrogant littleness."† And, the sciences which they had most highly esteemed and most carefully cultivated suffered earliest and most deeply. The doctors of the Church were deserted for Cicero. Great ecclesiastics shunned, and bade others shun, the reading of the Sacred Scriptures as fatal to "taste." The holiest things were travestied under Pagan disguises.‡ The Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul were described as *Dii titulares Romæ*. Our Lady of Loretto became *Dea Lauretana*. Nay, most horrible profanity of all, upon the Eternal God Himself was bestowed the designation of an evil spirit, and the Most High, "Whom to know is life, and joy to make mention of His name," was spoken of as *Jupiter Optimus Maximus* and *Regnator Olympi*.

The greatest name among the scholars of the Renaissance is that of Desiderius Erasmus. Whatever estimate we may form of his enigmatical character, it is impossible to read his "Colloquies" or his "Praise of Folly" without feeling that he was a man of genius, and so very different from the animated bookcases§ whom his age delighted to honour. In his writings are the materials for most correctly appreciating the philosophical tendencies of the great intellectual movement in which he played a far more important part than he was aware of. It is especially noteworthy how far his mind was removed from—nay, how radically it was opposed to—the fundamental positions of the Catholic theologian. We find in him no real recognition of the truth that the Christian religion rests upon dogma, and that dogma is necessarily based upon authority; that the fact once established of the existence of a Divine Voice, its utterances are their own sanction, and need not that any man should testify of them. On the contrary, he

* See Farrer's "Essay on Greek and Latin Verse Composition," in "Essays on a Liberal Education," p. 237.

† Ibid.

‡ On this subject see Symonds' "Revival of Learning," p. 336.

§ "He is a bookcase, not a scholar" (Talmud).

subjects not only the grounds of faith but the doctrines of faith to the individual judgment, and claims for it a right to give sentence upon the dicta of the living Oracle of God.* It is unnecessary to remark how entirely the place thus asserted for human reason differs from the office assigned to it by the Catholic Church, which accounts its function in theology to be merely that of judging of her claims to the obedience of men, of examining her gifts, of scrutinizing her notes, which are the credentials of her divine mission. It is equally unnecessary to point out that no theological system can possibly endure which rests upon such a foundation of sand as is here substituted for the rock of Peter. Of course the principle of scepticism and negation laid down by Erasmus did not receive its full development until many generations after him, although some of his immediate disciples went far beyond him, the boldest and most consistent of them being, perhaps, Zwingli.† But the adherents of the new learning were everywhere conspicuous for a contempt of the great masters of the medieval schools, a contempt carried so far that the very name of the Subtle Doctor was degraded into "a byword for invincible stupidity."‡ Everywhere "the litteræ humaniores of the

* This comes out with great clearness in his Preface to his Edition and Translation of the New Testament, where, as Mr. Brewer has well observed, "he proposes to himself to explain the text of Scripture exclusively by the rules of human wisdom, guided by the same principles as are freely applied to classical authors; to subvert the authority of the Vulgate, and to show that much of the popular theology of the day . . . was founded entirely upon a misapprehension of the original meaning and inextricably entangled with the old Latin version; . . . to set aside all rules of interpretation resting merely on faith and authority, and to replace them by the philosophical and historical." "Who does not see," Mr. Brewer goes on to demand, "that the authority of the Church was displaced, and the sufficiency of all men to read and interpret for themselves asserted by the New Testament of Erasmus?" (Brewer, "Calendar of State Papers," vol. ii. p. 1, pref. clxv.) It may be observed in passing that recent scholarship has fully vindicated the superior purity and fidelity of the Vulgate version, and justifies the assertion that the Greek text, which lies at its basis, rests upon better evidence than that of any critical edition yet produced. The worthlessness of Erasmus's work was pointed out by Bentley a century and a half ago. See F. Law's very able dissertation on "The Latin Vulgate as the Authentic Version of the Church."

† Zwingli, as Ranke points out, studied at Basle, where Erasmus's influence was so potent. "It was just the dawn of the revival of classical literature, and its substitution for the scholastic learning of the Middle Ages. Zwingli, like his teachers and friends, espoused this cause, to which he steadily adhered."—Ranke's "Hist. of the Reformation in Germany," vol. iii. p. 62—Eng. trans.

‡ Archbishop Trench, in his "Study of Words," has traced the pedigree of "dunce" from Duns Scotus in two very scholarly and interesting pages. See p. 133, fifteenth edition.

student encroach upon the *divinarum rerum cognitio* of the theologian,"* the result being in the south of Europe the prevalence of a cynical paganism, and in the north the foundation of a multitude of jarring sects, with contradictory and ever-changing symbols, constant only in their implacable hatred of the Catholic religion and of one another.†

This was the effect of the Renaissance upon theology—to discredit it, and, in effect, to strike it out of the circle of the sciences, all of which thence suffered, although in different degrees. The moral and metaphysical, which we vaguely term philosophy, were affected first and most deeply. The close tie which had bound them to theology was severed, and they had to seek elsewhere for the home that they had hitherto found in the household of faith. At first philosophy transferred its allegiance to Antiquity, under the guidance of the neo-Platonists of Italy. But (as Mr. Lewes observes) "this new authority was altogether human, yet without any deep roots in the life of the nation, without any external constituted power, consequently very liable to disunion and disruption, and certain to give way before the necessary insurgence of reason insisting on freedom."‡ It did give way, indeed, but freedom was not the result. Philosophy escaped from the bondage of Classicalism only to fall under the yoke of Materialism, and to issue in Nihilism.

It would be hard to find an example more forcibly illustrating the power of inveterate tradition than the popular notion which still regards Lord Bacon as a master of physics, and the inventor of a new method for arriving at natural truths. It should not, indeed, ordinarily excite surprise in these days of ephemeral literature, and speech as empty as it is fluent, that the multitude of those who talk glibly or write magisterially, *ad populum*, should have little

* Symonds' "Revival of Learning," p. 52.

† Thus Lamennais' "Essai sur l'Indifférence," c. vi. "Plusieurs de ses disciples," he writes, "secoient le joug de fer qu'il [Luther] prétendoit leur imposer. Opposant leurs opinions à ses opinions, leur orgueil à son orgueil, ils bravent ses fureurs et morcellent son empire. De nouvelles sectes s'élèvent, se divisent aussitôt, et se subdivisent à l'infini. On enseigne toute et l'on nie toute doctrine, la confusion de l'enfer n'est pas plus grande, ni son désordre plus effrayant" (p. 203).

‡ Lewes's "Hist. of Philos.," vol. ii. p. 90. It is perhaps almost unnecessary to remark that we are speaking in the text of the school of philosophy which represents the *Zeitgeist* of the Renaissance period. The old Christian principles and method of speculation were still followed by high authorities, some of whom, such as Suarez, Lugo, and Petavius, are worthy successors of the greatest of the schoolmen. But the general stream of European thought was flowing in another direction, and it is with that general stream that we are at present concerned.

knowledge—and that little usually obtained at second-hand—regarding the great names with which they are so insolently familiar. But the works of Lord Macaulay are in every one's hands, and his famous essay—now for forty years before the world—might reasonably have been expected to be fatal to Lord Bacon's reputation as the author of induction. If * any facts about Lord Bacon are clearly established, they are these : that he never invented anything ; † that he was strangely ignorant of the achievements of the principal physicists of his own day ; and that such knowledge as he did possess was exceedingly inexact. The few isolated truths he is supposed to have discovered may, without exception, be found in the writings of his far greater namesake, whence there is good reason for presuming them to have been "conveyed." It is, indeed, Roger Bacon—the Franciscan Friar of the thirteenth century—who should be regarded as the "pioneer of modern discovery," ‡ the precursor of those inventions which are so triumphantly claimed as the result of the "new philosophy" § of King James the First's Lord Chancellor. It is absolutely certain that the progress of the physical sciences, of which the modern world makes such proud boasting, by no means dates from the revival of letters : it is a simple matter of chronological fact, that "nearly all the inventions whereby we yet live as civilized men," come down to us from the Middle Ages.||

* Macaulay remarks : "Not only is it not true that Bacon invented the inductive method ; but it is not true that he was the first person who correctly analyzed that method and explained its use. Aristotle had long ago pointed out the absurdity of supposing that syllogistic reasoning could ever conduct men to the discovery of any new principle, had shown that such discoveries must be made by induction, and by induction alone, and had given the history of the inductive process, concisely indeed, but with great perspicuity and precision.—"Works," vol. vi. p. 228.

A later writer on Bacon (the latest we believe), Mr. Abbott, endeavours, quite unsuccessfully, as it seems to us, to answer Lord Macaulay's strictures, and to draw a distinction between Old Induction and New. See his edition of Bacon's "Essays," Int., p. lxxv.

† Except perhaps his rules for induction, of which it is unnecessary to speak, as by common consent they are acknowledged to be worthless.

‡ See Mr. Brewer's Preface to "Fr. Rogeri Bacon Opera quædam hactenus inedita," vol. i. p. xlvii. At p. lxxxii. Mr. Brewer justly remarks : "So far as the prize is to be given to mere invention, Roger Bacon has superior claims to Lord Bacon." The principal treatises contained in Mr. Brewer's first volume, viz., the "Opus Minus" and the "Opus Tertium," as well as the "Opus Majus," published by Dr. Jebb in 1753, were written at the command of Clement IV.

§ Catalogued by Macaulay in a justly celebrated passage in the Essay, from which we have quoted (p. 222). Now, of course, the catalogue should be largely extended.

|| "Mr. Taylor promulgates many strange articles of faith. . . . He still calls the Middle Ages, during which nearly all the inventions and social

Our mediæval forefathers laboured, and we have entered into their labours, as they in their day reaped what the generations before them had sown. The stream of physical knowledge flows on steadily through the centuries, viresque acquirit eundo. One discovery is almost of necessity the parent of another. Here, as elsewhere, it is true that we are the heirs of all the ages.

It may, then, be securely asserted that Lord Bacon did nothing to merit the praise still commonly bestowed upon him, of having emancipated the study of physics by the introduction of a new method. Nor is it true that such emancipation was wrought by Renaissance ideas. The real effect of the Renaissance upon the natural sciences was to degrade and fetter them by excluding from them the consideration of final causes,* and restricting their purpose to the satisfaction of the needs of man's lower nature. And Lord Bacon's work was to bring all the nobler sciences into captivity to physics thus degraded; in other words, to materialize them. To this end and aim his great intellectual powers and high literary gifts were consistently directed. "Natural philosophy," he affirms to be the "great mother of sciences"; "all the rest," he holds, "if torn from this root, can receive little increase." The "improvement of the conditions of human life," or, in other words, the increase of physical comfort and enjoyment, he states to be the sole end which his Instauration of Philosophy has ever in view.† His contempt for the teaching of the schools, with which, it may be observed, he was but slenderly acquainted, rests upon its supposed barrenness of the production of works for the "use and benefit of man's life."‡ The lowest of the sciences, viewed in their lowest aspect, are exalted by him to the highest place; nay, practically, to the sole place, for the others are recognized only as they subserve these; while the very chief of all—the divinarum rerum scientia—without which all the rest are but senseless, is tacitly excluded.

Lord Bacon is the founder of a long tradition of materialism. We are far from saying that he foresaw the natural and necessary consequences of his teaching. We gladly think he

institutions, whereby we yet live as civilized men, were originated or perfected, a "millennium of darkness," on the faith chiefly of certain long-past pedants, who reckoned everything barren because Chrysoloras had not yet come, and no Greek roots grew there."—Carlyle's "Miscel.," vol. ii. p. 328.

* Lord Bacon has, we think, somewhere a very characteristic observation, that "final causes are like vestals, consecrated to God and barren."

† See a well well-known passage in his "Redargutio Philosophiarum."

‡ "Advancement of Learning," book i.

did not; indeed, could not. But it is absolutely certain that Hobbes and Spinoza, Locke and Hume, Descartes and Condillac were intellectually his children.* Faust has expressed for us what their teaching amounts to—

Und sehe das wir nichts wissen können—

To know that nothing can be known, is the legitimate outcome of Lord Bacon's doctrine. The history of mental and moral speculation from his time is in the main—we gladly recognize signal exceptions—a career of barren negation,† issuing in the conclusion accurately expressed by a recent author (*ridentem dicere verum, quid vetat*) "that the wondrous All is matter, and that all matter is atoms; that in the last analysis a pig and a martyr, a prayer and a beef-steak are just the same, atoms and atomic movement."‡ Is this to remove restrictions from the true development and right exercise of the human faculties? To make a *tabula rasa* of all the dearest hopes and loftiest aspirations of the human race; to banish the idea of God, and with it, of necessity, the ideas of virtue and duty from the world; to bind man fast in the misery and iron of inexorable physical laws; to shroud his vision in the darkness of absolute all-embracing doubt; in a word, to make of him, according to Cabanis' doctrine, "a digesting-tube, open at both ends,"§ — is this a "new birth unto liberty"? Surely death rather. "Sine adjutorio, inter mortuos liber, sicut vulnerati dormientes in sepulchris," is the true description of the freedom which Renaissance philosophy has conferred upon man. Well may we exclaim with the dying Roland, "O Liberty, what things are done in thy name!"

Our task is well-nigh ended, and perhaps we ought here to

* See Cabanis, "Rapports du Physique et du Moral de l'Homme," vol. i. pref. p. x. and p. 28, for some very just observations on this point.

† We are speaking of the most influential, we may, indeed, say of the dominant, school; but we would not have it inferred that we regard mediæval philosophy as being alone sufficient for the wants of these times (such a view would, in our judgment, be a calamitous error), or that we undervalue the legitimate conquests of the modern mind.

‡ "New Republic," vol. ii. p. 60.

§ We do not find this phrase in Cabanis: we think we have met with it somewhere in Dr. Brownson's writings; and it seems to us correctly to sum up the "Rapports du Physique et du Moral de l'Homme." Mr. Lewes, however, remarks: "I do not think that he meant what he is supposed by his antagonists to have meant" ("Hist. of Philos.," vol. ii. p. 394). In reply to which we would ask, Did Cabanis himself ever repudiate that meaning? His protestations towards the end of his preface appear to us, in effect, to admit it.

offer an apology for the vast extent over which we have travelled in accomplishing it. Our apology lies in the fact that such wide expatiation was unavoidable for even the most superficial discussion of the question which we have proposed to ourselves. How superficial our discussion has been we well know, nor are we careful to answer the reproach of "sketchiness" to which we have laid ourselves open. That, too, is a necessary condition of the attempt to handle so great a subject in a review article,—a subject involving not only all that we have touched upon, but much more, and demanding for its complete elaboration the labour of years, as well as learning of an encyclopædial character probably not possessed in these days by any man. If what we have written at all adumbrates the true view about this matter (as we feel confident it does, however faintly), we are content. "The best in this kind are but shadows." It is enough for us to have shown, in any degree, that neither in politics nor in literature, in art nor in science was the great spiritual revolution which we call the Renaissance a new birth unto liberty. What it was, one of the keenest intellects of our own times—the Mephistophiles of modern literature—has told us. The work of Luther Heine reckons to have been the emancipation of the flesh; in "the revived love for Grecian art and science" he sees a reaction against Christian spiritualism; the whole movement—one in all its diversities of expression—he characterizes as a revolt against the religion which had ruled the world for a thousand years.* And he is right. That was the work of the Renaissance; and it is precisely this character of revolt which is written upon it that has won for it the reputation of an emancipatory movement. But not every rebellion issues in liberty. Rebellion against true authority is a certain step to slavery. Even the Eternal God works according to "that law eternal which Himself hath made to Himself";† and for man there is no liberty except in obedience to the highest laws of his being. Men must be either "servi peccati" or "servi justitiæ."

The sensual and the dark rebel in vain,
Slaves by their own compulsion.

The very rule of faith which was rejected in the name

* "De l'Allemagne," vol. i. pp. 44, 201, 215.

† Hooker, "Ec. Pol.," book i. c. 2, sec. 5. We understand Hooker to mean what is better expressed by S. Thomas:—"Lex æterna summa ratio in Deo existens; ratio divinæ sapientiæ secundum quod est directiva omnium motuum et actionum" ("Sum. Th.," I. 2, q. 93, art. 1). The word "made" is obviously out of place in speaking of a law eternal in the Divine mind.

of freedom is in truth the "*lex perfecta libertatis*." It is a remark of de Tocqueville's—hackneyed indeed, but as true as it is hackneyed, "*Si un peuple veut être libre, il faut qu'il ait des croyances, et s'il n'a pas qu'il serve.*"

One word more of explanation would seem to be necessary; nay, to be due to ourselves. We should be sorry if, from what we have said of the last three centuries, it were inferred that we are of those who mistake remembrances for hopes, and dream of the resuscitation of an extinct past. Not so. We are not ignorant that the past never returns. All the works of man, like man himself, tend to dissolution. The sentence of death has passed upon them, "The old order changeth, giving place to the new"; and that by a beneficent necessity, "Lest one good custom should corrupt the world." Rightly has the great German poet spoken of the "loom of time," and the web that is woven therein, tangled mass of confusion, as it seems to us, whereof we can distinguish but the merest fragment, and that too, *per speculum et in ænigmate*, is in truth,

The garment of life which the Deity wears.

It is well observed by F. Newman, "The course of events, the revolution of empires, the rise and fall of States, the periods and eras, the progresses and retrogressions of the world's history, not indeed the incidental sin, over-abundant as it is, but the great outlines and the results of human affairs, are from His disposition,* 'of whom and through whom and for whom are all things.'" Nor can the practical lesson thus derivable be better expressed than in the words of Hooker:—

Therefore, although there seem unto us confusion and disorder in the affairs of this present world, *Tamen quoniam bonus mundum rector temperat, recte fieri cuncta ne dubites*; let no man doubt but that everything is well done, because the world is ruled by so good a guide as transgresseth not His own law, than which nothing can be more absolute perfect and just. The book of this law, we are neither able nor worthy to open and look into. The little thereof which we darkly apprehend, we admire; the rest, with religious ignorance, we humbly and meekly adore.†

And let it not be said that this is optimism. It is not optimism but faith. The optimistic view of human history that finds expression in the modern cant of progress—the most loathsome and fatal, perhaps, of all the varieties of cant which vex the world—is very different from this. It is not true that there is a constant advance of mankind in virtue and happi-

* J. H. Newman's "Idea of a University," Discourse iii.

† Hooker's "Ecc. Pol.," book i. c. ii.

ness, as in secular knowledge and the material arts of life. The right conception of the history of human society is that of a perpetual struggle, the "double"* and outcome of the conflict waged in each individual heart. The spiritual order, which is the conscience of the world, is ever doing battle with the Paganism innate in human nature, the very essence of which is to "worship and serve the creature more than the Creator."† The Renaissance was in the main a triumph of Paganism—a triumph destined to endure through a few brief centuries of the world's history. Why such triumph was permitted we know not, as we know not why evil was suffered to arise, nor why it is suffered to exist. But we know that while in the physical order the rule of necessity serves to show God's liberty, so in the moral order, by man's liberty is manifested God's necessity or providence;‡ we know that the laws by which the course of nations as of individual men is guided both arouse and counterbalance freewill, without restricting moral responsibility or affecting the recompense awarded by the Divine Judge to human works. This, we know, and it is enough. Enough, but not more than enough; for what other solution of the enigma of human life can render the burden of existence tolerable? What but this makes us to differ from the filthy Yahoos of the most terrible of satirists? What but this upholds us from a lower grovelling than that of the "long series of extinct worms" to which certain physicists of the day, "whose glory is in their shame," proudly trace back our pedigree, through "twenty-two distinct stages of evolution"?§

* Ecclus. xlii. 25.

† Ep. S. Pauli ad Romanos, c. i. v. 25.

‡ See Coleridge's "Table Talk," p. 250, where this thought is expressed in other words.

§ Haeckel's "Anthropogenia," p. 399, quoted in Elam's "Winds of Doctrine," p. 158. Pope little dreamed how literally the "science" of the next century would adopt his words:—

"How much, egregious Moore, are we
Deceived by shows and forms!
Whate'er we think, whate'er we see,
All human kind are worms."

See his "Verses to Mr. John Moore, Author of the celebrated Worm Powder."

ART. IV.—CHRISTIAN CHARITY AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.—PART II.

The Creed of Christendom. By W. G. GREG. Introduction to the Third edition.

Principles of Political Economy. By J. S. MILL. Sixth edition.

De la Richesse dans les Sociétés Chrétiennes. Par CHARLES PÉRIN. Second edition. 1868.

Report on Poor Laws in Foreign Countries. Accounts and Papers. 1875. Vol. lxx.

WE propose in this article to discuss some of the mistaken views as to charity. To put order into the discussion, we will consider in succession four leading errors. The first says, charity is demoralizing to the lower classes; the second, that it injures them by reducing wages; the third, that it is needless, as we can so much better help them by accumulating wealth and increasing our income; the fourth, that we can so much better help them by a handsome expenditure on luxuries for ourselves.

Let us now look at the first of these errors. Charity, it is said, is demoralizing. The giver looks to the apparently beneficial effects of relief, the hunger satisfied, the bare feet shod, the empty home refurnished; and thinks, because he no longer sees the unpleasant externals of poverty, that all is well; when, in reality, he has done mischief, which is none the less mischief, because not immediate and obvious, but indirect and veiled. For, by the example of aiding those in distress, he teaches the poor to harbour the expectation that they too, when their turn of misfortune comes, will find help; and thus he saps the foundation of industry, prudence, and foresight, fosters insubordination and idleness, fosters reckless expenditure and luxurious consumption, and (it is sometimes added) fosters also reckless multiplication. Consequently, by following his feelings, rather than his reason, or by blindly obeying the precepts of antiquated religions, he is a most active agent in spreading and perpetuating the misery which he fancies he is relieving. And, as if this were not enough, he strikes a tremendous blow at family life; and, instead of a parent being filled with a keen sense of the responsibility of bringing up and helping on his children, he quickly learns the lesson of abandoning them to the care of the so-called benevo-

lent; and, when sickness, distress, or old age comes upon him, these children, as is only natural, abandon him with equal readiness to these mischievous intermediaries. And these theoretical propositions are confirmed by abundant experience, so that we might take as the motto for any work on almsgiving the dictum of M. Cherbuliez: "*L'indigence est historiquement aussi bien qu'en théorie un produit de la bienfaisance,*"* which we may render: Both in theory and in fact misery is the result of charity.†

* Apud Corbière, "*Économie Sociale*," ii. pp. 357-358.

† Similarly Signor Fano (in Sir A. Paget's "Report on Poor Relief in Italy; Accounts and Papers." 1875. Vol. lxxv. p. 459): "Misery increases in proportion to the relief which it finds, and misery and relief are alternately cause and effect." This, we think also, is the view of Mr. Greg. We say "think," because, as in our last article we had occasion to remark, the oracular language of this writer is somewhat difficult for ordinary readers to interpret. In the Introduction, dated 1873, to the third edition of the "*Creed of Christendom*," he notices how the obligation of almsgiving has been recognized in theory and in practice by Christians, and is to this day nearly as prevalent and influential as ever. Then he tells us: "Yet nothing can be more certain than that all this is very wrong, and does infinite mischief." But then he immediately begins (as Lord Lyttelton notices in the *Contemporary Review*, June, 1875) to "hedge." He says, "*the more literally the precept*" ("Give to him that asketh of thee") "is obeyed, the more harm does it do. No conclusion has been more distinctly or definitely proved than that nearly all charity, popularly so called,—more especially all indiscriminate almsgiving—is simply and singularly noxious." (The italics here are ours: in the following citations they are the author's.) However, the main drift of his remarks seems evidently to attack all almsgiving; at any rate, in "civilized" countries. "The form which charity has a tendency to assume in societies, so complicated as all civilized societies are growing now, is such as to drain the practice of nearly all its incidental good, and aggravate its peculiar mischiefs. The almsgiver has not his kindly feelings called forth by personal intercourse with the poor; he *subscribes*, he does not *give*; and charitable endowments and bequests are ingenious contrivances for diffusing the most wide-spread pauperism. The consentaneous voice of modern benevolence and statesmanship alike is crying out against almsgiving as a mischief and a sin. Every one conversant with the question, all true lovers of their fellow-men,—all earnest and practical labourers in the field of social improvement, in the precise measure of their experience agree that, in all schemes and efforts for rectifying the terrible evils of our crowded civilization, the most ubiquitous and insurmountable impediments arise out of the practice of indiscriminate almsgiving and systematic charity. Nor is it in England only that almsgiving is bad. It is bad everywhere; it is bad even in the East; it is very bad in Italy; it is worst of all, perhaps, in Spain. Everywhere it *creates* a special class of the worthless and the vicious, who soon become the criminal. *It is of its essence to do this*" (pp. lxi.—lxiv.). In the text we shall see what to think of this view of almsgiving. Here we have rather to direct attention to the remarkable knowledge of facts and theories claimed by Mr. Greg; to his intimate acquaintance with the social state of the East, of Italy, and of Spain, and with the causes of this state; to his knowledge not merely of some of the views on almsgiving of modern statesmen and philan-

Such is the enemy's position against which, before making our formal attack, we will cast a few light weapons. First, let us look what consequences would seem logically to follow from such a theory; how the greater part of our hospitals and asylums and other charitable institutions would have to be closed, how the Gospel would have to be publicly burnt as a dangerous book, and the Sisters of Charity suppressed, and the names of all great almsgivers from Zacchæus to S. Vincent of Paul, to be held up to public execration,* and the rising generation to be taught to suppress those feelings of compassion and generous self-sacrifice for the poor and suffering which have been thought to be among the noblest parts of our nature, and, as they pass by Lazarus lying at the gate, to feel a righteous indignation at his improvidence, and to tell him in plain English that his misery serves him right, or, as a variation to accost him more politely with the French "*Aide toi-même et Dieu t'aidera.*" And then some of the aforementioned objections to almsgiving seem to be in contradiction with what our modern social teachers have taught us. If we learnt our lesson aright, we thought that marriage was a contract which, like a business partnership, should be dissoluble at the option of either party; that, in the young, should be fostered a spirit, not of reverence, but of liberty and independence; that, in short, the "family life," as commonly understood, was a mischievous "survival" of an earlier "stage of evolution"; and then, if almsgiving strikes a blow at family life, this is a fact *in favour of* and not against almsgiving. Moreover, if the greatest temporal happiness of the greatest number is the desirable aim of all social institutions, and if idleness is more pleasant than industry, we cannot quite understand how it is any *objection* to almsgiving that it enables multitudes to live in idleness.

Let these points, however, be passed over, and coming to more serious argument, let us make the issue clearer by two preliminary remarks. First, we do not deny that when material aid is given to the poor *without* the observance of those conditions which we set forth at length in our former paper (DUBLIN REVIEW, Oct., 1877, pp. 377—385), when, namely, the moral reform of the poor is *not* sought after, or when the gift

thropists, but of the *consentaneous voice* of all, and of what *all* right-minded and experienced social reformers think hereon; and lastly, to his amiable implication that every one with knowledge, good sense, and good-will, does, in fact, take his view, that is, that any one who does not, as regards almsgiving, adopt the anti-Christian view of the liberal economists, is either a dunce, a fool, or a knave.

* Cf. Corbière, "*Economie Sociale*," ii. pp. 358—359.

is considered as a disgrace, or when the relievers of the poor are *not* lovers of the poor, or when there is *absence* of circumspection and generosity, or of organization and permanence, or, lastly, when the help is *not* derived from a free gift, but from a compulsory tax, in such cases truly enough some or all of the evils urged above may be generated; and the past and present effect of the English poor-law may be cited as an example. But the truth that spurious charity, conducted in defiance of Christian principles, is likely to cause demoralization is hardly a proof, or even a presumption, that genuine Christian charity will do the same. Our second preliminary remark is, that even where the conditions for the efficacy of charity are observed, we will concede that some of the above-named evils may be caused in individual and exceptional cases. But these evils are altogether outweighed by the benefits, notably the benefit of moral reform, caused by true Christian poor-relief; which, in this point, does but possess the common feature of all human institutions or bodies, of which the most beneficial, as educational establishments, or the medical profession, or the civil government are sure, exceptionally and *per accidens*, to do mischief, though the sum of mischief done is altogether outweighed by the sum of good.

Having said thus much in introduction, let us now give our formal answer to the objection of demoralization. It presupposes the truth of the two propositions, that the mass of misery is due to the fault of the sufferers, or, at least, to the fault of their family, and that the anticipation of relief fosters such faults. Now we contest both of these propositions. And first, as to the causes of misery, we can refer back to our previous article, where we discussed them at length. Of the sixteen heads there given, the greater number are of such a character that the misery coming from them cannot be attributed to the fault of the sufferers or of their parents. Are we to reproach a man because he is starving in the midst of a famine, or because a hostile army has destroyed all his property, or because he is ruined by an unjust lawsuit or treacherous friend, or because his substance, in spite of all his efforts, decays through excessive taxation, or through long and forced absences on military service; or, again, because he is turned out of house and home to make room for sheep or game, or because he is thrown out of work by a commercial crisis for which he is not in the least responsible, or by a change in fashion, or by the invention of machinery or new processes of production, or by the overwork of others, or by the employment of women and children; or, further, because he is rack-rented by an unscrupulous landlord, or because his

wages are reduced to a minimum by an unscrupulous employer, by whom, moreover, when worn out by overwork he is ruthlessly dismissed? In such cases as these, the argument from demoralization falls to the ground, and we see an immense field lying open for almsgiving without danger of demoralization, as is plain. But driven from one half of his fortress, the enemy may all the more desperately defend the other, and urge that it is equally plain that, at least in many cases, misery is due to the vice and improvidence of the lower classes; that we ourselves have expressly given these causes as two of our heads of causes of misery; that, moreover, accidents affecting individuals and the congestion of population, can, as far as causing misery, be reduced to vice and improvidence; and that in such cases, at any rate, charity demoralizes. But even here we will not suffer that odious charge to remain unanswered.

To gain an *a fortiori* argument, we will put aside all cases where the vice and improvidence of the poor can be clearly attributed to the shameful acts or omissions of the rich, or where the previous revenue of the sufferers has been such as to allow no savings to meet accidents or sickness, or where the fall from a higher station of life and the humiliation of being reduced by one's own vice or folly to be supported by others is, in itself, a terrible punishment, and would have to be admitted as a sufficient deterrent from vice or folly, even though lavish almsgiving averted material suffering, or made it speedily to cease. Putting aside these cases, we take those where the sufferer is one of the lower classes, and is in want through his own fault, his indigence being the result of his past misconduct. And here we deny that Christian charity applied to such a one fosters idleness, improvidence, and neglect of family duty. As to the individual himself, it can hardly be seriously maintained that he is encouraged in vice by the efforts to reform him, by advice, exhortation, consoling words, or by material relief that may cease if he relapse into vicious habits. Rather, his fall into destitution and material misery may have benefited him as giving an occasion upon which watchful and loving Christian charity has seized, in order to change whatever may be amiss in his life. This may be admitted, but then it can be said that the evil is not asserted to affect the individual who is helped, but others who, by the spectacle of this man, saved with his family from the extremes of suffering, compassionated, consoled, set up again, are encouraged in idleness, vice, and improvidence, as they no longer fear their ill effects. But even this statement will not hold ground; in other words, it is not true to say that help

given to those who are in misery through their own fault, will, when the conditions for the efficacy of charity are observed, have the effect, except perhaps in a few individual cases, of encouraging idleness, vice, improvidence, and neglect of parental and filial duties. The appeal is to the effect on others of the spectacle of charity. Now, first of all, it may well be questioned whether the spectacle of charity exercised as we have described, and as seen in the private charity of modern France, is, in itself, likely to "encourage" in misconduct. Are the vicious encouraged unless relief allows them to continue unmolested in their vices? Are not the improvident and reckless more likely to be rendered quite wild and desperate, instead of prudent, by all hope of relief in case of ruin being cut off? And this argument from demoralization goes too far, or rather, is a terrible weapon, which those who use it may find turned against themselves. If the irremissibility of hell is to be brought on earth, and, in order to keep men industrious and frugal, the terrible spectacle is needed of unforgiven, unhelped victims, then, not to speak of the danger of driving multitudes to despair, there is the question why this terrible principle should be applied only to almsgiving. Let no doctor attend those sick through their own fault, as by gluttony or debauchery, or even carelessness; let no surgeon dress the wounds inflicted in a duel or quarrel, or preventible accident; let no lawyer help one whose affairs are in disorder through his own imprudence or negligence.* The inscription over the gate of Hell would, with a slight alteration, be fit for earth: "Leave hope behind, all ye who once fall here!" Again, consider whither, in another direction, this argument from demoralization leads us. If the anticipation of the comparatively small gifts received as alms demoralizes, how much more the anticipation of the large gifts habitually expected by the rich from living or dead relatives! Let those who are so clamorous as to the idleness of the poor, and would cut off from them all unearned gifts as demoralizing, look to themselves and answer, if they can, the proposal, that in order to prevent the demoralization of the children, the relatives and the friends of the rich—to prevent their being "encouraged" in idleness, improvidence, and neglect of family duties, no one be allowed to receive by gift or inheritance more than the bare necessities of life.†

* See Corbière, "*Économie Sociale*," ii. pp. 356—364, 397, 398.

† Ad rem Liberatore, "*La Chiesa e lo Stato*," 1871, p. 332: "È curioso in vero questo zelo dei progressivisti moderni contro l'oziosità della classe indigente. Nessun predicatore, nessuno scrittore di ascetica o di morale ne ha mostrato mai altrettanto. Senonchè l'ozio è vizio non solo pel povero, ma

And finally, as our chief and main argument, we say that it is irrational to look only at one part of Christian doctrine and practice without considering the rest and the relation of this part to the whole. The Church teaches and performs other things besides almsgiving, and what concerns us here is her teaching as to labour, as to frugality, and as to family life. By the example of her Founder and her saints, she has honoured even the lowest kinds of labour. She teaches that both rich and poor are bound to work, the one in order to administer his riches according to God's will, the other lest he diminish the bread of those who are unable to work, and in order that he himself may become an almsgiver. Self-sacrifice is the common law for both, and the rich man squandering his riches in luxury, and the able-bodied poor man not using his ability, but eating in idleness the bread of the true poor, are both thieves from the Christian point of view.* And how the Christian teaching and practice has exalted family life, and ever urged the greatness and gravity of the mutual obligations of parents and children, of husbands and wives, is too well known to require proof or illustration! Now, where these doctrines are being impressed upon the people, and where the distribution of alms is, as it should be, in the hands of the Church, she is not afraid that her compassionate treatment of the fallen individual will have a demoralizing effect upon the rest; who rather will be incited by another brother having fallen into need, to labour more and consume less—to be even yet more industrious and parsimonious, so as to come to his assistance. And these remarks give us also the answer to those melancholy cases where the sufferer is innocent, and the guilty cause is out of reach, namely, the cases of foundlings, deserted wives, and neglected aged parents. The law, indeed, here should be very strict both in theory and execution. But whatever the law, Christian charity does not shrink from helping such unfortunate persons for fear of encouraging fresh desertions, knowing well that the remedy for such evils is given by Christian teaching, and not by exposing the innocent victims to the

anchè pel ricco. Anzi più per questo secondo; giacchè se è incitamento a pravità, lo è massimamente per quelli, che hanno più mezzi a sbizzarirsi e pascolare le passioni. L'obbligo poi di lavorare fu imposto a tutti da Dio. *In sudore vultus tui vesceris pane*, è gastigo e comando dato a tutto il genere umano, nella persona di Adamo. Perchè dunque strepitar tanto contro l'ozio del povero, che si sciorina qualche ora al sole, dopo aver medicato un tozzo; e non trovare una sola parola di biasimo contro l'ozio dei ricchi, che marciscono nei solazzi, e consumano la vita in giuochi, in balli, in teatri, in lunghi sonni, dopo la non breve gozzoviglia di lautissime mense?"

* See Ratzinger, "Geschichte der Kirchl. Armenpflege," p. 7, seq.

extremes of misery. This last-named remedy for human vice and folly is indeed stupid as well as cruel; and we might as well object to all mitigations of the horror of war, all care for the sick and wounded, lest we encourage nations to go to war. The great mass of those who abandon their wives, or children, or parents, must *first* have sunk into moral degradation before they would begin to calculate whether others would take care of the abandoned; and what must be remedied is this previous degradation. Again, though in many cases they would feel a certain satisfaction if those whom they abandoned were well cared for, this does not at all prove that they would forego such abandonment if this care was withdrawn. A terrible illustration of how such abandonment may not be foregone can be taken from imperial Rome, where one great source of the supply of slaves was in deserted children, and speculators went round by night to select the finest of these children to be reared as gladiators, eunuchs, or prostitutes.* What further discouragement to the desertion of children could the economists have wished?

We hope now to have given, at any rate, some sort of answer to the charge that Christian charity demoralizes. But here we may be met by an appeal to "facts." It may be said that it is "abundantly evident" that almsgiving does increase misery; and we may be referred to the dogmatic utterance of Mr. Greg, cited above, that almsgiving is "bad everywhere," "very bad in Italy," "worst of all perhaps in Spain." Now, into this matter we at present decline to enter; for to treat it fitly an entire history of Christian charity would have to be written, and elaborate evidence collected as to the moral, social, and economical condition of Catholic countries. Here we will only urge most strongly that in any such discussion there must be a strict observance of the logical rules of reasoning and evidence. Let us illustrate this from the Report of Sir A. Paget in the Blue-book on foreign poor relief.† In this Report, treating of Italy as distinct from Rome, he gives figures showing how in the various Italian provinces the means provided for the relief of the poor are least precisely where the misery of the population in modern times has always been the greatest, and how the most prosperous regions have the largest charitable endowments compared with the population. From this can be drawn the conclusion that large charitable endowments do not *always* cause misery, and that the absence of them does not

* Allard, "Les Esclaves Chrétiens," 1876, pp. 353-360.

† "Accounts and Papers," 1875, vol. lxx. p. 460.

always avert misery. But were some charitable person more zealous than wise to say that these Italian statistics show that misery was always in inverse proportion to charitable endowments, this would be a rash generalization liable to be overthrown by a *single* contrary example, though it was in some obscure corner of South America or in some remote period of history. But these statistics do confute, or at least render improbable to an extreme degree, the statement of Signor Fano, mentioned in the same report, that profusion of charity is *in Italy* one of the chief causes of misery.

In the same report Sir A. Paget points to the case of Rome as favouring Signor Fano's theory; and speaks of the "lavish almsgiving" at Rome, of "the wide diffusion of its squalid indigence," of the "magnitude of its many-sided mendicity." First, supposing this statement true, it will not favour the said theory. For the coexistence in a single case of vast almsgiving and vast destitution is not even the smallest presumption that the latter is caused by the former. And even supposing the reverse of what seems to be the case, and that throughout Italy misery in each separate locality was more instead of less prevalent in proportion to the local charitable endowments and almsgiving, this would be no *proof* that the endowments and alms were the *cause* of the misery; for the misery might be due to other causes, and the charitable aid admirably apportioned to the local varieties of distress.* And then, in judging of the truth of the above statements as to Rome, we must remember, as regards the credibility of the witness, that whereas there is no ground, of which we are aware, for suspecting him of bias

* We commend this very obvious remark to the notice of Mr. Barron, the reporter on Belgian poor-relief, and Mr. A. S. Harvey, commenting thereon in the *Contemporary Review*, Jan., 1876, p. 269. The Belgian poor-relief, indeed, as far as granted and administered by the State, we are called upon rather to denounce than to defend. But, whoever may profit by it, we must stand up for the principles of right reasoning in these matters. Now, supposing the fact true (and we see no ground for supposing that it is not true), that in Belgium destitution is greatest where relief is greatest, notably in the rich manufacturing districts, while in Luxembourg there are scarcely any charitable funds or distress, this does not show that the relief causes the destitution. Rather the destitution may have called forth the relief, and itself be due to other causes. That this is the case we think might be easily shown. If Luxembourg is antiquated, rural, and religious, the absence of misery is amply explained without attributing it to the smallness of relief. If in the manufacturing districts economical and political Liberalism has for years had full sway, the most abject degradation and destitution of the lower classes could be amply explained without attributing it to the abundance of relief. We can refer to what we have said on the causes of misery in our former article, especially under the fourteenth head, on neglect or oppression of dependents.

in his previous statement on endowments, his known hostility to the former Papal Government makes him untrustworthy as to any observation of facts likely to throw discredit on that government. And this applies also to Signor Fano.

Obvious as are such principles of reasoning and observation when stated by themselves, it is nevertheless not easy to keep to them closely in the midst of a heated argument. Yet keep to them we must if our argument is to be valid; and Catholics, who have the whole truth on their side, cannot be too careful never to violate these rules of logic, lest they forfeit the claim to insist on their observance.

We now come to the second charge against almsgiving, that it injures the lower classes by reducing wages; either directly, by enabling the recipients of alms to work for less than those who are not similarly subsidized, thus bringing down the general rate of wages; or indirectly, by fostering an increase of population, and thus increasing the candidates for the wage-fund. Now first of all we may notice whither this view would lead us. To rear destitute orphans and deserted children becomes an injury to the poor, as these fresh competitors for hire will be likely (if the said view is true) to reduce the rate of wages. Similarly, to give help to a workman who is sick, or has met with an accident, is a crime against his fellows. But this by no means only applies to charitable service and charitable funds. Good doctors and good nurses become the enemies of the working classes; and a labouring man with a balance at a savings-bank, or a share in a co-operative society, or a laboriously-acquired bit of garden-land, inasmuch as he receives a certain revenue from these sources, is able to take less wages, and consequently (according to the said theory) reduce the general rate.* And secondly, we say, this charge against almsgiving presupposes that the bulk of the poor are workers for hire, and further, that wages are regulated by competition. But these conditions have been absent in the greater part of the world in the greater part of historical times; and thus the objection is inapplicable to almsgiving as existing in most places and times. And as to those exceptional times and places where the unorganized workmen have bid one against another for employment, and unscrupulous employers have taken advantage of this to reduce wages to the lowest point, we might be content to answer that so hateful a disorder could well be expected to turn the best institutions into mischief, and that

* This analogy is admitted by Schaeffle, who urges the objection in question against almsgiving,—“*Nationalökonomie*,” § 291. Third edition.

instead of declaiming against almsgiving a prompt remedy should be put to this disorder. But even here there could be copious almsgiving without producing the evil effects alleged; for (not to speak of the immaterial gifts of counsel and consolation, of friendship and sympathy), the material gift, when consisting not of bare necessities, but of what the poor family would otherwise have entirely gone without, does not enable an unscrupulous master to reduce the wages of the recipient. The home may be made decent, the children kept clean, the whole family enabled to take an occasional holiday, the sick given delicacies, and many similar material benefits conferred, which otherwise would not have been obtained at all. In such cases, then, there is no need to suppose that almsgiving must be exercised in the stupid fashion of the English allowance system, when the parish authorities supplemented wages out of the poor-rates, with the apparent consequence of reducing wages in proportion to the amount thus added, so that the farmers shifted a portion of their expenses on to the rate-payers, and the labourers gained nothing.* Such an abuse could hardly have occurred but for the neglect, among other things, of two notable conditions of Christian charity, the freedom of the gift, and the exercise of circumspect generosity by the giver.

Having answered the two errors which say that charity is mischievous, we come now to the two which say that it is needless. These two last both start from a common assumption, though differing in the conclusions they draw from it. The true way, it is said, of benefiting the labouring classes is not by doling out alms, which only increase their idleness and helplessness, but by giving them the opportunity of helping themselves by honest industry. So the "bon bourgeois," of whom Mgr. Dupanloup tells us ("*Charité Chrétienne*," p. 25), and who, when a lady collecting for some charity reproached him with never giving to the poor, answered, "Madam, in never giving to the poor I exercise the highest philanthropy: I teach them the law of labour." So far the two views we are considering keep together; but on the further question of how labour is to be given to the working classes, they part company, and the one tells us to save, the other to spend. The first, which may be called the view of the liberal economists, is the most specious of the two, and shall be answered first. They say that industrial accumulation, namely, the accumulation of capital, or means of production, is the true mode of doing good to the labouring classes, as these can thereby

* See Mill, "*Political Economy*," bk. ii. ch. xii. § 4.

obtain good wages and constant employment. Now, let no one think it is our wish to prove that this industrial accumulation is bad; or, indeed, to say anything in its praise or dispraise, except only to show that it is not a substitute for almsgiving or similar help to the poor. This only is to the point. And to the point then let us come, and say (a) that this mode of helping by offering work gives, first of all, no direct or immediate help to those who need it most—to the sick and injured, and to those too young or too old to work; and then, (b) that although it may be quite true that by accumulating the means of production the demand for *labour* is increased, this by no means implies necessarily that there is a corresponding increase in the demand for *labourers*, for the extra demand for labour can be met by those who already, from the Christian point of view, work hard enough and long enough, working harder and longer; and (c) that even, if extra “labourers” are wanted, this may only result in the employment of women, with the consequent ruin of home life, or of children, with the consequent ruin of education or of the joyous spring-time of childhood; and (d) that, therefore, this alleged cure for misery, while it can hardly hinder, can certainly prodigiously “encourage” the improvidence, idleness, and luxury of the working classes, the most prolific immediate causes of misery. Further, (e) this view idly supposes the existence of abstract general “labourers” capable of turning to anything, whereas, in reality, there are no such beings, but masons and hodmen, tailors and cotton-spinners, colliers and farm hands, and the rest; and different employments are separated by barriers that for a time, and in some cases permanently, are insuperable. The weaver, for example, cannot be made on a sudden, perhaps never at all, into a ploughman or a navvy, nor the shipwright into a shoemaker; and, consequently, when in a given trade a multitude are thrown out of work through the introduction of machinery, or through the reckless speculations of the employers, they receive no help, because in other trades, through the accumulations of philanthropic *bons bourgeois* and others, there is an increased demand for labour; and such demand, instead of benefiting them, is much more likely to result in overwork of other workmen, and in the employment of women and children. Again, (f) this view idly supposes the existence of a “wages fund” that is certain in any case to be divided among the “labourers”; whereas, in reality, the whole result of the accumulator’s highest philanthropy may be, besides a continuous and most satisfactory increase of his own revenue, to put more money into the pocket of one or several employers, who may increase

their consumption in proportion, and the labouring classes, or rather the industrial hired workmen, as a whole gain nothing. Moreover, (*g*) if the labouring classes as a whole, gain, precisely those may get more who were already well paid, and may spend ill the extra gain, while the poor and weak, and uncombined and downtrodden, gain nothing; so that the effect of this grand substitute for Christian charity, supposing the lower classes get by it anything at all, is like indiscriminate alms in money, with no security that the deserving poor shall receive, or that what is received shall be well spent. And (*h*) in the state of society which has perhaps been most general in the world, where, namely, the bulk or a large body of the people are not hired labourers, but peasant owners or small tenants, or petty traders and handicraftsmen on their own account, this mode of relief (or rather of pretending to relieve) is inapplicable. Lastly (*i*), we may notice how this plan does nothing for the union of classes, for mutual love and gratitude, and personal familiarity between rich and poor; for the spirit of contentment, for the fulfilment of religious duties—some of the most valuable results of true charity. But we will not press this argument, as these things have perhaps neither value in exchange, nor value in use, for the economical mind.

In answering the error of the economists, we have, in fact, answered that other error which equally recommends giving labour as a substitute for giving alms, only that as regards the further question of how labour is to be given, it recommends expenditure instead of accumulation. We might then dismiss this error as disproved *à pari*; but as some of our readers may wish this strange delusion both fully stated and fully answered, we will try to do both. It is, indeed, a consoling doctrine for the rich, and establishes a delightful harmony between virtue and pleasure. Instead of that gloomy teaching being true, that there is need of self-denial in order to benefit others, we find that we can benefit them far more by indulging ourselves. The grander our house, the more numerous our servants, the more delicate our table, the costlier our wine; the more lavishly, in short, we spend our money upon our own luxuries and amusements, the better friends we are to the poor, since we increase the demand for labour, and consequently the amount of wages at the disposal of the needy. "We give them, therefore, the means of living at the same time that we procure for them the work which preserves them from the vices of idleness. Thus luxury generates poor-relief without there being any need to resort to self-sacrifice; and, moreover, procures it for the destitute in such

a way as not to humble their pride ; making them gain it under the form of wages instead of giving it them under the form of alms.* But to this view there are many objections. First of all, in so far as professing to help the distressed by increasing the demand for labour, and thus giving employment to the lower classes, it is liable to the nine objections already urged against the error of the economists, and to those objections we refer back. And, secondly, this view has a peculiar absurdity of its own ; and it is this, that as a rule the luxurious expenditure recommended does not increase the demand for labour, or if for a short time it does so, it causes a more than proportionate diminution of the demand subsequently. We have said, "as a rule," because there is, indeed, a case where the popular view has some truth as far as demand for labour is concerned. This is where the owner of a hoard of gold or silver, or precious stones, brings them forth from their hiding-place, and not wishing to use them for his personal adornment, uses them to purchase other luxuries, as silk dresses or wine. To get his enjoyment he needs the co-operation of others, and must pay for this co-operation. He will cause a fresh demand for labour in order to produce the silk dresses and wine ; there may be no corresponding diminution of the demand for labour on the part of others ; nor when the hoard is all spent, and his silk dresses and wine are ready, will the temporary increase of demand for labour be atoned for by this demand sinking below the point where it stood before the hoard was opened. As far then as an increase of the demand for labour is a benefit to the lower classes, there has been a temporary benefit and no subsequent loss. But it will scarcely be denied that such a case is exceptional and unimportant. And, indeed, it is by no means certain that there will be no corresponding decrease of the demand for labour on the part of others. For if the hoard be composed of the commodity used for money, as gold in England, it may pass into the currency instead of being used for adornment, and may cause a fall in the value of money ; twelve sovereigns may be wanted where ten did before ; and against the gain and increased demand for labour on the part of the owner of the hoard, must be set the loss and decreased demand for labour on the part of other owners of gold. Let this suffice as to the exceptional case of the unlocking of a hoard. In other cases there is either no increase at all of demand for labour, or it is dearly purchased by a subsequent decrease.

Let us remember that an increase of the demand for labour

* Apud Périn, "De la Richesse," ii. p. 399.

means an increase of the sum offered for the payment of hired labourers. Now, if a man takes to drinking champagne instead of water, it is quite true that he will employ perhaps twenty men instead of one, in providing himself with drink, and here there is a presumable twentyfold increase of the sum he offers for the payment of hired labourers. But his means are not increased by his change of habits, and the question arises, from whence will he obtain the means of paying this larger sum? Now, supposing his income is fixed, there are only two courses open to him. We are justified in making this supposition; for if his income was increasing, this would mean that as regards a portion of it he was accumulating, and so far, no doubt, the demand for labour (though not necessarily for labourers) would, as we have seen, be presumably increased; but, so far also, the case would not be that of luxurious consumption which we are considering, but of industrial accumulation which we have already dealt with. Supposing, then, his income to be fixed, first, he may make a corresponding diminution of his consumption in some other quarter, or spread the diminution over several sources of expenditure, as books, horses, or theatres. But in this case, as is pretty plain, he presumably lessens his demand for labour on one side as much as he increases it on another side; and different workmen, but not more workmen, are wanted. We say "presumably," because certain modes of luxurious expenditure may give more employment than others, as expenditure on domestic servants instead of on wine or lace; from whence it follows that the effect of luxurious expenditure upon the demand for labour may be modified or intensified according to the particular kind of expenditure. But this does not seem to affect much the general argument, as we may fairly set off against one another the modifications or intensifications in individual cases. The second and only other course open to the man whose conduct we are considering, and who, with a fixed income, increases his consumption, is to change his productive property into means of consumption, or, as it is sometimes expressed, to eat into his capital. The essence of such a change is best seen from a few simple illustrations. A great landowner might leave his lands untilled, and employ his workmen for a year in digging artificial lakes or making ornamental plantations; or he might get from the land all that it would give, and consume this produce, neglecting to replace the fertilizing elements which he had withdrawn from the soil. Similarly, a great mill-owner might change his mill-hands into domestic servants, or he might spend upon himself the entire annual proceeds of the mill, without first

setting aside a portion of these proceeds to repair his buildings and machinery, and to be a fund for replacing them when worn out, or for defraying the loss from periodical accidents. In such cases, the result may be first of all a simple transfer (as in the previous case) of demand for labour; that is, a certain number of workmen are withdrawn from keeping up the capital of the individuals in question, and instead of repairing the machinery and buildings, or providing new ones to replace those worn out, or preparing the soil for future crops, they have been employed in ministering to the immediate gratification of the employer. For a time, all may seem well, and there may even be an increase in the demand for labourers, if more, for example, are now employed in digging the lake than last year in cultivating the farm. But when the industrial cycle is completed, and the time for renewing production comes round, it is found that during the preceding period the means of production have been dwindling away, and that of the labourers' toil during that period, either no traces remain as of the wine that has been drunk, or clothes worn, or personal services (as of valet or groom) rendered, or else the results, though durable, as marble halls or terrace walks, cannot serve to help on fresh production. And thus, as there is a diminution of the productive resources of the community, there is a diminution of the possible fund for the payment of hired labourers; and the more extravagant the previous consumption, the more contracted the present limits of possible demand for labour.

We should now have said enough on this point of demand for labour,* were it not that an error, which is widespread and oft-

* Although some of Mr. Mill's statements on this point are open to the charge of obscurity or error, the following passage may perhaps serve as illustration and explanation of what we have said in the text:—"The proposition for which I am contending is, in reality, equivalent to the following, which, to some minds, will appear a truism, though to others it is a paradox; that a person does good to labourers, not by what he consumes on himself, but solely [?] by what he does not so consume. If, instead of laying out £100 in wine or silk, I expend it in wages, the demand for commodities is precisely equal in both cases; in the one, it is a demand for £100 worth of wine or silk, in the other, for the same value of bread, beer, labourers' clothing, fuel, and indulgences; but the labourers of the community have, in the latter case, the value of £100 more of the produce of the community distributed among them. I have consumed that much less, and made over my consuming power to them. If it were not so, my having consumed less would not leave more to be consumed by others; which is a manifest contradiction. When less is not produced, what one person forbears to consume is necessarily added to the share of those to whom he transfers his power of purchase. In the case supposed, I do not necessarily consume less ultimately, since the labourers whom I pay may build a house for me, or

recurring, is hardly answered satisfactorily till we have shown not only that it is an error, but why it is so prevalent. Now, we will not charge the human race with a liability to think luxury a substitute for almsgiving; but only with a liability to think that one who spends much, whatever be the moral effect of his conduct, does at least materially benefit those around him. In this form the doctrine is very different from the error on poor relief which we are combating. It is partly true; and, as far as untrue, its prevalence can easily be accounted for. Now, as we have seen, it is partly true as far as the unlocking and spending of a hoard is concerned. In other cases, the "benefit" in one place and one time is in visible connection with the luxurious expenditure, while the injury spread, perhaps, over many places, or coming later in time, does not show on its face its connection with the previous extravagance. And further, the spendthrift is not likely to consume all his property himself. Whether through generosity or carelessness he may give largely to others, not only to his equals, but also to his dependents; or, as Mr. Mill has noticed ("Polit. Econ.," bk. i. ch. v. § 5, note), he may be largely plundered by others. And thus his consumption by no means equals his expenditure, but a portion of the latter is simply a transfer of wealth to others.* These naturally see in him

make something else for my future consumption. But I have, at all events, postponed my consumption, and have turned over part of my share of the present produce of the community to the labourers. If, after an interval, I am indemnified, it is not from the existing produce, but from a subsequent addition made to it. I have therefore left more of the existing produce to be consumed by others; and have put into the possession of labourers the power to consume it.

"There cannot be a better *reductio ad absurdum* of the opposite doctrine than that afforded by the Poor Law. If it be equally for the benefit of the labouring classes whether I consume my means in the form of things purchased for my own use, or set aside a portion in the shape of wages or alms for their direct consumption, on what ground can the policy be justified of taking my money from me to support paupers? Since my unproductive expenditure would have equally benefited them, while I should have enjoyed it too. If society can both eat its cake and have it, why should it not be allowed the double indulgence? But common sense tells every one in his own case (though he does not see it on the larger scale), that the poor rate which he pays is really subtracted from his own consumption, and that no shifting of payment backwards and forwards will enable two persons to eat the same food. If he had not been required to pay the rate, and had consequently laid out the amount on himself, the poor would have had as much less for their share of the total produce of the country, as he himself would have consumed more."—"Principles of Polit. Econ.," bk. i. ch. v., § 9.

* An exaggeration of this truth is seen in the "Report on the Crisis of 1857," by the common councilmen of New York, cited by Mr. Ruskin, in the *Contemporary Review*, May, 1873, pp. 934, 935:—"Another erroneous idea is, that luxurious living, extravagant dressing, splendid turns out, and fine

their benefactor, while the poor workmen, who may at last lose employment through his having lessened the wealth of the country, are perhaps ignorant of his name and existence, or, if knowing him, cannot see any connection between his previous orgies and their present penury.

Enough now has been said, we think, to enable us to lay down that luxurious expenditure, except accidentally and temporarily, diminishes rather than increases the demand for labour; and that even if it did increase the demand for labour this would be no remedy for misery. But, further, such expenditure, as M. Périn well observes, is disastrous to the moral dispositions of the working classes. "Think of the anger and hatred aroused in the breasts of the poor at the sight of luxury displaying all her splendours and enjoyments at the very moment when the workmen are bowed down under the weight of misery. Think, too, of the fine lesson to the lower classes, and admirable remedy for misery given by this greed for the delights of life—a greed whose last and most striking outward sign is luxury. Think whether, by such lessons, they will gain that spirit of order and moderation, that frugality and attachment to hard work which alone are efficacious preservatives against misery?"* Instead, then, of being a remedy against destitution, luxurious expenditure fosters the moral and material causes of destitution, and not only injures, but also insults and derides the unhappy sufferers.

Let this much suffice against the two errors which would make Christian charity needless. We saw before that the charges against charity could be refuted; and now we have seen that these vaunted substitutes for charity are rather mockery than relief of the poor. But even to these substitutes

houses, are the cause of distress to a nation. No more erroneous impression could exist. Every extravagance that a man of 100,000 or 1,000,000 dollars indulges in, adds to the means, the support, the wealth of ten or a hundred who had little or nothing else but their labour, their intellect, or their taste. If a man of 1,000,000 dollars spends principal and interest in ten years, and finds himself beggared at the end of that time, he has actually made a hundred, who have catered to his extravagance, employers and employed, so much richer by the division of his wealth. He may be ruined, but the nation is better off, and richer, for a hundred minds and hands with 10,000 dollars apiece, are far more productive than one with the whole." These excellent councilmen forget, amid much else, that only a portion, perhaps a comparatively small portion, of the spendthrift's wealth has been transferred to others, while the other portion—the food and drink, the tobacco and perfumery, the clothes and furniture which he has personally consumed or worn out—is gone, and the sole permanent result which he can show for all this expenditure is—himself!

* Périn, "*Richesse*," il. pp. 399, 400.

we must do justice, and we will suggest two arguments—the one for the use of the economists who bid us save, the other for the use of the anti-economists who bid us spend for the general benefit. First, then, we grant to the economists that if the end of life is the production of wealth, the heaping up of material products, the complete development of all the productive resources of a nation, then, truly enough, Christian charity misunderstands and thwarts this end. For on this principle man is an instrument for the production of wealth, just as a plough is an instrument for breaking up the soil. Consequently, as soon as a man ceases to be a fit instrument, either actually or prospectively, he becomes burdensome instead of useful. Therefore, while on the one hand all fine and healthy children should be carefully reared, as we now rear the healthy offspring of horses, and cattle, with a view to their future use; on the other hand, the weak and sickly, the deformed and maimed, should be promptly made away with. If, indeed, they could vegetate without requiring help, there would be less objection to permitting them to live, though even then there would be no rational ground for their cumbering the earth, and delaying to give up to agriculture and manufactures the valuable chemical substances contained in their bodies. But when, in fact, they require valuable food, clothing, fuel and lodging, and worse still, the labour and attention of others who might all the while have been producing wealth, their existence becomes an intolerable burden. The same reasoning applies to those who, having been able-bodied, become permanently disabled through accident, sickness, or old age; and as soon as it is quite plain that from any given person no more work can be expected, or work so little as not to pay for his subsistence, let him know that his part is played out, and that it is time for him to leave the scene. And this may be said also to those workmen who, having learnt a trade and become fit for nothing else, are thrown permanently out of work through some technical change. These too, if not strong enough to earn their subsistence by common unskilled labour, must no longer burden society by their presence. How these sound and simple principles are set at naught by that combination of foolish sentimentalism and economical ignorance called Christian charity, is unfortunately too evident to require proof; and indeed a positive boast is made of the vast amount of wealth and of labour bestowed on the care of various kinds of *incurables*, as though this frightful waste of productive power, instead of deserving censure, gave a claim to admiration.

Such is the argument which we offer to the economists to

make what use of they wish. We will not attempt to answer it; and indeed, if we admit the aforegiven view of the end of life, it seems quite unanswerable. And now let the anti-economists receive the gift of an argument in their turn. Let them urge that whatever may be said to the contrary, the plain fact is incontestable that the poor are supported by the rich, as a moment's consideration will show to economists, and perhaps even to Christian sentimentalists. For if the rich, that is those who, in virtue of the sacred and inviolable rights of property, own the mass of the lands, the buildings, the machinery, and raw materials in the country, were to reduce their consumption to the bare necessities of life, and draw from their property only enough to keep themselves permanently supplied with these necessities, the mass of the population would starve. The fields of the great estate of the rich man would lie untilled, except a patch in a corner to grow potatoes and oats for the abstemious owner, and for perhaps one solitary labourer. The owner of the coal-mines of half a county would only have those few tons of coal raised that would suffice to purchase for himself and one or two coal-miners the necessities of life. The great foundry-owner or mill-owner would only use one single foundry, or one portion of one single mill; and of all the ships of the great shipowner, but one with scanty freight would set sail. The result, as is obvious, would be that the greater part of the nation would be without employment, and without means of subsistence. For we naturally suppose the presence of the just and orderly government of civilized society; so that if hunger drove any of the starving multitudes outside to break through the ring-fence of the great landowner, and till the soil themselves for their own support, or forcibly enter and work for their own profit the mills, or foundries, or ships, the police or the military would promptly interfere to prevent or punish such an outrageous violation of the sacred rights of property. And therefore it is quite true to say that the so-called self-indulgence of the rich, denounced by short-sighted ascetics and doctrinaire economists, is needful not merely for the comfort and prosperity of the poor, but for their very life and support.

Such is the argument; and we do not quite see how the economists *could* answer it. For ourselves we will not attempt any formal answer, but will leave our rich and luxurious friends with their argument, only warning them that if they use it they must take the consequences, and may perhaps find that as one consequence their appeal to the sacred, inviolable, and self-evident rights of property may seem to their poor

countrymen to be wanting in sincerity and force, and that a just and orderly government (conducted naturally by persons of property having some stake in the country) may grow somewhat difficult to maintain. And we may suggest to them, in consideration of the weakness of human nature, and the prevalence of illusions, and the depravity of the age, that perhaps it would be wise to forego for a time the exercise of some of their august rights, and although cherishing as firmly as ever within their hearts the indisputable truth that they have a right to do what they like with their own, yet outwardly act as though they thought that the possession of wealth was an office to which many and stringent duties were attached, and as though they were convinced that the best, if not the only, answer to schemes of forced communism, was the free communism of Christian charity.

And now, in conclusion, we have to make a necessary but mournful reflection. The errors we have been considering may indeed be stated with such plausibility as to deceive many excellent and well-intentioned persons, though, for all men, natural reason and common humanity, and for Christians, at any rate, the teaching of their religion, give help against being deceived. But we fear also, that these errors have often their source, not in intellectual weakness, but in a perversity of will, and that their prevalence is an indication of society suffering from something worse than a mere scientific mistake. The Christian doctrine, with its terrible warnings against the rich, with its exaltation of poverty, and with its teachings on mortification, is intolerable to the pride of rationalism and to the sensuality of materialism. The presence of the poor is a perpetual protest against the doctrine that the end of man is to be found in this present life, whether in intellectual development or in the pleasures of the senses, and that there is no future squaring of accounts, no reward or retribution to come. The poor man then is a constant offence to the rationalists or materialists, and all the more so, because their mode of accounting for his existence and dealing with his misery is so feeble and unbecoming, compared with the theory and practice of Christian Charity. Moreover, they well apprehend the convincing argument in favour of the Catholic Church, to be drawn from the spectacle of her works of mercy and loving care for the poor; and, with detestable sagacity hinder, by force, if they are able, if not, at least by calumny and sophistry, the action of her charity. F. Liberatore has well pointed out,* how the hostility of political naturalism towards Catholic

* "*La Chiesa e lo Stato*," p. 324, seq.

almsgiving comes from hatred of the poor and hatred of religion. And among the many reasons which all the faithful, and especially the weak and the poor, have for gratitude towards the Sovereign Pontiff, not the least is the solemn condemnation which he pronounced against the error that liberty of almsgiving was opposed to the principles of the best political economy. "Atque etiam impie pronunciauit, auferendam esse civibus Ecclesiæ facultatem 'qua eleemosynas christianæ caritatis causa palam erogare valeant,' . . . fallacissime prætexentes, commemoratam facultatem . . . optimæ publicæ œconomix principiis obsistere" ("Quanta Cura," 1864).

We have done with the more purely theoretical errors as to Charity. In another article we hope to consider one great practical error, namely, the incursion of the civil power into the field of poor relief; and we hope to show the mischief of that incursion, and to disprove the arguments used in its defence.

ART. V.—ARUNDEL CASTLE: THE FITZALANS AND HOWARDS.

1. *The Lives of Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, and of Anne Daeres, his Wife.* Edited from the Original MSS. by the DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M. London: Hurst & Blackett. 1857.
2. *The History and Antiquities of the Castle and Tower of Arundel; including the Biography of its Earls, from the Conquest to the Present Time.* By the Rev. M. A. TIERNEY, F.S.A., Chaplain to His Grace the Duke of Norfolk. 2 vols. London: G. & W. Nicol 1834.
3. *A History of the Western Division of the County of Sussex, including the Rapes of Arundel and Bramber.* By JAMES DALLAWAY, M.B., F.A.S., Prebendary of Ferring and Rector of Slynfold. Vol. II. Part the First. London: Printed by Bensley & Son. 1819.

A GREAT thinker, whose loss the State as well as Catholicity in these countries had to lament, now nearly a generation ago—Frederick Lucas—once remarked: "The English Peerage is safe for many centuries." The prediction seemed a daring one even then, but many a rude storm has passed over the world since, and yet the Peerage stands where it did, and is likely yet to remain. Many causes have contributed to the preservation of this and other ancient institutions among us, under however great an alteration of form,

especially the double character which belongs to it, of sharp separation on the one hand, but openness on the other. It is open to generous and lofty ambition; whilst it gives a clear and determinate rank. But deeper reasons are found in the nature of the English people, which has ever loved the past, and with whom the chief charm of rank is less its elevation than the bond by which its associations unite the present with the former ages of our history; and this, if we mistake not, is equally felt where the English race has been even rudely severed from its past, for example in the United States—witness authors like Washington Irving and Prescott. The same feeling is now intensified by what at first sight might have been expected to operate in a contrary direction,—by the immensely increased means of locomotion which enables all classes of the community to visit the scenes of remote historical glories, and to read the annals of their country in monuments that leave on the imagination a livelier impress than books can ever give.

Among such scenes the little borough town of Arundel and its fortress, which we shall endeavour to describe in this article, holds one of the foremost places. It has something to connect it with Alfred and with Harold, with the fierce Norman barons who won for William the Norman his crown, with the picturesque adventures of the Empress Maud, and, centuries after her, with the imprudence and the wrongs of Mary Queen of Scots. You cannot understand Arundel, its grey towers and its deep woods, unless your memory can light up their image with many a recollection drawn from the dark political struggles of the Plantagenets, Tudors, and Stuarts; across the silence of above two centuries that has followed upon the day when the stern soldiers of the Parliament passed through its shattered gates. But it is not war, after all, that furnishes the main interest of the study before us. The tremendous conflict of religion, that characterizes so long a period of English history, though not precisely finding a centre in Arundel, still caught up as it were into its whirlwind, in the person of one of its earls, as noble a victim as any who were added to the ranks of the martyrs in that miserable age. In our own days, too, a page of church-history is being written there, happier indeed and more peaceful, but scarcely less glorious, in works that will survive to far-distant generations.

Let us endeavour, at the outset, to give those readers who have not visited Arundel some idea of its character as a locality. Arundel stands at the extremity of the Sussex Downs. The station at which we alight, on the London,

Brighton and South Coast line, is at the foot of an eminence called the Causeway Hill, which commands an excellent view of the castle, town, and surrounding country. Conceive yourself then on a road just descending the slope of a woody hill. On your left, at the foot of the hill, is the station, and in striking and immediate contrast with it, what appears at first sight merely an old and rather picturesque farm-house. If familiar with mediæval architecture, the traveller will, however, be struck with something particular about the buttresses, string-courses, and general look of this old cottage, notwithstanding its modern stabling, as it stands in its steep green fields, with cows grazing about. The farm-house, called by the quaint name of Calceto, is in fact the remains of an ancient monastery of Augustinians, founded far back in the Middle Ages, by Adeliza, queen of Henry II. It was of course dismantled at the dissolution, but the square church-tower was left standing. It is capped by a modern peaked roof, and turned into a dwelling-house, and a very pretty as well as a very easy study in water-colours it would make for a young artist. At the foot of the Causeway Hill, the road goes along a level alluvial plain for a considerable distance, intersected by the river Arun. Green meadows then stretch far to the right; the road crosses first the railway, and next the river, protected on either side by thick rapidly-growing plantations of fir and trees of that class, to strengthen the banks. A short mile from the foot of the hill we behold rising on a steep, long, thickly-wooded ridge to the right, the stately castle of Arundel; its ruined keep, where still waves the banner of Howard and Fitzalan, but which has been in its present state of desolation since the Cromwellian wars; its Norman gateway, still perfect; its modern palatial abode, dating only from the first part of the century, though much of it is a refacing of the massive walls of a remote date. This recent building, however, looks venerable from the ivy which has spread all over it, amidst which the windows shine in the sun. Still looking to the right, are woods fringing Swanbourne Lake, a sheet of water of that crystal clearness always seen in the chalk formation, and other woods meeting it on the opposite side, where there is a remarkable white cliff, with a little hotel, "The Black Rabbit," at its foot. In front and to the left the view from the Causeway Hill commands the town of Arundel, the few steep streets of which are built on the slopes of the same eminence on which stands the castle. The spire of the Protestant church and of the stately cathedral, as it may almost be called, built just opposite by the present Duke of Norfolk, are in themselves examples the most suggestive

of changes stretching over centuries, and of revolutions we see at present going on before our eyes. Again woods and green meadows terminate the prospect, to the outward eye, though the observer to whom it is familiar will constantly be tempted to enlarge on what is still beyond. In fact a few days might well be spent in mastering all that the place has to offer of beautiful views or striking associations. It is therefore necessary, for the purposes of a single paper, to limit our range, which shall include little more than the castle itself, and the fortunes of the great families who have successively held it, particularly of the Fitzalans and the Howards.

It would be difficult to show a fortress better adapted for defence, previously to the introduction of modern artillery, than Arundel Castle, standing on such an elevation as it does. Swanbourne Lake, with the river in front, at the base of its precipitous hill, on one side; whilst its lofty keep, in the Norman style, on an artificial mound, and earthworks, of which there are very remarkable remains, behind, protect it in the inland direction. These remains, however, might escape the traveller, if his attention were not directed towards them. They consist of a kind of embankment, or *vallum*, no doubt British, which has been cut through to make the London road, a short distance from the Catholic church, and close to what is called the "Duke's Gate." One point of it is in the field to the left; the other inside the gate to the right; both shaded by trees. At a period not extremely remote, the sea, though now nearly four miles off, must have approached the castle very nearly. The wooded cliffs near the Black Rabbit give to the most untutored eye the idea of the heights surrounding a small circular bay, represented by the flat rich meadows watered by the Arun. There is no doubt that formerly all that tract would be flooded in the winter, and old people still tell of the times when it was possible to get round almost the whole of Arundel in boats. But there, as well as in most parts of England, a process of drying up, by drainage and other causes, seems to have gone on, which, indeed, has not yet been completed; and remains of the once far wider waters exist only in Swanbourne Lake, and in two or three reedy pools or marshes in the neighbourhood of the town. To return, however, to the castle. We climb the ascent of the High-street, nearly one side of which is occupied by a part of the castle-wall, built of grey granite, well contrasting with the prevailing tint of the old red-brick houses of the town. Reaching the first level of the hill, we arrive at a noble gateway, the work of Sir Gilbert Scott, and pass up a short drive between grounds planted with trees in rich variety to the entrance

archway, which passes under a tower, planned, with the rest of the modern part of the edifice, by Charles Howard, Duke of Norfolk, second of that name. The tower has an air of grandeur from its loftiness and solidity. Through it we gain the quadrangle, the great features of the two longer sides being the chapel and baronial hall, and the library, joined by the main staircase and principal gallery. The side of the quadrangle opposite the latter is occupied by the ruins of the keep, on its stately mound, with flight of steps leading to the Norman turret, still perfect, which of old formed the chief access to the castle. The mixture, in such close proximity, of the shattered fragments of the chivalrous past with the artificial architecture of an age of refinement and security, has a singularity about it that is not unpleasing. At any rate, it is a pleasanter association for the heir of the Fitzalans to behold the ruins of the fortress destroyed "in honour's cause," in a struggle with successful rebellion, than, as in some of the palatial homes of England—as, for example, Newstead Abbey—for their lords to look upon the desolate churches, the destruction of which made way for their elevation.

Entering the gallery by the great staircase, the visitor in Arundel Castle will perhaps be not so much struck by any extraordinary splendour as by that air of antique wealth which, as one of the old Greek poets has remarked, gives a peculiar grace to the abodes of real historical families.* We are reminded of the old Roman *atria*, with their *imagines* of the great soldiers and statesmen who adorned such a clan as that of the Fabii or the Scipios, comparing which with the Howards and their allies, it may be truly said of these English races, as one of the very last of Roman writers † said of the great houses of his own day—*splendor similis et non inferior virtus est*. Look at the pictures and ornaments of the gallery, or of the rooms which open upon it. Here is a shield won by a Fitzalan in a tournament at Florence in the days of the Medici. There are antique busts of Roman emperors, associated, for us, with the splendid curiosity which induced an Earl of Arundel, in the Stuart days, to form his celebrated collection, by means of accomplished agents sent into Italy, and so to render to art services second only to those afforded to history by the marbles named after him Arundelian. Yonder, and elsewhere too, is the poetical face, still almost boyish, of "the murdered Surrey," who in the few short years of his early

* 'Ἀρχαιοπλούτων δισπύτων πολλὰ χάρις.—Æsch., "Agam.," 1010.

† Macrobi., "Sat.," i. 1.

manhood added a new measure to our language, and that measure the one which Milton took for the third great epic of the world. We compare not Surrey with Milton; but let it be remembered that the former was the first English poet who wrote in blank verse, and that it would be something if we could similarly tell who it was in the far-distant centuries who first delivered to Homer the mighty instrument of the hexameter. Look at yonder marked face, that seems to say from the canvas, "I left my name upon history; ask who I am, and then read about me when you go home." That is the first Duke of Norfolk, the fifth descendant from the sage judge who began this famous line in the thirteenth century. He looks bold, sagacious, and well-versed in the ways of the world; his features are full and sanguine; you can read in them the qualities that won him his high place in the dark, stormy times of the Wars of the Roses. Clad in armour, like so many others of greater or less celebrity, is the Earl of Arundel, the great collector already mentioned—a noble portrait by Vandyke, and as speaking to the eye as the word-portrait by which Clarendon has delivered his likeness down to all time.* His hand rests on the shoulder of his grandson, a bright, fair-haired youth, who lived to be one of the glories of his house, not, indeed, in the battle-field, nor yet on the scaffold, but as wearing with equal merit the white robe of S. Dominic and the purple of the Roman cardinal—the first Cardinal Howard, whose dignity our own days have beheld restored in another ecclesiastic of the same house, who has laid his sword upon the altar, and taken instead the chalice and the crosier.

Another priceless Vandyke is a portrait of Charles I., which we have seldom looked at without being reminded of that very striking scene in the novel of "*Woodstock*," where Cromwell suddenly comes in sight of the picture of his murdered sovereign:—

"That Flemish painter," he said—"that Antonio Vandyck—what a power he has! Steel may mutilate, warriors may waste and destroy—still the king stands uninjured by time; and our grandchildren, while they read

* "It cannot be denied," says the historian, who was no friend to the Earl of Arundel, "that he had in his person, in his aspect and countenance, the appearance of a great man, which he possessed in his gait and motions. He wore and affected a habit very different from that of the time, such as men had only beheld in the pictures of the most considerable men; all which drew the eyes of most, and the reverence of many, towards him, as the image and representation of the primitive nobility, and native gravity of the nobles when they had been most venerable."—Clarendon, "*Hist. Reb.*," i. p. 99.

his history, may look on his image, and compare the melancholy features with the woful tale. It was a stern necessity—it was an awful deed!”—*“Woodstock,”* ch. viii.

In the same room with this hangs a very striking portrait of Richard III., different indeed from the notion of that king which was once popular, but far more in keeping with the real facts of his history,—a face youthful, nervous, vindictive, and crafty, the hand eagerly fidgeting with the ring; and in excellent opposition near this is Elizabeth of York, with calm and sweet expression, ill-matched, for her own happiness, with the selfish Tudor.

Of a different class, but extremely interesting in every respect, is a portrait by Holbein, of Mary Fitzalan, Duchess of Norfolk, and mother of Philip, first Earl of Arundel of the Howard line. Among the more modern portraits an excellent Gainsborough deserves especial mention, representing Edward, Duke of Norfolk, who, in the last century (he died in 1777), was the principal collector of the Library, which forms so important a portion of Arundel Castle. And to come to recent English history, the late Lord Lyons, maternal grandfather to the present Duke of Norfolk, has a place, so well earned by wise counsel and brave deeds, among the chieftains of a race like the Howards, distinguished as much in naval warfare as by land. We shall further notice only a small but very choice collection of Prouts and Copley Fieldings, the latter especially valuable where they are, as giving the untrained eye such an insight into the peculiar types of the Down scenery of Sussex in view of which the Castle stands.

The picturesque idea which Sir Walter Scott (to quote him once more) gives us of the library at Waverley-Honour, “a large Gothic room, with double arches and a gallery, containing such a miscellaneous and extensive collection of volumes as had been assembled together during the course of three hundred years by a family which had been always wealthy,” comes to one’s mind on entering the stately library of Arundel Castle. It is a room of 117 feet long by 35, with a sort of arcade on either side of cedar-wood, on which is supported a gallery, with brass railings, reached by a spiral staircase at each end, the whole divided by two deep recesses, one of which served, in times that already look distant, for the family chapel. The bookcases are protected by doors with brass trellises. The ceiling is of carved cedar-wood, the general effect, though rather dark, savours at once of “the studious cloister” and the magnificence which befits the baronial mansion. Without entering into details too minute, it will pro-

bably interest the reader if we offer some notices of the arrangement and general character of the collection. Supposing that we enter it on the side nearest the great gallery, on our right are the departments of English history, county history, English, French, and Italian literature; on our left, classical literature, miscellaneous history and heraldry, travels, scientific works, and bibliography. Ascending the spiral staircase, at the nearest end of the gallery, are works on art, at the opposite end, biblical and patristic literature. The sides of the gallery contain more miscellaneous works, except that nearly one half of the western side is filled with a rich collection of controversial literature, English and French, and with devotional literature, such as might be expected to have accumulated in a family like that of the ducal Howards. The era of James II. is particularly well represented. The art-collection is also very valuable, more especially in the department of architecture, and in that of portrait engravings. The county histories form a rich division, as also the pamphlets of the age of the Stuarts and the transition-period that followed. The classical literature, with the scientific, belongs principally to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and is consequently less valuable to the student who seeks for modern discoveries than to him whose researches are directed rather to the history of these respective branches of learning. It is from an ignorant forgetfulness of their great utility for this latter purpose, that many such collections have been mutilated or dispersed by those who ought to have been better acquainted with the nature of the trust reposed in them. A part of the classical collection came originally from the library of Huet, Bishop of Avranches. Taken as a whole, independently of the interest attaching to such departments of literature as we have mentioned, it will not escape the reader that Arundel Castle library represents, quite intact, the sort of studies which had an attraction for educated Catholic society in England of the highest rank in the first half of the eighteenth century, when Pope was the great poet who came from it, and when Alban Butler was the worthier representative, in dark and evil days, of deep historical learning, such as even Gibbon had the sense of justice to praise; and of faith, and practical wisdom, and devotion no less deep than his learning. It may be ranked among the services that the house of Howard have rendered to the cause of Catholicism, that this great light of religion in his own times, and for those who have come after him, was fostered by that house; for we read in his life by his learned relation, Charles Butler, that the education of Edward Howard, heir of the duchy of Norfolk,

who died in 1767, was entrusted to Alban Butler. We believe ourselves correct in concluding, from sundry references we have met with in Butler's "Lives," that this excellent chronicler of the deeds of the saints in all ages was much indebted in his researches to this very library of Arundel Castle we have been describing. We do not know whether it is to Alban Butler, or to some other ecclesiastic of his own college, connected with Arundel, that the Castle library is indebted for a curious collection of MS. theological treatises, compiled at Douay about the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century. Among them are notes of a course of lectures by a Douay professor of note in his day, to whom we find a reference in Butler—the Rev. Charles Witasse.

The archives of the house of Norfolk, whilst containing many precious documents, of which some of the most interesting have been used by Tierney in his "History of Arundel," are perhaps rather less rich than might have been expected, considering the historical importance of the family for so many generations. This is partly accounted for by the many political storms through which they have passed, partly, perhaps, from the dispersion of the original line of the Howards into so many diverse branches. Among all, however, that are extant in the possession of the ducal stock, the MS. lives of Philip Earl of Arundel, and of his Countess Anne, published some years ago by the late Duke of Norfolk, are to the Catholic student by far the most valuable, as illustrating the history of the Catholic Church in England, the manners of the times, and the characters of personages of singular mark and excellence, such as ought to be described as examples for all time. To these we shall presently refer more at large, in the course of the following outline of leading points of interest connected with the families which have successively held the honour of Arundel—Montgomeries, Albinis, Fitzalans, and Howards, though of the first three, important as they are, we can only treat by way of introduction.

These families are all connected with each other. The Howards became Earls of Arundel through the marriage of Thomas, the fourth Duke of Norfolk, with the heiress of Fitzalan in the 16th century; the Fitzalans by the marriage of John Fitzalan with Isabel de Albini in the thirteenth; the Albinis by the forfeiture of Robert de Belesme, son of Roger Montgomery, in the eleventh. But the line of Fitzalan was already related to that of Montgomery by the marriage of its founder, Alan Fitz-Fleald, a follower of the Conqueror, with a grand-niece of Roger, the first Earl of Arundel. There were three earls of the name of Montgomery, five Albinis,

fourteen Fitzalans; and the present Duke of Norfolk is the fourteenth Earl of Arundel of the house of Howard, the thirty-sixth in line of succession from the first.

Roger de Montgomery, one of the principal advisers and companions-at-arms of William the Conqueror, commanded the centre at the battle of Hastings, and was rewarded for his pains with the earldom of Chichester and Arundel, the most illustrious title he could receive, as those possessions had previously been held by Harold, and probably by King Alfred before him. But they formed by no means the only territorial reward that was acquired by this great soldier. He held seventy-seven manors in the east of the county of Sussex, almost all Shropshire, and other lordships in half the counties of England. His career is marked by an important share in the conflict between Robert Duke of Normandy and William Rufus, and by the conquest of Powisland in Wales, under the grant of the latter sovereign, of which the name of Montgomeryshire bears witness to the present day. A thorough example of the medieval warrior, Roger de Montgomery, after his many achievements in arms and policy, took the religious habit towards the close of his life, in the abbey which he had founded at Shrewsbury. He died in 1094. His honours were successively inherited by his two sons, Hugh and Robert de Belesme, the former an ally of Mowbray Earl of Northumberland in his struggle to dethrone William Rufus, and afterwards of Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester, in the cruel chastisement of the Welsh in Anglesea. As for Robert de Belesme, every reader of the Norman period of English history will remember his name, whose only virtue was bravery, and who was a type of the savage ferocity which the Norman character could exhibit even in persons who, unlike him, redeemed it in some degree by the more prevailing element of chivalry. He was imprisoned by Henry I. in Wareham Castle, where he died in 1094; the king seized his manors and estates in Sussex, and left them to his widow, Queen Adeliza, by whom they were conveyed to her second husband, William de Albini. William de Albini's place in English history is one of importance. He afforded hospitality, at Arundel Castle, to Queen Adeliza's step-daughter, the Empress Maud, and was the author of the truce which led to the final arrangement between Stephen and Henry. He was the chief among the lay nobles of the great embassy sent by Henry II. to Pope Alexander III. to solicit a legatine commission for the Archbishop of York, after the Constitutions of Clarendon, and was engaged in other conspicuous affairs, both diplomatic and military, in that reign. Of the other Earls of Arundel, of

the family of Albin, we shall only notice William, great-grandson of the last-mentioned, who was one of the barons at Runnymede. His name was inserted at the head of Magna Charta, and he was one of those who bound themselves, on the part of the king, to obey the twenty-five conservators of the public liberties charged with carrying out its provisions. Isabel, great-granddaughter of William de Albin and Queen Adeliza, married John Fitzalan, lord of Clun, and their son, also named John, succeeded to the castle and earldom of Arundel, which continued for many generations in the line of the Fitzalans, and were transmitted by them to the Howards. It may well be said that for centuries no remarkable transaction took place in the course of English history in which these two great families had not some share. Take, for example, John Fitzalan, first Earl of Arundel of that name. For some time a confederate of Simon de Montfort, he reconciled himself with the king, and fought at the battle of Lewes, where he was made prisoner. Richard, the third earl, was conspicuous in the wars of Edward I. in Wales and Scotland, at Carnarvon, Falkirk, and Carlaverock. A Norman-French poem on the siege of the last-mentioned place gives us the following vivid picture of him.

Richard le Conte de Aroundel
Beau chivaler et bien amé,
I vi je richement armé
En rouge au lyon rampant de or.

We wish he had not been one of those nobles who signed the disobedient reply to Pope Boniface VIII.'s letter prohibiting Edward's invasion of Scotland. The fourth earl, Edmund Fitzalan, whose marriage with the heiress of Warren, Earl of Surrey, added a splendid title and quartering to the house of Norfolk, joined in the overthrow of Piers Gaveston, and in passing sentence on that favourite; and with the rest, also witnessed his execution. The earl was not three-and-twenty when this happened. Yet he sided with Edward II. in his subsequent trouble, and sat as one of the judges at the trial of the Earl of Lancaster, for which he suffered the vengeance of Roger Mortimer, and was himself beheaded, without trial; "the only man of rank," says Hume, "who had maintained his loyalty." His son, the fifth earl, Richard Fitzalan, whose first wife was a daughter of Hugh le Despenser; and his second, Eleanor Plantagenet, daughter of Henry Earl of Lancaster, had a career as full of events as a life in Plutarch. The most memorable of these is the battle of Creci, where, as Constable of the forces, he led the second battalion of the English

army. His son and successor, Richard, the sixth earl, was one of the most conspicuous figures in the troubled reign of Richard II., distinguished in naval command, but still more as a great party leader. It is hardly necessary to mention that he, with the Duke of Gloucester, presided at the trial of Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, was one of the council of inquiry, who held the supreme power extorted from the king by a combination formed at Arundel Castle, in which the Earl's brother, Fitzalan, Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earl of Northumberland, and others of the great nobles took part, and that he shared the fall of the Duke of Gloucester, when the king's party again prevailed. His own trial, among the judges at which were John of Gaunt and the Earl of Derby (afterwards Henry IV.), is described in some pages where the picturesque character of the facts has almost enabled Holinshed to rival Froissart. He was executed on Tower Hill, whither went with him to see execution done, six great lords; among these Nottingham, Kent, and Huntingdon, on horseback, "with the fierce bands of Cheshire men, furnished with axes, swordes, bows and arrowes, marching before and behind them." The high-minded energy shown by this earl in his inflexible resistance to the weak favouritism of Richard II. not only overawed the imagination of the king, but powerfully impressed the minds of the multitude. More than one chronicler records that after his death Richard was sorely troubled by strange dreams, in which he thought the earl appeared to him and put him in terrible fear. And the common people came to visit the place of his sepulture, from the idea they had formed of his holiness. There is certainly much to show that Richard, Earl of Arundel, had in a very high degree the spirit of the ages of faith. It was he who established the College of the Holy Trinity at Arundel, to take the place of the old priory, the monks of which had fled to their present abbey in Normandy during the wars of Edward III., and who built for it the beautiful "Fitzalan Chapel," which, even after all the ruin it has undergone from fanaticism and spoliation, forms so splendid a memorial alike of ancestral honour and of piety. In the year in which Richard Fitzalan began that college he was formally associated by the Abbot and Convent of Titchfield Abbey with the brotherhood of the house, and with him the soul of his countess Elizabeth, and of his parents, the Lord Richard and the Lady Eleanor, were to share their prayers. In his will, a very remarkable and characteristic document, after making decent arrangements for his funeral, he strictly charges his executors not to employ either armed men, horses, hearses, or

other extravagance (*bobauces*) beyond what he ordained. He left bequests to complete his favourite college, and to the priory of Lewes, to Chichester Cathedral, and to the Abbey of Fécamp, to purchase the manor of Bury, to be settled on the college; to the Duchess of Norfolk (grandmother to his son-in-law the Duke of Norfolk, of the line of Mowbray), a cross of gold with an Agnus Dei of enamelled gold, adorned on one side with the coronation of Christ by the Jews, and on the other with the figures of S. Francis, and seventeen pearls. To his heir he bequeaths the Bible in two volumes, a pair of Decretals in French, a pair of Paternosters in gold, with other jewels and relics in a white coffer, bound with silver, and adorned with gilt lions, *a demorer perpetuellement de heir en heir seigneurs d'Arundelle en remembrance de hoy et de s'alme*. Space will not permit our further enlarging on this will, though it affords many other particulars illustrating in a very interesting manner the home life of a great English noble in the fourteenth century.

A Greek historian would have found in the fortune of Thomas Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, son of the last-mentioned, an example of avenging Nemesis. He fled to the Continent from Richard II. after his father's death, but returned to side with the Duke of Lancaster, who delivered over to his custody, and to that of the youthful Duke of Gloucester, the captive sovereign, who had shed the blood of their fathers. This earl commanded in Wales against the Duke of Montmorency and the French who came to aid Owen Glendower, and also in France in Henry V.'s reign. He married a Portuguese princess, Beatrix, of whom there is a superb tomb in the Fitzalan Chapel, and built a gate in Oswestry, called the Beatrice Gate, in her honour. At his death the earldom of Arundel passed into a collateral branch, one of whose alliances added to it the title of Maltravers. Among these later Fitzalans we may mention John, ninth earl of his family, who was of great note in the French wars of the reign of Henry VI., was made Duke of Touraine by the Regent Bedford, and died of his wounds received at the siege of Gerberoy. He was buried at Beauvais, but is commemorated by an exquisite cenotaph in the Fitzalan Chapel at Arundel. His brother William, Earl of Arundel, married a sister of Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, "the king-maker"; his political acts seem to have been vacillating, but he earned the praise of posterity as the patron of Caxton, whom he zealously encouraged in the midst of difficulties to translate and publish the "Golden Legend," as the good printer has himself gratefully recorded in his preface. He also gave the

manor of Aynhowe, in Northamptonshire, to Magdalene College in Oxford, on condition of a mass called the Arundel Mass, being kept at an altar called Arundel Altar, in the college chapel, for the souls of himself, his son, and their successors. His son and grandson, successively Earls of Arundel, though conspicuous in the courts of the first Tudors, do not otherwise need any long notice here. Of these the first, Thomas, married a sister of Queen Elizabeth Woodville; the second, William, attended Henry VIII. at the Field of Cloth of Gold, and later, was one of the judges at the trial of Queen Anne Boleyn. His only son, Henry, was the last Earl of Arundel of the line of Fitzalan, and had a career very characteristic of his times. Like many, however, in the annals of Arundel, it is so interwoven with the general history of England as hardly to require more than a brief recapitulation in a paper like this. Under Henry VIII. he was for seven years governor of Calais, and served as Marshal in the expedition to Boulogne. In Edward VI.'s reign, as a member of the Council of Regency, he broke the power of the Protector Somerset, in favour of the Earl of Warwick; was again reconciled to the former, but was involved in his fall by the enmity of the same Warwick, now Duke of Northumberland. The conspiracy for Lady Jane Grey afforded him an opportunity of avenging himself on Northumberland, whose scheme he apparently favoured, whilst keeping Mary informed of what was going on. When the time arrived for crushing the plot, it was the Earl of Arundel who took the initiative for that object in the council, who was commissioned to carry the great seal to Mary, and who effected the arrest of Northumberland. He was Lord High Steward in Queen Mary's reign, and for some years in that of Elizabeth; entertained that queen at his house of Nonsuch, so famous in the chronicles of that age; was even one of the Queen's many rejected suitors; was a member of the Westminster commission for trying Mary Queen of Scots, but favoured the pretensions of Thomas Howard, fourth Duke of Norfolk (his daughter's widower), to marry her, for which he too sustained a long imprisonment, and took no part in public affairs afterwards. With him expired the Fitzalan family in the male line; but the marriage of his heiress, Mary Fitzalan, with the Duke of Norfolk, above-mentioned, still continued it in the female.

Our subject thus leads us to consider such particulars in the history of the House of Howard as are most interesting in connection with Arundel, but some preliminary sketch of its earlier fortunes seems necessary. As is well known, the

primordia of this celebrated family are buried in the darkness of antiquity. Some antiquarians have referred it to the Saxon Hereward, others to Auber, Earl of Poissy, one of the companions-in-arms of the Conqueror; but, in general, it would seem to have been one of those which suddenly appear at a remote epoch in the field of history, and which, as their earlier movements are without record, must be presumed to have been all along of an importance which caused their emergence not to create any surprise. They have been historical, at all events, from the thirteenth century; towards the close of which Sir William Howard, of Wigenhall, in Norfolk, attained the high office of Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and was summoned to Parliament among the judges by Edward I. and II. Sir Robert Howard, his descendant in the fifth generation, married the daughter of Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, which alliance laid the foundation of the greater fortunes of the race; for their son, Sir John Howard, first raised to the peerage by Henry VI., and otherwise favoured both by that sovereign and Edward IV., became afterwards one of the principal adherents of Richard III., was by him created Duke of Norfolk and Earl Marshal in 1483, and, less than two years after, led the van at the battle of Bosworth, where he was slain. Of his son Thomas, the second duke, it is sufficient to remind the reader that, as Earl of Surrey, he commanded at the battle of Flodden, where his son, Edmund Howard, led the right wing, and that he was the grandfather of Queen Katharine Howard and of Queen Anne Boleyn. A minor fact about him is less generally known, that the tomb under which he was buried in Thetford Abbey had been designed by himself, assisted by Clarke, master of the works at King's College, Cambridge, and Wassell, a free-mason of Bury St. Edmund's.* We see from this that, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, a great English nobleman had studied the art of design, and it is the first example of a taste which was shown, at periods very widely apart, by other chiefs of the same house. His eldest son, Thomas, third duke, whose first wife was Anne, daughter of Edward IV., by his second, a daughter of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, was the father of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey. Their place in English history, the son as the last victim of the gloomy, suspicious cruelty of Henry VIII., the father as only saved from it by the tyrant's death, need not be here reviewed. Yet, on the character of Surrey we are more tempted to linger, partly from the romance attaching to his name,

* Cooper's *Ath. Cant.*, i. p. 24, col. 2. Quoted in J. F. Furnivall's "Education in Early England." (London: Trubner & Co., 1867.)

partly from the important position he holds in literature, as one of our earliest writers of the sonnet, and the first poet who introduced blank verse into the English language. He would seem, in his earlier years, to have been a somewhat thoughtless youth, whose high rank and whose genius might equally be pleaded in his excuse. He was placed in the court at the early age of nine, as cupbearer to King Henry VIII., and from the age of fifteen was about that monarch's person. The spirit of poetry was not long in manifesting itself in him, and he associated it, as is familiar probably to many who have never read a line of his poems, with a lady of the illustrious house of Fitzgerald, earls of Kildare, and since dukes of Leinster, whose father, Gerald Fitzgerald, ninth earl of Kildare, died a prisoner in the Tower in 1534. But it may perhaps take away from the romance of the story to state the fact, that the fair Geraldine was but a child of six years old when the youthful and chivalrous poet adopted her as his lady-love. It was the fashion of the later medieval period, which was then closing, to attach poetry in this way to some idealized person, if not to a mere creation of the fancy. Such was Beatrice to Dante, such Laura to Petrarch, less the objects of everyday affection than types whose grace, beauty, and bright surroundings in the actual world served them as materials which, like the painter, they could heighten into something more brilliant than any experience could exhibit. The youthful Surrey was a soldier as well as a poet. He had looked on war in his father's campaign on the Scottish border, and Henry VIII.'s in France. We are tempted to quote the following sonnet of his, somewhat rugged as it is—"the stretched metre of an antique song"—because it is of biographical interest in this connection, and gives an idea of the pathetic rather than the playful aspect of his poetical character. It is addressed to the memory of a dear friend and follower of his, Thomas Clere, who belonged to a Norfolk family of that name, and was a kinsman of Anne Boleyn's. He died, aged twenty-eight, from a hurt received in defending Surrey himself from danger, in an encounter at the gates of Montreuil. Clerémont, in the second line of the sonnet, refers to the Norman origin of Clere's family, and Shelton, in the fifth, was the name of a lady to whom Clere had been attached, the daughter of Sir John Shelton, of Norfolk.

EPITAPH ON CLERE.

Norfolk sprung thee, Lambeth holds thee dead ;
Clere, of the Count of Clerémont, thou hight ;
Within the womb of Ormond's race thou bred,
And saw'st thy cousin crowned in thy sight.

Shelton for love, Surrey for lord thou chase ;*
 (Aye me ! whilst life did last that league was tender !)
 Tracing whose steps thou sawest Kelsal blaze,
 Landrécy burnt, and battered Boulogne render.
 At Montreuil gates, hopeless of all recuse,†
 Thine Earl half dead, gave in thy hand his will ;
 Which cause did thee this pining death procure,
 Ere summers four times seven thou couldst fulfil.
 Ah, Clere ! if love had bootied, care, or cost,
 Heaven had not won, nor earth so timely lost.

The first earl left two sons, of whom the elder, Thomas, succeeded his grandfather as fourth Duke of Norfolk, and by marrying the heiress of Fitzalan, as already mentioned, added the earldom of Arundel to the titles of Howard. Into the vexed historical questions concerning the grand interest of his life and the cause of his tragical end—his engagement to Mary Queen of Scots—we do not propose to enter, but shall indicate what appears to us the general view to be taken of his career. The duke's misfortunes seem to have been principally due to a false position : his was such in more ways than one. He was by birth the great chief to whom the Catholic party would naturally look up, but then he was by education a Protestant, even the pupil of Foxe, and in a letter to his son, written in view of the scaffold, he emphatically expresses himself as a Protestant by conviction. But this notwithstanding, there was in him a certain element of goodness, tenderness, and thoughtfulness, of which one sees examples enough in the present day, which may have given him, more than he was himself aware, a leaning towards Catholicism, in which direction his hereditary principles were continually leading him to act. Add to all this, not so much, we take it, the ambition which is so unsparingly attributed to him, of marrying a queen, because that was an alliance, after all, by no means extraordinary in his case, nor regarded in that light by his contemporaries, as the effect which all the circumstances of the time when he presided at the conference at York must have had upon his imagination. Mary was a being in whom concentrated the whole romance of the age ; and we may well believe that the duke inherited something of the character as well as the ill fate of the noble Surrey, rather than the more powerful qualities of his remoter ancestry. There was, besides, evidently in him a hesitation, often to be remarked in re-

* *Chase*, chose.

† *Recuse*, recovery. [We quote this sonnet from Mr. Morley's selection of "Shorter English Poems" (Cassell, Petter & Galpin), not having the original at hand.]

flective minds, which caused him to omit the moment when openness might have saved him from danger, or decisive action enabled him to master it. In short, he was no match for the policy, the passion, and the faith also, that swayed the stormy waters into which he was thrown, though, in happier times, the points in which his genius failed him would never have been noticed, or have been noticed only as indicating that liberalism so often allied with much that is "sweet and commendable in the nature," but which cannot stand in actual conflict with hostile powers. To whatever extent he shared in the conspiracy which brought him to destruction, he personally, as a Protestant, could only have acted either on sentimental motives unequal to a step like that, or in support of a cause of which he inherited only the traditions, and not the conviction.

With the attainder and death of Thomas Howard, the title of Duke of Norfolk disappeared for three generations. That of Earl of Arundel was allowed to be retained by his son Philip, in whom the true glory of the house of Howard may be said to centre, dying as he did for the faith, after languishing ten years in the Tower.

We rest with pleasure on the brief but most touching and edifying record of his virtues and sufferings, less known to the world than they deserve to be, however cherished by those who owe it to such as him that the failing spark of Catholicity in these realms was not utterly extinguished. The record we speak of is an ancient document, preserved in the archives of Arundel Castle, and regarded, as it well may be, as among the most precious possessions of its lords. It was published some years ago by the pious care of the late Duke of Norfolk ; and we believe we shall be doing a service to our readers, if we reproduce, in the language and the thoughts of our own times, some of the most interesting particulars of that brief and impressive memorial.

Philip Howard, twenty-third Earl of Arundel, was born at Arundel House, in London, in 1557, the son of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk above-mentioned, by his first wife, the Lady Mary Fitzalan. He was baptized at Whitehall, with all the splendour of ceremonial that might be expected from the recent alliances of the Howards with the blood-royal. A gold font was used on the occasion, which had always been reserved for the baptism of the princes. One of the sponsors was King Philip II. of Spain, the husband of Queen Mary, a circumstance the more remarkable, because, on the very day on which the Spanish monarch conferred this honour on the family of Howard, he set out on his journey for France, to

fight the battle of St. Quentin, but never again set foot in England. Notwithstanding this beginning, the early education of the young Philip Howard was of a Protestant character, his father having conformed to the prevailing religion, in which he also died. He sent his son to Cambridge, but, with a happy inconsistency, of which probably he was not aware at the time, placed him under Catholic influences, the tutor chosen for him being Gregory Martin, a scholar of note in his day, and who soon declared himself a Catholic. The youthful Surrey, however, destined though he was to rank with confessors and martyrs, did not immediately resume the faith of his fathers, and the commencement of his career afforded little foreshadowing of the future, beyond the high spirit he exhibited in common with many a noble youth. He was even led to a considerable extent into the dissipation that surrounded him; and this, notwithstanding his father's having caused him to enter the married state at a very early age, as was not unusual at that time. His bride, also, as we shall see, one of the great ornaments of the race with which she became connected, was Anne Dacre, daughter of Lord Dacre, "of the North."

On quitting the university, Earl Philip followed the court, and was conspicuous among the nobles who rivalled each other in the magnificent hospitality with which they entertained their capricious and exacting sovereign. Indeed the splendour of the receptions which the young chief of the Howards gave to Elizabeth, whilst it failed to save him from her wrath when he crossed her will, seriously embarrassed even his ample revenues. He incurred her displeasure for two reasons: one was the simple fact of his being married, which was always disliked by Elizabeth in those whom she was inclined to favour; the other, that he was suspected, and truly suspected, of intending to reconcile himself to the Catholic Church. The intention had been one of slow growth in his mind. In his first year at court, a deep and silent impression had been made upon his mind by a discussion at which he happened to be present, in the Tower of London, between the illustrious Jesuit, F. Campian and certain Protestant ministers. He was then about twenty-four years of age, and for such an early time of life, his character must have had wonderful depth. He says of himself:—"He resolved to become Catholic, long before he could resolve to live as a Catholic, and thereupon he deferred the former, until he had an intent and resolute purpose to perform the latter." Whilst such deliberation, or rather such delay, is not to be held out as an example—remembering the old maxim: *nescit tarda molimina spiritus*

sancti gratia, still the result showed that, in Philip Earl of Arundel's case, the slow growth was but caused by the roots being very deep. His final decision to become a Catholic connects itself in a striking manner with the ancient castle we have attempted to describe. "The which [resolution], being aided by a special grace of God, he made walking one day alone in the gallery of his castle at Arundel; where, after a long and great conflict within himself, lifting up his eyes and hands to heaven, he firmly resolved to become a member of God's Church, and frame his life accordingly; yet, kept it secret, neither making his lady, nor any other person living, acquainted therewith." We believe we are correct in stating that the existing gallery at Arundel, though certainly, as we see it, not older than the beginning of the present century, is formed by the same ancient walls between which the noble confessor paced when he formed this momentous resolution.

He had not long arrived at this conclusion, before he was enabled to persuade his brother, Lord William Howard, whom he greatly loved (and who, by the way, lived to be memorable in story and song, as "Belted Will Howard," ancestor of the Earls of Carlisle), to join in it. The question then presented itself to the brothers, what was to be the next step? Were they to avow themselves Catholics in England, and at once? They decided rather to go abroad; which, perhaps, may surprise some readers who do not sufficiently bear in mind what the state of England was at the time. Instead of the coldness of friends, and other difficulties which, at the present day, constitute the comparatively light and easy cross converts have to endure, in those days even the noblest had to expect the possibility of vexatious examinations before the Council, of heavy fines, of imprisonment for years in unhealthy dungeons; and, in the end, perhaps, even an ignominious death. If the Apostles, when persecuted in one city, were allowed by their Divine Master to flee into another, the converts of the Elizabethan age might well have looked with longing eyes to France, or Belgium, or Italy, or Spain; or, above all, to Rome, and say, with the heathen poet, yet with a truth, of which he was unconscious:

Felix, exsilium cui locus ille fuit !*

The two brothers, having made preparations to embark for the Continent, sent a servant on before to a port they had chosen on the coast of Sussex. He was apprehended by the agents of the government, and subjected to severe examinations, in the hope of obtaining evidence against his master.

* Ovid, "Fasti," i. 540.

Not long after, in 1584, the Earl of Arundel was reconciled to the Church by a Jesuit father, named Weston, who had suffered imprisonment for the faith, in various places, for seventeen years. From that date the Earl changed the whole course of his life, and began the career which won for him a confessor's or a martyr's crown.

Soon afterwards, Arundel again decided on attempting to escape to the Continent, but first wrote a letter to the Queen, explaining and justifying both his conversion and intended expatriation. This document, which has fortunately been preserved, gives us a vivid insight both into the character of Elizabeth and the sort of trials a Catholic nobleman who had a conscience must have experienced in living at court in those days. As with so many others who have merited that title in the heraldry of heaven, which may perhaps one day be recognized in favour of Philip Howard of Arundel, it was humiliation and crosses that led him to deep thoughts of what he was called to. The Queen had begun to show him marked aversion, turning away her face from looking at him, speaking of him with bitterness day by day, and patronizing even those whom she had hated, if they became his adversaries. Then had followed his examinations before the Council and partial arrest for many weeks. The memory of his own family history for three generations could hardly escape being recalled to his mind by these ominous mutterings of the coming storm. His great-grandfather had been attainted by Act of Parliament, in the absence of colourable matter for a regular trial; his grandfather had been condemned, in the judgment of one of his greatest enemies, merely because he was held to be an unfit man to live in a commonwealth; and his father had lost his head with as little proof of any disloyal intention or deed. It was plain that what had happened to his ancestors might happen to himself, and that his innocence afforded him no sufficient security against it. He was of that religion which Elizabeth and her councillors held to be odious and dangerous to the State, and at the same time it was his own greatest trouble that hitherto he had not lived according to the rule of that which he assuredly believed was the truth; a failure in his duty towards God, which he thought might have been a principal occasion of his late punishment. He had therefore resolved to take the course that would save his soul from shipwreck, whatever might become of his body, and had since found much greater repose of mind. He had resolved also to bend himself wholly, as near as he could, to persevere, without doing any act repugnant to his faith. This resolution, as might have been expected, had soon made him a marked man

in the court. When the sovereign was hearing a sermon in Westminster Abbey with all her nobility, the Earl of Arundel had to walk by himself in one of the aisles. Another day, when the Queen was hearing a Lenten sermon in the chapel at Greenwich, the Earl was forced to stay all the time in the presence chamber. In short, an open, plain discovery of himself was inevitable, if he wished to escape these vexations. And then, if he avowed himself a Catholic, came the watchful and jealous eye of the Queen's Government over recusants, and the continual searches made in their houses for priests, servile abjection to his enemies, and daily peril to his life. He was not willing to encounter this, if it could be helped, and yet he was "resolute and unremoveable to serve God in such sort as he had professed." He had, therefore, decided to quit the realm, though it were to live in extreme poverty and loneliness abroad. This was a cause always ill thought of in those days, and in contemplating it the earl makes an appeal to the heart and reason of the Queen to ask those about her who hated him most what they would have done if they had been placed in his circumstances, their house so fatally assailed in successive descents, themselves of a religion under the ban of the State, hardly treated, and long put under restraint, looked upon by the men in power as unfit to live, unable to do any act of their religion without the danger of incurring felony. He calls God to witness that he would not have taken this course could he have stayed in England without danger of his soul and peril of his life, concluding with an appeal which possibly may have sometimes passed across the mind of the Queen years after, as she sat silent on the ground, waiting in despair for her miserable end.

It was scarcely to be expected—perhaps under the circumstances not even to be wished for—that the Earl would have been allowed to escape into exile. The ship on which he embarked was boarded by a pretended pirate, who entrapped from him a letter to his sister, Lady Margaret Sackville, and then avowed himself the agent of the Government to bring him back. He was committed to the Tower, and examined before the Council on sundry matters, particularly a letter alleged to be written by him to his Norfolk agent William Dix, containing a passage to the effect that he would land in Norfolk with forces to trouble both Queen and Government. This letter was forged, emanating, it would seem, from Walsingham's office, and was made no further use of. In May of the following year, 1586, he was indicted before the Star-chamber, on three points, principally, a correspondence with Cardinal Allen, his attempt to leave England, and his con-

version to Catholicism. On these grounds he was fined £10,000, and ordered to be imprisoned during the Queen's pleasure. Accordingly, at the age of twenty-seven, he was finally consigned to that living tomb, the Tower of London. There, in 1589, he underwent a fierce examination, conducted by Burleigh and three other members of the Privy Council, one of them a bitter enemy of the Earl's, Lord Hunsden. Its character may be judged of by the last-mentioned noble's calling the prisoner "a beast and a traitor," and saying that he himself would gladly be his executioner, if there were no other to perform the office. "The sooner the better, if it pleases God," was his reply. This was followed by his indictment for treason before a commission in Westminster Hall. The articles charged against him partly related to the identical actions for which he had already been sentenced by the Star-chamber, more particularly, an intention, in leaving the kingdom, to join the Duke of Parma with an army levied in the Low Countries to invade England; his being styled in Rome Duke Philip of Arundel, which was supposed to point to his being chosen king of England, now that Mary Queen of Scots was dead; and new charges, that he had engaged one Bennett, a priest, to say every Sunday a mass for the success of the Spanish Armada, and invited certain Catholics to join in twenty-four hours' prayer for the same intention. The trial was of an imposing description. The Earl of Derby was Lord High Steward, and twenty-three other peers sat on the commission. A MS. in the Norfolk archives enables us to form a vivid idea of the principal personage of the scene. "The Earl [of Arundel] coming into the hall, being in a wrought velvet gowne, furred with martins, laid about with golde lace, and buttoned with golde buttons. A black sattin doublet, a payre of velvet hose, and a long high hatte upon his head. A very tall man looking somewhat swarthy coloured." The accusation about the mass said for the Spanish Armada was witnessed to by the unhappy priest above-mentioned, though he had previously written in the most penitent manner to the Earl and to his countess acknowledging his own falsehood and cowardice. The Earl met it by a simple denial. The other point of the twenty-four hours' prayer was explained to have referred to prayers asked for against a great danger reported at the time to be impending on the Catholics. It was believed that a massacre of them was intended, and certainly, in the midst of the popular excitement, which made the sight of the scaffold so welcome to the fierce multitude, it is not surprising such a rumour might have become current. It is, however, rather curious that no one seems to have been struck with the

singularity of constituting prayers to be matter of treason. One is reminded of that scene in the days of the Heptarchy, when the heathen Adelfrid, king of Bernicia, slaughtered 1,200 of the monks of Bangor because they assembled to pray for their countrymen engaged against him in the field of battle. "Though unarmed," he said, "if they pray they also fight against us." It is hardly necessary to add that the Earl of Arundel was found guilty of treason and sentenced to death. The impression in his favour must have been strong, when even Burleigh and Hatton advised Elizabeth to spare his life. She did in truth spare his life, but cruel indeed was her mercy, as she intended it. He was kept for nearly eleven years in the Tower, with the sentence of death always impending over him, so that on no morning could he rise without the consciousness that he might that day have to lay his head on the block. She had devised for her youthful and noble victim a torment like that of his in ancient fable, over whom hung the rock ever ready to crush him :

jam, jam lapsura, cadentique
Imminet assimilis.

It is pleasing to see how the very means adopted by the powers of evil for their detestable ends are turned by heroic virtue to purposes of good. No sooner did the Earl find himself delivered back to his prison-cell to wait for his doom, than he arranged a regular scheme of life to be persevered in throughout. He rose always at five, spent every morning four or five hours in prayer and meditation, to which he afterwards added the Divine office ; again in the afternoon three or four hours of devotion, and spent the rest of his time, except a little for exercise, in writing or translating books of piety, and in spiritual reading. His favourite works were the writings of Louis of Granada, S. Jerome, and the historians of the early Church, especially Eusebius. He fasted three days every week, at first strictly ; afterwards his health obliged him so far to lessen this great severity as to eat meat at his single meal on one of the days. Sometimes he refrained from all sustenance on very special vigils. His time was as exactly arranged as if he had been a hermit in the desert, instead of a prisoner in the dreary Tower of London. He appears to have been often visited by the Lieutenant of the Tower, from whom, however, he sustained much unkind treatment, but with him and others always endeavoured to give conversation a turn that might convey some holy or profitable thought. As is well known, he cut with his own hands on a stone in the wall of his chamber the following inscription, in bold and

well-formed capitals, a cast from which may be remarked in one of the rooms at Arundel Castle :—

Quanto plus afflictionis pro Christo in hoc sæculo, tanto plus gloriæ cum Christo in futuro. ARUNDELL, June 22, 1587.

In this way month passed after month, year after year, till the welcome hour of his deliverance was at hand. Its first approach was strange and sudden. One day, whilst sitting at dinner, he became all at once very ill, rose from table, and suffered severely from sickness and dysentery. From that hour, in spite of every remedy, he wasted away, and in about two months after he died. There was suspicion of poison in the case, as is even recorded on his epitaph, and some thought that the poison had been administered by his cook, under the influence of a former servant of his, who had at one time been employed by the Crown in some vexatious suits against him. The Earl had earnestly endeavoured to have the cook removed, but in vain. The history of the Earl's last hours is one of the most touching narratives to be found in the records of the saints. We shall but notice a few of its most interesting features.

As his end drew near, he wrote letters to the Queen and Council, entreating that he might be allowed to see his wife and children. This he had asked at the close of his trial, but the Court made no answer. Now, after ten years, a reply was sent by word of mouth from the Queen, that if he would but once go to the Protestant church, his request should not only be granted, but his honours and estates restored to him, with all the favour she could show. The Earl thanked the messenger, but said he could not accept her Majesty's offer on that condition, and that he was only sorry he had but one life to lose in that cause. When we read of propositions of the kind thus made to martyrs in the very sight of their crown, our indignation is apt to lose itself in our sense of the stupidity that could lead the persecutor to imagine they could be accepted. But, after all, instances are not wanting to shew that the crown is not yet won, merely because it is in sight, and that the temptations of flesh and blood have been sometimes so strong that they have overpowered faith at the very verge of triumph. An irreversible issue depends on that moment, when an exquisite and final proof is applied to the soul, which has either to take its place among the saints, or to lose for ever the fruit of all it has hitherto achieved. This trial once over, nothing remained but a most tranquil and beautiful dying scene. The Lieutenant of the Tower himself came to ask his prisoner's forgiveness for all he had made him suffer.

It was most willingly accorded, but the Earl, raising himself on his pillow, gave this officer a very few grave and kind words of warning, not in future to use his power to add affliction to affliction on those in his charge. He reminded him that God, "who with His finger turneth the unstable wheel of this variable world," might some day bring him also as a prisoner to that very place where he was now keeping others. These words, however natural under the circumstances, might well be looked on as prophetic, when, within seven weeks after the Earl's death, they were fulfilled, the Lieutenant falling into disgrace, and being committed as a prisoner to the same fortress, where he had exercised a harsh rule for so many years. As the Earl grew weaker, and could no longer rise from his bed, he gave up, in obedience to his physician, the recitation of the Divine office, but never omitted his beads to the very end ; and these, with such psalms and prayers as he knew by heart, and the invocation of the holy names of Jesus and Mary, occupied the hours of his last night on earth. His biographer gives the following vivid picture of his departure from this world :—

The last minute of his last hour being now come, lying on his back, his eyes firmly fixed towards Heaven, and his long lean consumed arms out of the bed, his hands upon his breast laid in cross one upon the other, about twelve o'clock at noon, in which hour he was also born into this world, arraign'd, condemn'd, and adjudg'd unto death, upon Sunday, the 19th of October, 1595 (after almost eleven years Imprisonment in the *Tower*), in a most sweet manner, without any sign of grief or groan, only turning his head a little aside, as one falling into a pleasing sleep, he surrender'd his happy soul into the hands of *Almighty God*, who to his so great glory had created it.—("The Life and Death of the Earl of Arundel," p. 121.)

The remains of the holy martyr (for surely, speaking popularly, we may so call him) rest beneath the Fitzalan chapel at Arundel. The companion-life of his countess, the Lady Anne Dacre, by the same author from whom we have taken the materials for the foregoing sketch of Earl Philip's sufferings, if less tragic, is not less interesting or instructive to the Catholic reader who desires to acquaint himself with the manners which were still fresh from Catholic times, and with characters of heroic virtue. The Countess Anne, belonging to the northern Catholic house of Dacre, though in her childhood brought up a Catholic, was for a time withdrawn from the practice of the religion by coming under the power of the fourth Duke of Norfolk as her guardian, he having married her mother, the Lady Dacre. Yet, on reaching her twenty-sixth year, she was converted by the study of a book on the

danger of schism. She was then residing at Arundel Castle, where she spent most of her life, and her reception into the Church had to be effected with much contrivance and secrecy. When it became known, she was informed against by the inhabitants of Arundel, and, as time went on, underwent the usual amount of vexation and losses, besides imprisonment, from the tyranny of the Government. To give a single instance of the sort of humiliations even the first lady in England, if a Catholic, had to sustain under Elizabeth : Whenever the Queen came to Somerset House, the Countess was ordered to withdraw from Arundel House, her London residence in the neighbourhood of that palace, as if the very presence of a Catholic a few hundred yards off contaminated the air.

Her life presented a vivid idea of the special virtues likely to be called into action by these circumstances. The heathen poet made his exiled princess say :

Haud ignara mali, miseris succurrere disco.

Of the Countess of Arundel's many noble characteristics, liberality in almsgiving was one of the most prominent, and that not merely the liberality which sits at home at ease, contented with the simple process of giving, but one which combined such aid with actual personal offices of kindness to the infirm and sick, however repulsive might be their sufferings. She assisted the Church, particularly the Society of Jesus, on a grand scale ; and all this again was united with that vigilant economy, which is an invariable feature in the lives of saints who have been placed in charge, either of households or communities. And it was economy, not of that paltry kind which never goes beyond details, and is therefore necessarily incomplete and inefficient, but one based on that spirit of system which a great mind always loves, and which may be depended on to produce astonishing results in a short time. By it, in spite of splendid charity, she cleared off debts in a few years of an amount that would have appalled most persons so placed. The same general pervading principle of order was carried through all she did ; for example, the regulation of the hours, both of her own day and of that of her household, from which she never departed. All this was seen to give her great personal influence, and her domestics often became remarkable for the practice of the virtues she inculcated, several also entering religion. She herself, though not quitting the world, lived, after her husband's death, under a vow of chastity. Like S. Paula and other holy widows, of whom the early Church affords many examples, and, living in the world, she knew how to

converse with sense and judgment, and to exhibit that difficult combination, the profound humility, which might have been expected in the cloister, and the dignity of manner which befitted the court, and inspired the respect of all of every degree who approached her. Her whole life is an example of what an historian, anything but friendly to the Catholic Church, has called "the silvery loveliness of character," which Catholicism has so often produced.

Her only son was Thomas, twenty-fourth Earl of Arundel, an important personage in the two first Stuart reigns, but of greater celebrity in the history of art, from his collections, made at great cost in Greece and Italy—statues, busts, gems, and inscriptions. Rubens, certainly in language in which just praise runs into profanity, styled him "an evangelist to the world of art." He patronized the early genius of Vanddyke and of Inigo Jones; he brought Hollar into England; in philology may be named among those indebted to his encouragement, Francis Junius, his librarian; in science, Oughtred the mathematician, preceptor to his son—names of great note in their day. As for antiquities and learning generally, he was the friend of Cotton, Spelman, Camden, and Selden. And where art comes in contact with public administration, he was a member of the commissions for the rebuilding of St. Paul's and of Whitehall. Nor did these tastes interfere with his attainment of great eminence in the political world. He was entrusted with some considerable embassies by James I. to the States-General and to the Empire; greatly revived the importance of the office of Earl Marshal; was general-in-chief of Charles I.'s northern expedition in 1639; and presided at the commission to try the Earl of Strafford. All these dignities, in that age, would certainly prepare one to expect he had not persevered in the faith, in which his mother, the Countess Anne, had brought him up, and, in fact, he unhappily conformed to the established religion at about the age of thirty, yet, it may be presumed, not without misgiving, for he brought up three of his grandsons, who came under his care, as Catholics. One very characteristic portrait of him at Arundel Castle has already been noticed. There is another of him, in the same collection, of which the "motive" is not very intelligible. He is represented with his countess, a terrestrial globe between them, on which the Earl is measuring a distance with compasses, one of the limbs of which rests on the island of Madagascar. The Countess seems to be in tears, or with a very mournful expression. We believe there is an idea that the picture is intended to convey a design the Earl had had of distant emigration at the beginning of the Stuart troubles; but

this explanation has a very mythical air. Besides, neither emigration nor conquest was directed to those regions at the time. At a later period, Maryland was the Pennsylvania of the Catholics. To return, however, to our subject. The Countess Aletheia's tender and noble character deserves greater development than we are able to give it; but we cannot withhold the striking inscription under Hollar's engraving of her portrait, 1646: *Alatheæ Thomæ com. Arundel, uxori unicæ et unicè dilectæ peregrinationum omniumque fortunarum fidæ et indefessæ comiti*. ["To Aletheia, the one wife and the one beloved of Thomas Earl of Arundel, of his travels and of all his fortunes, the faithful and unwearied companion."] Of their children, the most noted were Henry Frederick, twenty-fifth Earl of Arundel, and William Howard, Viscount Stafford. The latter, beheaded in the pretended plot of Titus Oates, was another example of a Howard who died for the faith really, though on the false charge of treason. The former, as Lord Mowbray, was constantly engaged on the King's side, from the beginning of the Civil War till 1646, when he went to attend the deathbed of his father at Padua. It was in 1643 that Arundel Castle underwent the siege by the Parliamentary forces under Sir William Waller, which left it in ruins. In the next generation the Duchy of Norfolk was restored in the person of Thomas Howard, eldest son of the last-mentioned, after an interruption of three descents. Dying unmarried at Padua, he was succeeded in 1677 by his brother Henry, sixth Duke of Norfolk, of whom the chief points of interest are the following:—In 1664 he had accompanied the Austrian Count Lesley's embassy from the Emperor Leopold to Constantinople, of which there is a picturesque "relation" extant by John Burbury; and five years later, was himself appointed ambassador from England to the Emperor of Morocco, which mission, however, though he embarked for it with a splendid train, he seems never personally to have discharged. By the advice of Evelyn, he made a present to the Royal Society of the library of his grandfather, the twenty-fourth Earl of Arundel, and to the University of Oxford of the "Arundelian Marbles." In the vehement controversy which was agitated in the Catholic body about 1667 on the subject of vicariate jurisdiction, he sided against the views of the regular clergy, and in favour of leaving things as they were, relying on the then quietude of the penal laws, which the moderate party dreaded to awaken by tightening the connection with Rome, though not very many years after they had indeed a rude awakening in the Titus Oates plot. All this was characteristic of that spirit of timid seclusion and shrinking inactivity which was beginning to creep over the

Catholic body, and which lasted through that dreary period which intervened between the Restoration and the days of Catholic emancipation.

A younger brother of the sixth Duke was Philip Cardinal Howard, the second, and not the least illustrious of the English members of the Sacred College since the Reformation. Of him recently appeared a copious and interesting memoir by a religious man of his own order,* a worthy example of that school of research into the post-Reformation history of Catholicism in England, adorned by names like Dodd, Butler, Milner, Tierney, and Oliver, and which is being so wisely revived in the present day by the labours of the English Province of the Society of Jesus. Cardinal Howard had been educated under the Dominicans at Cremona by the care of his grandfather, the great Earl Thomas of Arundel; and early in life joined that order, greatly to the Earl's displeasure, as Evelyn, who witnessed him in tears at what he called the undutifulness of his grandson, has recorded in a remarkable entry of his diary. The Cardinal, who, after the Restoration, was for some time Lord Almoner to Queen Catharine of Braganza, founded a convent of the Dominican order at Bornheim in Flanders, and another in Rome for English Dominicans. He was raised to the purple in 1675 by the title of *Sta. Maria supra Minervam*, and was commonly styled the Cardinal of Norfolk, also holding the dignity of Cardinal-Protector of England. He died at Rome in 1644, and is buried in his own church of the Minerva. There seems to have been but one opinion among all who knew him as to the "singular humanity and benevolence" of his character.

With the generation that followed Earl Henry Frederick of Arundel, the house of Norfolk divides off into three branches.

First, that of his eldest son, above-mentioned, from whom descended three dukes,—Henry (d. 1701), Thomas (d. 1732), and Edward (d. 1777); the second, that of Greystock, descended from his son Charles, of which there were two dukes,—Charles (d. 1786), and another Charles (d. 1815); the third, the branch descended from his son Bernard, and now in possession, of which the present duke is the fourth.

The period of about a century and a half from the time of the Cardinal of Norfolk to that of Catholic Emancipation, presents little or nothing of that stir and brilliance which has passed before us in the earlier annals of the house of Howard.

* "Life of Philip Thomas Howard, O.P., Cardinal of Norfolk, &c., compiled from original manuscripts. With a sketch of the Rise, Mission, and Influence of the Dominican Order, and of its Early History in England." By Father C. F. Raymund Palmer, O.P. London: Richardson & Sons.

For the Catholics of England it was a time of universal depression and inaction, in which the sword of the penal laws was only sheathed, because their object had been almost completely effected. We are, however, far from saying that it is a period undeserving of study; on the contrary, the history of the long intermittent agitation, which culminated in 1829, and of the relations of Catholicism in England to the Protestantism around it, whether in society, in literature, or in politics, has yet to be written, and would be full of instruction, and, too, often of warnings, to thoughtful minds, though it would require skilful composition to make it attractive to the general reader. We shall merely notice, in this division of our subject, a few leading particulars, as it were the index to chapters in such a history; for instance, the action taken by Henry, seventh Duke of Norfolk, in favour of William III.; and later, it would appear, like so many politicians of that day, on the Jacobite side; the negotiations in 1719 with a view to certain concessions from the Holy See as a condition for some liberty held out to Catholics by George I., in which the Government was represented by Secretary Craggs ("the statesman, yet friend to truth," of his epitaph by Pope), and the Catholic party by Dr. Strickland, afterwards Bishop of Namur, and by Thomas, eighth Duke of Norfolk; again, the Catholic element in London society, when Pope was the star of English literature, and Norfolk House, under the "reigning" Duke Edward and his Duchess Mary [Blount], "was the centre," according to Charles Butler, "of whatever was great and elegant in either communion," and whose friendship for Frederick Prince of Wales led (strange to say, considering the well-known and lamentable discord of the royal family) to a kindly feeling towards Catholics on the part of George II., as well as to very friendly relations between him and Norfolk House.

The hereditary taste of the Howards for architecture was shown by Duke Edward on a splendid scale, both in the reconstruction of Norfolk House and the double restoration of Worksop Manor; and still more by Duke Charles, second of that name, in the building of the modern part of Arundel Castle, upon very extensive studies of his own, the latter certainly to be numbered, like those of Horace Walpole and Walter Scott, among the examples which anticipated the great Gothic *renaissance* witnessed by the generation now passing away.

The mention of such pursuits leads us naturally to conclude this outline with the name of one who, whilst imitating, and on a far grander scale, the noble tastes of so many of his ancestors, has but devoted them to add to the splendours with

which the Catholic faith has again dawned upon our land. We well remember some eloquent words uttered on the occasion of the present Duke of Norfolk's attainment of his majority. After speaking of the anticipations formed from the good sense and signs of character he already showed, that he would prove equal to his exalted position, the late Mr. Hope-Scott, with that true and natural feeling which always checks the excessive expression even of merited praise, went on to say : " We do not forget that he is now entering on a path strewn with the broken weapons and defaced armour of many a youth who has commenced life with hopes as high and promises as bright as his whom we are assembled to congratulate to-day." Since that day, he who was then a youth entering an untried and difficult path, has held for nine years the place of leader of the Catholics of England. We all know how he has corresponded to his great responsibilities. What special destiny may be in store for him in the future we know not, but of this we feel assured, that it must, in some form or other, be one indicating in an unusual way the Divine favour ; and that the union which lately received the blessing of the aged and saintly Pontiff will be attended with all happiness to the united Houses of Howard and Hastings.

ART. VI.—THE WINTER CAMPAIGN.

The Times.—November 1st, 1877—January 21st, 1878.

WHEN, in October, we reviewed the progress of the war between Turkey and Russia, the Turks had on all points but one been upon the whole successful in their defence, and, except at the Aladja Dag, the Russian attack had everywhere signally failed. Since then the tide of fortune has on all sides turned against the Turks. In Asia they have lost Kars, in Europe, Plevna and the army of Osman Pasha. We propose here to continue our study of the war from the point where we left off ; to endeavour to discover how far the Russians have been successful, and to what causes they owe their successes, and to form an accurate judgment on the present position of affairs. We write at a critical time, on the morrow of the Russian occupation of Adrianople. The air is full of rumours as to the policy of England and the

Continental Powers, and at any moment we may receive from the East news of political events that may materially alter the position of the belligerents with respect to each other. At such a moment we must rather review the events of the past, than attempt any forecast even of the immediate future. But such a survey will have its uses, whatever course events may take, for it is rarely that men in general have either the leisure or the inclination to form for themselves a connected summary of even the most recent events, and without this it is impossible to understand either their importance or their consequences. With most men the morning paper of Tuesday drives into oblivion nearly all they read on Monday, and they only remember here and there some striking event which has more particularly attracted their attention and impressed their memory. Besides, the daily papers, dealing as they do with the momentary present, do not and cannot do more than present a series of isolated, detached, and necessarily imperfect pictures of passing events, and it is only when these events are viewed in the light of their antecedents and surroundings that their real significance becomes manifest.

When, early in October, we reviewed the diplomatic history of the outbreak of the war, and its progress during the first campaign, the position of affairs was, upon the whole, eminently favourable to the Turks. Zimmerman's army in the pestiferous Dobrudscha had been reduced to helpless inaction, without having been able even to approach either Varna or Silistria; Mehemet Ali's army on the Lom had effectually covered the Quadrilateral, had converted Rasgrad into a fifth fortress, and had, by frequent and successful attacks, now on one point, now on another, forced the Russians to watch Rustchuk and Rasgrad, and cover Biela and Tirnova with a large army, which otherwise would have reinforced their armies before Plevna. In the Schipka, Suleiman had recovered all but the summit of the pass, and though he could not drive the Russians from it, his force was so strongly intrenched that neither could they successfully attack him; and thus the one gateway they had opened in the Balkan range was effectually closed against them. At Plevna, Osman had repulsed attack after attack, inflicting fearful losses on the Russo-Roumanian army, and, by capturing Dubnik, to the south-west of the town, he had opened communication with Orkanie by the road which runs from Plevna through the Orkanie pass to Sophia. Chefket Pasha's* army, operating on the Sophia road, was able

* While Chefket Pasha commanded the army which held the Sophia road, an English association petitioned Lord Derby to demand that he should be deprived of his command, on account of his alleged share in the Bulgarian

to pass two large convoys into the place, and thus to replenish Osman's almost exhausted magazines. In Asia, the Turkish armies had suffered a serious defeat on the Aladja Dag, and Ghazi Mouktar was retiring on Kars; but it was generally believed that it was too late in the season for the Russians to obtain much advantage from their victory. In Armenia the winter generally begins early in November, and on its elevated valleys and plateaux the cold is so severe, that even ordinary travelling is impossible. It was expected, therefore, that before the middle of November the severity of the weather would put an end to the Russian operations in Asia, and that before December the winter would have also begun in the Danube valley, and that the Russians would be forced by the ice and snow to raise the siege of Plevna. In an ordinary season this would have occurred, and the Turkish position would be now intact, and Plevna and Kars would be free at least until next year.

It has been said that the elements fight for Russia. In 1812 and 1854-55, the severity of the winter destroyed for her hostile armies; in 1877-78, an exceptionally mild season has saved her own from otherwise certain ruin, and has enabled the Grand Dukes, though still at the cost of enormous suffering to their men, to carry on a winter campaign both in Armenia and in the Danube valley. In both they have obtained signal successes, and the storming of Kars, the fall of Plevna, and the seizure of the Schipka Pass will make 1877 long a famous year in the military annals of Russia.

After Mouktar's defeat on the Aladja Dag, he retired slowly upon Kars. The Russians, as usually is the case with them after a battle, seemed exhausted by their efforts, and unable to attempt an immediate pursuit. Several battalions which they had cut off and might have captured, had they been sufficiently active, succeeded in escaping, and rejoined Mouktar. The Turkish general did not stop at Kars; after having seen

atrocities; and Lord Derby forwarded the petition to Turkey. No such demand was ever before made. Pellissier, who commanded the French army that acted with our own in the Crimea, had done some terrible things in Algeria, yet no one in England objected to a man who had smoked a whole tribe, with its women and children, to death, holding command, so long as he was a good officer. Even if Chefket is guilty, the demand was impertinent; but there are English gentlemen who, with a knowledge of the man, assert that whatever wrong the irregulars did, was done because they were quite beyond his control, and that at Batak he freely exposed his life to save women and old men from them. Chefket should not, therefore, be condemned without a hearing, on the authority of an *ex parte* statement in Mr. Baring's report, and a phrase in Lord Derby's despatch of September, 1876.

that the great fortress was well provided for a siege, he continued his retreat to the Soghanli Dagħ—the range of heights covering Erzeroum, where, in the previous June, he had awaited the first advance of Melikoff, and from which he had successfully rolled back the tide of invasion to the frontier. Ismail Pasha, with his Kurdish army, rejoined Mouktar before he reached Erzeroum. He had heard of the battle of the Aladja Dagħ in his camp near Zaryagla, in Transcaucasia, on Russian territory, and thirty miles from his own frontier. Had Ismail been more active, the Russians could never have assembled the force that overwhelmed Mouktar, but he now in some degree redeemed his error by making a splendid forced march round the Russian left wing, past Bayazid, and, by difficult mountain roads, to the neighbourhood of Erzeroum. The inactivity of the Russians did not last long; by the middle of October they had invested Kars, and Heimann's corps pressed on to the Soghanli Dagħ, from which Mouktar was driven in the first week of November. Surprised by the Russians, the Turkish outposts were driven in before any preparations could be made for an effective resistance. The Turkish army withdrew into Erzeroum, which, since the commencement of the campaign, had been converted into a first-class fortress, and armed with a powerful artillery. As the main body of the Grand Duke Michael's army was before Kars, Heimann was not strong enough to invest Erzeroum; he established himself close up to the eastern forts, and having succeeded so easily in forcing the position at Deve Boyun, on the Soghanli Dagħ, he concluded that the Turkish army was thoroughly demoralized, and therefore resolved to attempt a *coup-de-main* against the city. The proposal originated with a certain Colonel Tarnaieff, of the staff, who led the attack. At midnight, on November 9th, with three battalions, supported by seven others under General Tugukasoff, he fell upon the Azizi forts to the east of the place. One fort he carried at the first rush, but the others repelled the stormers. The firing roused all Erzeroum; Mouktar at the head of a few battalions and a host of armed citizens fell upon the Russians; the lost fort was retaken, and Tarnaieff's men were driven back with heavy loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners. After this, no serious attack was made on Erzeroum, and Heimann contented himself with sending out flying columns of Cossacks to effect a very imperfect investment by cutting off an occasional convoy, or capturing from time to time a Turkish estafette in the plain.

The successful resistance of Erzeroum, and the knowledge that

Kars was provisioned for at least ten months, gave the friends of Turkey good reason to hope that Armenia would remain unconquered. On the 14th snow fell heavily, and the position of the Russians became an anxious one, badly supplied as they were from a distant base by snowy mountain roads. A few days later, on the morning of Monday, the 19th, came the astounding news, that, without opening a single trench or battering down a single stone of the Turkish works, the Russians had taken Kars by storm and escalade, on the night between Saturday and Sunday, November 17th-18th. Only one English correspondent—the representative of the *Daily News*—witnessed the storming, and his straightforward narrative bears the stamp of accuracy and truth,* and contrasts very favourably with the loosely-written and boastful accounts of Melikoff's exploit given by the *Golos* and the *St. Petersburg Gazette*. The correspondent of the *Daily News* all but declares that the Russian success was won by treachery among the Turkish officers, and, read between the lines, his letter gives evidence enough to prove this. Who the traitor was will, perhaps, never be known, but he must have been either the commandant or some prominent officer of his staff. Kars is built upon the eastern side of a huge mass of abrupt volcanic rocks, through a deep chasm in which flows the Kars river. The citadel towers up to the height of 450 feet on the crags above the stream. To the north and west of the town, hills, crowned by a double line of forts, form an all but impregnable barrier. It was on these hills that Moravieff lost 7,000 men in a single morning, when he tried to storm the place in 1855, when Kars was only defended by light earthwork redoubts. In the plain to the east of the town is a great intrenched camp, formed by three forts connected by lines of intrenchments with each other and with the works on the hills. At eight on the evening of the 17th, the full moon shining through a slight haze, and enabling objects to be distinguished up to 500 yards, the Russians hurled 15,000 men against the forts of the intrenched camp, and the works on the almost precipitous Kara Dag (Black Hill) to the north-east of Kars. Meanwhile a false attack was made on the hills to the westward. Before morning all the forts had fallen, the citadel had surrendered without firing a shot, half the garrison were prisoners, the other half was attempting a flight which was soon stopped by the Russian pursuit. Only some of the cavalry escaped. How was all this

* The correspondence referred to appeared in the *Daily News* of December 18th, and contained an excellent sketch map of Kars. There is a good model of the town and forts, and the adjacent country, at Whitehall, in the rooms of the Royal United Service Institute.

accomplished? Undoubtedly by the free use of the golden key.

That attempts at bribing some one were made, says the *Daily News* correspondent, and had a chance of being brought to the desired end, I positively know, but I cannot tell whether the goodwill of an important traitor has really been secured, and if so, whether he was able to fulfil his promise. But I am quite in the dark with regard to the individual who may have entered into the black bargain. The European doctors here account for the disaster which so suddenly befell the Turks by stating that the troops, especially the Arabs and Kurds, were in a despondent state of mind, badly clad and fed, and never paid, and had moreover a dislike to fighting the battles of their Sunit masters. Yet these worthies, whose disposition could be no secret for the commander and his council, had been called forth in insufficient numbers to defend the most important, the most vulnerable points of the fortress. However that may be, these circumstances can neither cast blame on the Russian Commander-in-Chief nor impair the valour of his soldiers. On the contrary, the skill of a general is only brought into higher light if he be able to facilitate victory by diplomatic means.

How the treachery was carried out is plain enough. To give up Kars to the Russians without firing a shot was impossible, but to so arrange the garrison that the points not attacked would be strongly manned, the points attacked almost un-garrisoned, was easy enough. On the western hills, which cannot be held once the city is taken, and which are most difficult of attack, thirty battalions, or three-fourths of the garrison, were kept uselessly inactive. This left very few men to defend the points the Russians wished to seize. Let us hear the *Daily News* correspondent again :—

The Turks seem to have stuck to the queer idea that the Tcholak Tepe fortifications (on the west) would become the principal object of the enemy's attack ; whether because the valiant Kamaroff, the conqueror of Ardahan, stood in its vicinity, with his old solid troops, or for some mysterious yet unrevealed grounds ; in short, they had massed there the bulk of their forces, some thirty battalions. The not less inaccessible Karadagh was likewise only manned by a few feeble battalions of demoralized and disaffected Shia-Arabs from Mesopotamia and Irak. At all events, these foolish arrangements are, at least, worth a minute investigation, in order to ascertain why the commander and his counsellors ordered so strange a disposition of their forces, which numbered well nigh 20,000 combatants. The impregnable citadel, on the contrary, had no infantry garrison at all, and was merely defended by a company of artillerymen. It is obvious that such a garrison is fully equal to the task of defending a fortress like Kars, even against double that number of the best soldiers in the world.

Of the surrender of the citadel, which was only garrisoned by a few gunners, he says:—

This strong pile of masonry, containing the arsenal and depots of costly Peabody, Martini, and Winchester breechloaders, many Krupp cannon, together with an enormous amount of ammunition, provisions, and other military stores, fell, without a serious blow, into the hands of the victorious Russians. In looking from my window at that almost perpendicular crag, frowning some 150 yards high over the Kars river, crowned with a series of solid fortifications, I am astonished, and I am at a loss to understand, how it could have been so easily conquered, and why it was not more valiantly defended. *I am sure that a single battalion of first-class soldiers might have kept it for months in the teeth of the most powerful army.* At the time of its inglorious fall, some battalions of the 40th Division had climbed the not less rocky sides of the Karadagh Hill, and took, after a short but sharp struggle, at the point of the bayonet, the massive castle-like fort on its top. Its partner, the Arab Tabia, of equal strength, surrendered only at dawn of day, almost without offering a serious resistance.

We would gladly believe, if we could, that Kars was captured only by the prowess of Melikoff's troops, for it is better for a nation that its armies should be defeated rather than sold; but the facts give only too much reason to believe that it was treason placed the key of Eastern Asia in the hands of Russia. With the fortress, Melikoff captured such a supply of stores, that Kars became a second base for his army. The news of the conquest was flashed by telegraph to Cabul on the Sunday morning, to prove to the Emir of Afghanistan that Russia, and not England, was the more powerful of the two nations between whom the Empire of Asia is divided—a message of some significance for the future of our Indian Empire.

Within a month after the treason of Kars, Plevna fell, reduced, not by treachery, but by famine. In the middle of October, Mehemet Ali, who had given up the command of the army of the Lom (on account of the continual opposition he met with from his lieutenant, Ahmed Eyoub), was appointed to command an army which was to be assembled at Sophia for the relief of Plevna. This army did not yet exist; there were only a few detachments in the Balkan passes and a small garrison at Sophia to form the nucleus of it. At the same time Suleiman was given the command on the Lom. On October the 24th the Russians before Plevna took Dubnick, and on the 29th Teliche, and thus completed the investment of Osman's army. Mehemet Ali's small force was quite unable to attempt anything towards raising the siege. The nominal strength of the proposed army was to be 100,000 men, but it

was not till the end of November that he had 25,000 under his command.* The Russians detached a corps against him, and he did all that was possible in his position. He inflicted two bloody repulses upon them at Nevesich and Kamarli, but they succeeded in taking Orkanie and Etropol, and so prepared the way for a subsequent march on Sophia, and effectually covered the siege of Plevna. Suleiman Pasha was to have co-operated by attacking the Russians on the Lom. He ought to have accomplished something against the extended line opposed to him, stretching from Rustchuk to the front of Osman Bazaar; but he made isolated attacks, instead of adopting a combined plan; he brought on engagements in which his attack was too serious for a mere reconnaissance, too weak for a successful battle; and when he won, he lost time, and never followed up his advantage. In fact, on the Lom he lost whatever reputation his useless attacks on the Schipka had left him. He seems to be only able to plan a single action, to be incapable of taking a wide field of operations into his mind at once. Thus his assault on Elena on December 4th was well planned, and well executed by his subordinate, Kerim Pasha, who took eleven guns and some hundred Russian prisoners, but, having taken Elena and struck a weak part of the Russian line, he did nothing more, and evacuated the place on hearing that Plevna was taken.

Plevna fell on the 9th of December. Osman Pasha, his provisions being exhausted, and his men worn out with exposure and want, made a last desperate effort to break through the besieging lines. He mustered about 30,000 bayonets, against at least 100,000 of the Russo-Roumanian army. In his sortie on the night of the 9th he carried the nearer works of the Russians in the Vid Valley, and was breaking his way towards the Widin road, when he was surrounded by the reinforcements hurried from all sides towards him, and saw the town from which he had sallied occupied by the Russians. Wounded at the head of his men, he gave up the hopeless enterprise, and surrendered. For five months he had held Plevna against four-fold odds. In the face of the enemy he had converted a circle of low hills into a fortress, by digging a double circle of trenches, and erecting at intervals a small redoubt, usually 150 feet square, and therefore garrisoned by only one or two com-

* In the middle of November a London paper, which is on the whole friendly to the Turks, published a letter from Sophia, giving a full account of the strength, or rather the weakness, of Mehemet's army. The news must have been welcome to the Russians, who would of course receive it from the London embassy. It was just the time when Gourko was preparing to attack Etropol and Orkanie.

panies. Even the famous Gravitza redoubt was of this kind. Theoretically the works were weak—could not well be weaker—but, manned by brave men with rapid-firing rifles, they became impregnable to all but famine, and cost the Russians a siege of five months and the loss of nearly 50,000 men shot down in action, and probably of nearly as many by exposure and disease. Osman is undoubtedly the hero of the campaign, the best general it has brought to the front. Of his dogged courage and his engineering and tactical skill there can be no doubt. Military critics say he might perhaps have done better had he made his improvised fortress at Loftscha, a few miles to the southward. There he would have equally menaced Biela and Tirnova, and the nature and position is stronger, and lying nearer the Balkans, would not have been invested by the Russians as easily as Plevna, which lies detached from the mountains and well out into the plain of Bulgaria. It is, however, easy to be wise after the event. Osman accomplished at Plevna what no soldier in Europe would have thought possible a year ago, and had the other Turkish generals done but half as much, the Russians would now be all north of the Danube—perhaps of the Pruth.

The fall of Plevna brought Serbia into the field. That chivalrous little state waited till it supposed all danger was over, and then came on to share the spoil. Milan and his friends were held back neither by gratitude for the wonderful forbearance with which the Turks had evacuated the conquered territory without claiming a rood of its land, a stone of its fortresses, a single piastre of indemnity. The one condition of this generous peace was a renewal of allegiance, and on the 16th of January in this present year the envoys of the Prince of Serbia at Constantinople “renewed in the most formal manner the expression of loyal fidelity of the Prince and people of Serbia to the august person of his Imperial Majesty the Sultan.”* This solemn pledge has been disgracefully broken at the first opportunity, and we feel a certain satisfaction in knowing that, though they have taken Nish by storm, the Servians have suffered at least two disastrous defeats at the hands of the small force detached by the Turks to check their advance.

The fine weather which had enabled the Russians to maintain the siege of Plevna broke just a week after the surrender. On the 16th and 17th rain fell heavily; on the 18th the rain changed to sleet, and on the 19th the sleet changed to snow. At the same time a tempest swept the Danube valley; the

* Blue Book, Turkey, 1877, No. XV., p. 205.

telegraphs were destroyed, the roads blocked up with snow-drifts: terrible must have been the sufferings of the Turkish prisoners, who, badly clad and weak with hunger, were exposed to the fury of the storm on their march to Sistova. Many a brave man who had survived the siege perished in the snow. What the Russians suffered may be judged from one incident—a transport train was stopped by the snow-drifts in an exposed situation at Cetroceni, near Bucharest. In one night forty of the horses and twenty-nine of the men were frozen to death. Day after day Bulgaria was swept with snow and sleet. The Danube froze sufficiently to carry away two Russian bridges, but not firmly enough to make a bridge of ice to replace them. Transport began to break down. The armies of the Czar, losing each day hundreds by cold and exposure, were not allowed to rest in the positions they had won. To stand still was impossible. They should either return to Roumania, or hurl themselves against the Balkans, and against the Balkans they were hurled, to carry them at any cost. Had the Turks held the passes, and they might easily have held them, the Russian armies would have been ruined even after Plevna. But the Council of War at Constantinople, like the old Austrian Aulic Council at Vienna, was interfering at every step with the conduct of the operations in the field. At the most critical moment, the two best generals Turkey still possessed, Mehemet Ali and Ghazi Mouktar, were recalled from Sophia and Erzeroum, and for some days we heard only of continual changes, the incompetent Suleiman being finally appointed to command at Sophia, and the worse than incompetent Ahmed Eyoub being given the important command of Adrianople. Troops were rapidly transferred by sea from Varna to Constantinople, for the defence of Adrianople and the capital, only a small force being left to hold the Lom, but so badly was this transport managed, notwithstanding the presence of Hobart Pasha's fleet in the Black Sea, that a Russian cruiser picked up and took to Odessa a Turkish steamer with a whole battalion of Nizams on board. Before Suleiman reached Sophia the fate of the place was sealed. In the last days of the year Gourko's columns turned the Turkish position at Kamarli; the Turks, covered by Baker Pasha's division, retired on Sophia, which they had to evacuate in the first week of the new year, Suleiman rallying his army about Ichtiman, where the Balkan chain bends southward to join the Despoto Dag (the ancient Rhodope), and the semicircle of mountains cuts off the Isker valley, in which Sophia stands, from Roumelia. Between Ichtiman and the Schipka is the Trojan pass. After the fall of Plevna, Skoboleff's corps occu-

pied Trojan, with orders to force the pass at the first opportunity. On the night of the 6th, Skobelev made a reconnaissance of the pass. He found that it was too strong to be forced in front, and in the march two officers and nearly fifty men were frozen to death. Next day he turned the pass by a neighbouring mountain path. In no case do the Turks seem to have understood that no pass can be securely held, unless the minor paths and passes on either side are either occupied or rendered impracticable. At the Schipka, at Etropol, at Orkanie, at Kamarli, and at Trojan, the manœuvre by which Xerxes two thousand years ago forced Thermopylæ, has been repeated with as much success as if it was a new invention in tactics, for which the defenders could not be expected to be prepared. The Trojan being thus forced, Skobelev and Mirsky, with at least 20,000 men, the vanguard of a force of three or four times that strength, descended upon the main road from Adrianople to Tatar Bazardjik, Ichtiman, and Sophia; thus at once Suleiman's force at Ichtiman was cut off from Adrianople, and the Schipka was threatened in the rear. The troops at the Schipka should have withdrawn on the 9th; they waited till the 10th, when Skobelev, having established himself in their rear, Radetzki attacked from Fort St. Nicholas, and the Turks, taken in front and rear, after a desperate conflict, in which the Russians acknowledge they lost 5,000 men, laid down their arms. Thus 20,000 men were lost to Turkey at one blow, and the way to Adrianople left open to 100,000 Russians. Why was not the Schipka army saved by a timely retreat? There is good reason to believe that the Russians obtained their success—a success which caused the collapse of the Turkish defence—by what some have called a misunderstanding on the part of the Turks, but what we feel more inclined to call bad faith on the part of Russian statesmen and generals. When Russia refused the mediation of England at the end of the year, she suggested that our government should advise the Turks to apply for an armistice directly, to be concluded in the field, adding, that till Turkey thus acknowledged her defeat, nothing could be done in the way of negotiation, and that as soon as the armistice was demanded the generals in the field would be ordered to suspend their operations. On the morning of the 9th the Turkish generals received orders from Constantinople to suspend all operations, as an armistice was being negotiated. The Turks, therefore, remained inactive at the Schipka, and were cut off by the Russian advance. But why did not the Russians send similar orders to their generals? They did send them, but we have it under Prince Gortchakoff's hand in the Blue Books laid

before Parliament on the 17th instant, that the orders were sent, not by telegraph, but by post, a means of despatch by which they would take eight days to reach Bulgaria, fifteen to reach Armenia. The Schipka having been secured, the Grand Dukes declared that they could grant no armistice till preliminaries of peace had been agreed upon. Thus time was gained to reap the fruits of the treachery of the 9th. Suleiman's position at Ichtiman was untenable, once the Schipka was in Russian hands; and while we write he is endeavouring to make a march to the seacoast of Roumelia, in order to save his army, while Gourko is pressing him on one hand, and Mirsky on the other.* The western column of the Russians has seized Philippopolis, the eastern has occupied Adrianople, from which Mehemet Ali, to whom at the last moment the command was given, wisely withdrew the garrison to assist in the defence of the lines which cover the capital. Meanwhile the negotiations for peace continue; Austria makes feeble efforts to break from the triple alliance; England, which might at any moment determine her action by showing a bold front, gives her little support, and as yet speaks in an uncertain voice. Turkey wavers between a last struggle at Constantinople and Gallipoli, *and an alliance with the conquerors*, an alliance long predicted by men who knew the East as the certain consequence of the abandonment of Turkey by the Western Powers. Into these matters we need not enter here; all we could say would be mere conjecture. We must confine ourselves to certain events in the campaign.

First, we are struck by the singular mismanagement which, once Plevna was taken, allowed the Russians to win their way through the Balkans at this season of the year without any adequate resistance. The blame of this must mainly fall upon the Council of War at Constantinople, a body which has no real right to exist, and which has done nothing since the war began but mischief. It has been the centre of a network of intrigues, by which generals have been displaced, superseded, or appointed to commands according as one or the other cabal was in the ascendant. It has been well said that the best testimony to the good character of the Turkish people is that their empire has existed so long in spite of Constantinople. If it survives the war, the saying will be more true than ever. It is lamentable that this system has enabled a man like Suleiman Pasha to obtain command after command, while better men, like Osman, Mouktar, and Mehemet Ali, were given only minor

* Suleiman has since succeeded in bringing the greater part of his army down to the coast, the best thing he has been able to do since he was put in command.

posts. Had either Mehemet or Mouktar held from the first the supreme command in Europe, and been allowed to choose their own subordinates, the story of the winter campaign would have been a very different one.

Next, coming from the past to the present, we feel sure that while we write in this fourth week of January, the position of the Russian armies in Europe, victorious as they are, is a very anxious one. With a river behind them, on which there is only ice enough to destroy all bridges and make traffic impossible, between them and this river a waste of snow that they have few sledges to traverse, and which the first thaw will convert into a morass, with a cold so intense that men die of it every night; with the fortresses of the Quadrilateral intact, Constantinople impregnable, the Russian army is not safe, and further resistance is not impossible. We do not regret that Turkey asked for mediation in December; the document in which the good offices of England were requested was so well worded, that it merely forced Russia in some degree to show her hand, but we do regret that she is negotiating for an armistice. Instead of deputing Mehemet Ali to go to the Russian head-quarters at Loftscha, he should have been told to go to Ichtiman, and march as much of the army as he could save over the Despoto Dagh to Salonica, thence to be transferred by sea to the Dardanelles and Constantinople. By this means Constantinople would be more than sufficiently garrisoned. It would be prudent at the same time to occupy Gallipoli with 15,000 Turks, and have a few ironclads in the Dardanelles to assist in the defence. These measures being taken, the Turks could let the winter, that now at last has fairly begun, waste the Russian armies, as it would have done to better purpose had it come six weeks ago. The story of Diebitch's march on Adrianople in 1829 ought to be always a warning to Turkey: only a few attenuated battalions reached the city. Had it resisted, they would have been destroyed; had the Turks at Constantinople refused to treat, even after the capitulation of Adrianople, Diebitch's army would equally have been destroyed; but a panic at Constantinople, and a hurriedly-concluded treaty, saved the armies of Russia, who, though more successful than they are now, were, nevertheless, on the brink of ruin. Every one who has studied Von Moltke's history of the military events of 1828-29, knows this. We trust that there are some men at Constantinople who know it, and that they will be able to make their voices heard at this supreme crisis in the Parliament, and in the wretched Council of War at the Seraskierate. Assuredly the Russians awaited the result of the negotiations for the armistice as anxiously as the Turks.

The losses on both sides in this uninterrupted campaign of

nine months must have been enormous. The war has already lasted longer than the German invasion of France, and it has caused an amount of suffering far beyond what has resulted from any campaign since 1812. The losses in battle, though fearful in amount, are really among the lightest which will have to be added together to make up the terrible whole. The Turks have lost far more in prisoners than in killed and wounded, on account of the wholesale capitulations of Ardahan, Nicopolis, Kars, Plevna and the Schipka, which in all have placed 100,000 prisoners in the power of Russia; probably about 40,000 represents the loss in killed and wounded. The Russian losses in battle, thanks to their habit of recklessly hurling solid masses against earthworks defended by the rapid fire of the breechloader, have been singularly heavy. Up to the 1st of January they acknowledge a loss of more than 80,000 men since the beginning of the campaign. Now it is notorious that they understate their losses, for in some serious actions they have stated their loss at ten or twelve men, or, as in the case of some of the earlier actions in Armenia, at a minimum of "one Cossack"; but taking their loss at 80,000, we must add, at the least, an equal number for deaths by exposure, cold, and disease, and this is a very low calculation, for armies in the field often lose twice, thrice, or four times as many men from disease as from wounds. This makes the aggregate Russian loss 160,000 men; it is probably higher, and it is not unlikely that 200,000 is nearer the truth. This is a measure of the suffering which has been endured by the armies in the field; but beyond these there is the wide sea of suffering that has overflowed both the belligerent empires, falling in some degree upon every town and village, for from all, how many of the bread-winners have been taken, some for awhile, some for ever. The *Times* correspondent at St. Petersburg, writing on December 18th, gave us a glimpse of the misery endured by a single district. We may quote it here, merely premising that the district in question, judged by its population, forms rather less than the 13,000th part of the empire of the Czar.

My figures, says the writer, are taken from the report of a benevolent society formed for the purpose of aiding the families of poor soldiers. The field of activity which this society has chosen is a *Volost*, or small district containing fifteen villages. The number of inhabitants amounts to 6,000, forming 833 peasant families, or homesteads (*dvory*) as they are commonly called. Of these 830 families, 118 had to furnish recruits, and many of them are consequently in a state bordering on destitution. The degree of poverty varies according to the size of the family and other circumstances. A careful inspection of all the homesteads showed that nineteen of them had neither labourers nor horses, and were accordingly utterly incapable of sup-

porting themselves. Among the families which were not completely deprived of their male adults, eighteen were in "a very doubtful condition" and twenty-one in extreme poverty. In five houses, for instance, it was found that there were no cattle, and that one labourer had to support from five to eight persons. But the saddest cases of all were those in which the families had been driven from their homes as soon as the recruit was taken. Of such cases there were thirteen. This fact will surprise many who know something of Russian peasant life, for it is in flagrant contradiction to commonly-received conceptions. It is generally supposed that when two brothers, with their families, live together, and one of them is taken as a recruit, the household remains undivided. So it is, doubtless, as a general rule, but these thirteen cases show that this rule has its exceptions. The expulsions resulted, we are informed, not from any unnecessary egotism and hardheartedness, but simply because the brother who remained found it physically impossible to feed the absent brother's family as well as his own. The unfortunate ones who were thus expelled found shelter and food in the houses of charitable neighbours, but in many cases the worldly means of these good Samaritans were not at all in proportion to their charitable disposition. In ten of these improvised houses of refuge there was only one adult labourer, and in four of them there was no horse, which is as necessary to the peasant as a saw and chisel are to the carpenter. The general result of the whole investigation was that out of the 118 families who had to give recruits, 72 required assistance.

I have no reason to suppose that the inhabitants of this district are in exceptionally unfavourable conditions, but they are very exceptional in having a benevolent society to assist them in their hour of need. How many thousands of villages are there which have no rich, benevolent people to help them, and no one to tell their tale of suffering! The Russian peasant is generally a little deficient in some of the qualities which we include among the cardinal virtues; but he has, as his champions tell us, virtues of his own, and among these the habit of giving alms is, perhaps, the most prominent. The *Muzhik*, it is often said, will never drive away the hungry suppliant from his door. If this be true, we may form some notion of the misery and destitution which exist among the rural populations, when peasants expel from their homes their own near relatives, and compel them to live on the charity of neighbours almost as poor as themselves.

But in another way the suffering caused by the war has been exceptionally severe. By the policy of the Czar it has been made a deadly feud between races and religions. It has been pitiful to read day after day in the correspondence of the various papers, how the whole Turkish population of Bulgarian villages and towns broke up their homes and fled before the advancing enemy, scared by well-authenticated news of wholesale pillage and cruel massacre, perpetrated not by the Russians so much as by the Bulgars under Russian protection. In Sistova, Biela, and Tirnova, there was a sack of the town, but

no lives were lost; but south of the Balkans, during Gourko's raid in the summer, deeds were done, with even the mention of which we cannot sully our pages, and Bulgar and Cossack committed crimes which throw into the shade all that the Bashi-Bazouks ever did, even taking Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet as sober history. Now that the Russians have crossed the Balkans in force, we read day after day heartrending accounts of the winter flight of thousands of Turkish families in Roumelia, scared from their homes by the advance of the armies of the Czar. The scenes of this war help us to realize what the barbarian invasions of the 5th century must have been, and the Russians have justified the comparison by barbarous deeds. At Plevna, according to the *Daily News*, they committed the deliberate cruelty of forcing Turkish men, women, and children, helpless non-combatants as they were, into Osman's lines, in order to make the daily consumption of food greater, and produce famine more rapidly. In Asia there is only too much reason to believe that 2,000 wounded men, taken at Kars, in violation of the received laws of war and of humanity, were marched through the snow to Erzeroum and 1,200 perished on the way. Moreover, it appears from Russian papers, that all Circassians taken fighting for Turkey are sent to Siberia. Russia drove these men from their homes, she allowed them to become Ottomans, and now, when they are defending their new homes in the Balkan peninsula, she treats them as rebels to be doomed to the living death of Siberia.

Bulgaria was, according to Mr. Forbes, of the *Daily News*, a land of plenty and comfort when the Russians entered it; wasted by war, and eaten up by hostile armies, it must be now all but a desert. The Bulgars have suffered heavily at the hands of their Muscovite friends. A foe of Russia sometimes loses by enmity with her, but a friend of Russia invariably suffers for the alliance. It is terrible to think how much during these nine months of war Russ and Turk, Serb, Bulgar, and Roumanian have had to endure, and all not to right any wrong, but on an empty pretext of humanity, to which the deeds of Russia give the lie; to spread wider in Eastern Europe and Western Asia the iron rule of the Czar. It is terrible to look back on such a war, but we know that it is more terrible to look forward to the results of a peace dictated by the Russian armies, for such a peace can only mean more undisguised trampling out of God's truth, more widespread trampling out of man's just freedom, and the wide sowing of the seed of future strife from the Ganges to the Rhine.

ART. VII.—AN EXAMINATION OF MR. HERBERT SPENCER'S "PSYCHOLOGY."—PART V.

IN the April number of this REVIEW (1877) I concluded my examination of the first volume of Mr. Herbert Spencer's "Psychology," which I contended left "the arguments for the radical distinctness of intellect from sensation not only unimpaired but reinforced."

This second volume contains the three remaining parts of his work, namely, Parts VI., VII., and VIII.

Part VI. is entitled "*Special Analysis*," and is occupied about "Reasoning," "Perception," "Relations," and "Consciousness."

Part VII. is entitled "*General Analysis*," and is occupied with an examination of different metaphysical systems and an exposition and defence of the author's own system of "transfigured realism."

Part VIII. is headed "*Corollaries*," and is concerned with the classification of psychical powers, with the development of conceptions, and with emotions and sentiments, considered as preliminaries of the science of sociology.

PART VI.

This sixth part Mr. Spencer, as I have just said, entitles "SPECIAL ANALYSIS." In it he treats of quantitative and qualitative reasoning, and professes to consider reasoning in general, though, as we shall see, he omits the most important facts and considerations, and exhibits a failure to appreciate the process of inference, whence misrepresentation of that process necessarily follows in his attempted exposition of it.

He then proceeds to consider classification, naming and recognition, the perception of objects, of space, of time, of motion, of resistance, and perception in general. This is followed by chapters on relations of similarity, cointention, coextension, connature, and likeness, together with their opposites. Then follows a consideration of sequence and of consciousness in general, and the whole part concludes with a statement of what Mr. Spencer considers to be the legitimate results of what has preceded.

The first eight chapters are here alone considered. In it, as we shall see, he proceeds from considering reasoning as

the mere association of sensible images occasioning a perception of the likeness or unlikeness between relations; and he confounds together in hopeless confusion the deductive ratiocination with the direct perception of intuitive truth. His whole theory of reasoning is thus vitiated.

CHAPTER I.—LIMITATION OF THE SUBJECT.

The contents of this short chapter may be thus summarized : —§ 274. The analysis must be limited to "thoughts," "emotions" not admitting of further interpretation than that already given. § 275. It is most useful to begin with the most complex and involved thoughts.

The author starts by observing that "unless he is warned against doing so, the reader will expect to find in the following chapters analyses of states of consciousness of all orders. The phenomena presented by the emotions, as well as those presented by the intellect, will be assumed to fall into the scope of the inquiry. A resolution into their components, not only of thoughts, but also of sentiments, will be looked for."

He contends, however, that since "thoughts," "no matter how simple or how complex, contain more or less definable and nameable elements, having connexions that may be described with distinctness, while 'sentiments' have their limits and contents very faintly marked and entangled,—the latter (i.e. sentiments) had better be passed over," "as not admitting of further interpretations than those reached synthetically" in the first volume. This haziness, he reminds us, is a necessary consequence of the "genesis of emotions," as traced by him in §§ 214 and 247 (in Parts IV. and V. of vol. i.) to the fundamental sensations of brutes.

But in a Psychology we most certainly ought to find analyses of all orders of mental activity, of complex feelings and emotions no less than of thoughts; nor indeed is it possible to consider the treatment of the emotions in the portions of the first volume above referred to as other than most meagre and unsatisfactory, the intellectual emotions being entirely ignored. As I have before contended, in a Psychology not only is it indispensable for completeness that all our mental activities should be considered, but it is surely desirable in the present day, when so much scepticism is expressed as to our knowledge of objectivity, that we should start from a subjective basis. So to do, however, requires that we should at once consider our intellectual actions in the order of reflection, and therefore our highest activities, our reflex self-con-

sciousness, our will and our noblest emotions, require to be brought before our notice at an early stage of our inquiry.

As we have again and again urged, Mr. Spencer has, in the first volume, ignored the intellect altogether, taking no notice of our highest intuitions, such as those of truth, beauty, and goodness. Similarly, with regard to emotion, he gives, as I have already said, "what is possibly a true, and is certainly a very ingenious, account of brutes' emotions," but he takes no notice of the loftiest human feelings, such as love, apart from sexual feeling, the pleasures of intellectual contemplation, and the emotion which accompanies the judgment of moral approbation and reprobation, or the longing for the Beatific Vision. I am convinced that no clustering of brutal feelings, however complex, can account for such emotions; but, however that may be, it is certain that Mr. Spencer has not sought to account for them, for he gives no evidence of ever having contemplated them. Some philosophers contend that such higher emotions in which the intellect and often the will (as in aspirations) plainly bear a part, should be classified under the head of Will rather than under that of Emotion, but this is not the place for such a question to be considered.

CHAPTER II.—COMPOUND QUANTITATIVE REASONING.

The following is a short statement of the contents of the several sections of this chapter:—§ 276. We must begin with the most composite type of compound quantitative reasoning. § 277. Example of an intuition that ratios which are severally equal to certain other ratios that are unequal to each other, are themselves unequal. § 278. This intuition is embodied in the axiom that "ratios which are equal to the same ratio are equal to one another," and this is one concrete form of the axiom, "relations which are equal to the same relation are equal to each other." § 279. This last axiom is the foundation of all mathematical analysis, § 280, and is reached by an intuition of the equality of two relations between relations. In this chapter he begins by saying, that "Of intellectual acts, the highest are those which constitute conscious reasoning—reasoning called conscious, to distinguish it from the unconscious or automatic reasoning that forms so large an element in ordinary perception." There is much to object to even in this initial sentence. That conscious acts are higher than unconscious, I, of course, most readily admit, but that the term "reasoning" should be applied to any unconscious activity (except as a figure of speech, and such does not appear to be Mr. Spencer's intention), seems to me a contradiction in terms. That complex associations of sensations, of

sensations with imaginations, and of both these again with emotions in more and more complex clusters and clusters of clusters, may take place unconsciously is most true, as also that such complex associations supply the material and conditions for the exercise of conscious reason. But such automatic action may go on where intellect is altogether absent, as in brutes, constituting that simulation of reason which may be called, by a figure of speech, "sensuous inference." Such creatures have all the antecedent conditions of intellectual action save the one essential one of having an intellect to act. But *reasoning* is *not* the highest kind of human intellectual action; the highest kind is not the indirect and mediate act of inference (i.e. reasoning), the highest kind of intellectual action is the direct and immediate act of intellectual intuition, as when we see that always and in all places ingratitude is and must be vicious, or that the same thing cannot both be and not be at the same time and in the same sense. Mr. Spencer proceeds to observe that we must set out with the most composite type of compound quantitative reasoning, and the example of such which he selects is (§ 277) that of an engineer who has constructed an iron tubular bridge "just strong enough to bear the strain it is subject to," and who being required to construct another one double the span of the first, infers that the depth or thickness of the second must be more than double the depth or thickness of the former. He thus concludes from knowing that the weights of masses of similar material similarly shaped are as the cubes of their linear dimensions, while their strengths vary only as the squares of such dimensions. He adds, "to present the reasoning in a formal manner, he sees that the

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{Sustaining force } \} : \{ \text{Sustaining force } \{ \\ \text{in the small tube } \} : \{ \text{in the large tube } \} :: 1^3 : 2^3 \end{array}$$

whilst at the same time he sees that

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{Destroying force } \} : \{ \text{Destroying force } \} \\ \text{in the small tube } \} : \{ \text{in the large tube } \} :: 1^3 : 2^3. \end{array}$$

Whence he infers that as the destroying force has increased in a much greater ratio than the sustaining force, the larger tube cannot sustain itself; seeing that the smaller one has no excess of strength."

He then adds that the ratios between the sustaining and destroying forces are known to be unlike "through the intermediation of two other ratios to which they are severally equal," and he continues: "The ratio between the sustaining force *equals* the ratio $1^3 : 2^3$. The ratio between the destroying force *equals* the ratio $1^3 : 2^3$; it is by implica-

tion seen, that the ratio between the sustaining forces is unequal to the ratio between the destroying forces. What is the nature of this implication? or rather, what is the mental act by which this implication is perceived? It is manifestly not decomposable into steps. Though involving many elements, it is a single intuition; and if expressed in an abstract form amounts to the axiom, ratios which are severally equal to certain other ratios that are unequal to each other, are themselves unequal." He concludes: "I do not propose here to analyze this highly complex intuition, I simply present it as an example of the more intricate acts of thought which occur in compound quantitative reasoning,—an example to which the reader may hereafter recur if he pleases."

As I shall probably take advantage of this permission, and as this, his initial example, for several reasons requires careful attention, I must devote to it what may appear an excessive amount of space, and I crave the reader's indulgence for a prolixity which seems indispensable in order to avoid giving admission to principles and implications, the results of which would, in my judgment, be fatal to a correct comprehension of what reasoning is.

In the first place, as I have already said, ratiocination is an indirect process, which, by the help of a middle term, draws out latent and implicit truth into clear explicit recognition. Such a power of dragging forth into consciousness of latent and implied universal propositions, is a characteristic of man's psychical power as compared with that of brutes. On the other hand, beings higher than ourselves must be able to dispense with reasoning more and more in proportion to their higher intellectual power, and in God there can be no such process whatever. Similarly, human intellects of exceptional power or acuteness may directly intue truths (as notably mathematical truths) which less gifted natures can only reach by a prolonged reasoning process.

It may be, then, that the engineer here supposed may intue the answer to the constructive problem simultaneously with the apprehension of its terms. On the other hand, he may with great rapidity have run through a process of reasoning without explicit recognition of the process traversed. That the latter is the course supposed, seems manifest from the terms Mr. Spencer uses. He says, "whence he *infers*," and speaks of "the final *inference* drawn," being seen by "*implication*," the "*implication* perceived," &c.

Now, if the engineer has gone through a reasoning process, that process must be capable of expression in the syllogistic

form; and it seems to me that it may be expressed as follows:—

- | | | | |
|---|-------|---|--|
| 1. Masses of similar
shape and ma-
terial | } are | { | things the weights of which
are as the cubes of their
linear dimensions. |
| The two bridges | | | masses of similar shape and
material. |

Therefore the two bridges are things the weights of which are as the cubes of their linear dimensions, or, in other words, the weight of the first bridge is to that of the second as the cube of the linear dimensions of the first is to the cube of the linear dimensions of the second.

2. The cube of the linear dimensions of the first is to the cube of the linear dimensions of the second as 1 to 8; but the weight of the first, etc.: therefore the weight of the first is to that of the second as 1 to 8; that is, the weight of the second bridge is eight times that of the first. In a precisely similar way, substituting squares of linear dimensions for cubes, and sustaining power for weight, it may be proved that the *sustaining power* of the first bridge is to the sustaining power of the second as 1 to 4, or that the second will bear up only four times as much as the first. The syllogisms, however, being obvious after the above have been inspected, it is unnecessary to give them; therefore,—

3. Four times as much as the first bridge will bear is the greatest quantity the second will sustain; but four times a little more than the weight of the first bridge is four times as much as the first bridge will bear;* therefore, four times a little more than the weight of the first bridge is the greatest quantity which the second will sustain.

4. A bridge which is capable of sustaining only four times a little more than the weight of the first bridge is incapable of supporting eight times the weight of the first bridge; but the second bridge is a bridge which is capable of sustaining only four times a little more than the weight of the first bridge; therefore, the second bridge is a bridge which is incapable of supporting eight times the weight of the first bridge.

* The minor, results from the supposition made, that the first bridge is just strong enough to bear a strain resulting mainly from its own weight, i.e. that the greatest amount it will bear, and a little more than its own weight, are equals. For multiples of equals by the same number are equals; but, if the greatest amount it will bear and a little more than its own weight are equals, four times as much as it will bear, and four times its own weight, are multiples of equals by the same number.

5. A bridge capable of supporting the weight of the second bridge is capable of supporting eight times the weight of the first;* but the second bridge is not capable of supporting eight times the weight of the first; therefore, the second bridge is not capable of supporting the weight of the second bridge; *i.e.*, it cannot support its own weight.

Whence, finally, we have the obvious syllogism:—A bridge which cannot support its own weight must be strengthened by the addition of more material; the second bridge is a bridge which cannot support its own weight; therefore the second bridge must be strengthened by more material.

Thus may be done what Mr. Spencer says he does not propose to do—namely, "to analyze this highly complex intuition." And I submit that it is by such a chain of (implicit, though not explicit) reasoning that the conclusion has been arrived at, rather than by a comparison of ratios, though if it be reached in the latter manner then there will be no more difficulty than in the other case in throwing the process of reaching it into the syllogistic form. That it can be so is, in fact, shown at once by the very use of the words "implication" and "inference," for they denote the arrival at a conclusion by premisses and the explicit or implicit use of that wonderful and formal word "THEREFORE," which expresses the whole force of the illative process.

But Mr. Spencer is singularly hazy in his terminology. He asks, "What is the mental act by which this implication is perceived? It is manifestly not decomposable into steps. Though *involving many elements* it is a single intuition." If by "this implication" he means "*the conclusion*," then, of course, that is at once seen to be true, and necessarily true, from what has gone before; it is not, of course, decomposable into steps. In the reasoning—

All A is B
C is A
∴ C is B

The conclusion ∴ C is B is not decomposable, and is at once seen to be necessarily true. If by "this implication" he, on the other hand, means "*the process*," then that must be decomposable into steps. But Mr. Spencer says expressly that "the mental act by which this implication is perceived" "is a single intuition," and "amounts to the axiom" before cited. How a "mental act" can "amount to an

* For, by Syllogism 2, the weight of the second bridge is equal to eight times that of the first, and a bridge capable of supporting a certain heavy object is capable of supporting another to which it is equal.

axiom" is not clear, though, of course, the intuition of an axiom is a mental act. But no intuition of an axiom by itself, however complex, will solve the constructive problem given in the example, and if it be made use of to reach the solution of that problem, then it must be made use of by a process of reasoning ending with a proposition containing the word "therefore," and must be capable of expression syllogistically. Thus I deny entirely that the reasoning here supposed rests on a perception of the relation between ratios; no such perception would enable the precipient to arrive at the conclusion by reasoning without at least an implicit syllogistic process, though it might lead a mind of exceptional power directly to intue the answer in the very terms set before it without making use of reasoning at all—namely, by an act of pure and direct intellectual intuition.

Next (p. 8, § 278) he states that the foregoing intuition (viz. that "Ratios which are severally equal to certain other ratios that are unequal to each other are themselves unequal") is embodied in an axiom to the effect that "relations which are equal to the same relation are equal to each other," which latter axiom is, he says, taken for granted in the Eleventh Proposition of the Fifth Book of Euclid, which he quotes in full. He then separates the equimultiples (taken in the proposition), and considers the argument concerning them by itself, adding that the conclusion involves the above-give axiom about "relations." He meets, successfully I think, a supposed objection that equality has not been asserted between the ratios of the multiples; but as to another objection he appears to me to fail.

This latter objection is to the effect that a "relation" is a "thing," and that his axiom as to "relations" is but one form of the primary axiom, "things which are equal to the same thing are equal to each other." He passes by the objection, however, with the remark (p. 12), that if true, the criticism but serves to bring out more clearly that it is the *relations*, and not the *things related*, which are made the objects of thought: "in the intellectual process by which relations that are equal to the same relation, are perceived to be equal to each other, if the concepts dealt with are the relations, and not the objects between which the relation subsists." But, *of course*, it is not here the objects which are considered, for the very simple reason they are not even given, and on that very account the relations cannot be thought of in their character of actual relations, since relations can only be known through some knowledge of their terms. Evidently, then, in this axiom

relations are only regarded in their character of things. Thus his axiom, instead of being important, is of the most trivial character. But surely it is no wonder that in the proposition cited, it is "relations" which are considered, since the proposition itself is "ratios which are the same to the same ratio are the same to each other," and it is, therefore, expressly occupied about "ratios," or one kind of "relations." He adds, that his axiom (about relations) "underlies important parts of geometry," and refers to the first and other propositions of the sixth book of Euclid. But these propositions also concern "ratios" which are a species of that genus of "things" which are called "relations." No wonder then that his axiom is indeed implied in such propositions.

He goes on (p. 13, § 279) to contend that his axiom is much more important still, and "is the foundation of all mathematical analysis." He gives an example by working out the equation, $x^2 + 2x = 8$, and says that its successive transformations are linked together by the assumption that the relations between the two sides of the equation are alike in each step, there being a relation of equality in each, and therefore he contends that the axiom "relations that are equal to the same relation are equal to each other" is the warrant for the assumption that there is equality in the final as in the initial stage of the equation. But this contention I venture entirely and absolutely to oppose. It seems to me evident that at each stage, as it is reached, the two sides of the equation are seen to be equal by comparison with the preceding stage *only*, and that there is no comparison whatever of any two relations with a third. We see that as $x^2 + 2x = 8$, so $x^2 + 2x + 1 = 9$. We see that there is equality in each case, because "the sums of equals are also equals," and not at all because the relation in the first step is seen to be equal to the relation in the second step through the equality of these two relations to any third relation.

Mr. Spencer seems to feel some misgiving as to his own reasoning in this matter. He says (p. 15): "It is true that in this case the relations dealt with are relations of equality; and the great simplification hence resulting may raise a doubt whether the process of thought really is the one here described." It may, *indeed*, do so! He proceeds to endeavour to meet the objection hence arising, by saying, "How is the relation between the two sides of an equation, when reduced to its final form, known to be a relation of equality? Only through its affiliation on the original relation of equality, by means of all the intermediate relations. Strike out in the foregoing case the several transformations which link the first

and last forms of the equation together, and it cannot be inferred that x equals 2. If, then, this relation is known to equal the first only because it is known to equal the penultimate relation, and the penultimate relation to equal the antepenultimate, and so on; it is clear that the affiliation of the last relation on the first, involves this axiom—relations that are equal to the same relation are equal to each other." But, I repeat, not so! Each transformation is separately seen to be equal by comparison with its predecessor *only*. Our author adds: "It must be admitted that in cases like these, when this general axiom is applied to relations of equality, it seems a superfluity." I venture to think that it not only "seems so," but *is*, in fact, a cumbrous superfluity. But he further says: "Nevertheless, I think the arguments adduced warrant the belief that the mental process described is gone through; though, perhaps, almost automatically." I can only add that neither in my mind, nor in the minds of those I have consulted, can such a process be discovered at all.

Lastly, he considers (p. 16, § 280) the axiom itself, how it becomes known, and what is its character. He says, the "relations" referred to in the axiom must be compared in "couples," because the first and third cannot be compared without the intermediation of the second, and thinking of them serially would not bring the first and third into immediate connection. "By the premisses it is known that the first and second relations are equal, and that the second and third relations are equal. Consequently, there are presented to consciousness, two relations of equality between relations." The process gone through he thinks is as follows: "The first and second relations, contemplated as equal, form together one concept; the third and second, similarly contemplated, form together another concept; and in the intuition of the equality of these concepts, the equality of the terminal relations is implied; or, to define its nature abstractedly, the axiom expresses an intuition of the equality of two relations between relations." I do not believe, nor do I find that other (very competent) thinkers believe, that any such cumbrous process—one, the very conception even of which is difficult to grasp—is gone through in intuiting the axiom referred to. The mind intues the absolute axiom about the equality of "things which are equal to the same thing," and sees that it is not only true, but *must be* so everywhere and always; and it intues the like of "relations," as a species of the genus "things." There is no need whatever to think here of the relations *as relations*, the truth of the proposition is manifest without any such advertence. Mr. Spencer concludes the

chapter by saying that what have here been treated of are really "*ratios*," but that he has spoken of them under the larger term "*relations*," in order that he might be able to bring them "under the same category" as that in which he places "other acts of reasoning," *i.e.*, to aid that interpretation of the reasoning process which he advocates.

It should be remarked as a very noteworthy fact, that in this analysis of what he deems the "highest" kind of "intellectual acts," he takes no notice whatever of our intuition of the "principle of identity," though it underlies every reasoning process. This great mental fact is as yet ignored by Mr. Spencer.

It seems to me that in the actual mental process we convert, not, as Mr. Spencer seems to do, things into relations, but rather relations into things. Thus, in the expression $3 : 6 :: 18 : 36$, we consider the *relations* $3 : 6$ and $18 : 36$, as respectively "*halves*," we then recognize that all halves are equal (*i.e.* all halves), and thus, that the relation between 3 and 6, and that between 18 and 36 are both equal.

In solving an equation (such as just above referred to) where we have nothing but mathematical unfolding to do, we simply compare each line with the line before. Nevertheless, of course where we have to perform an operation (addition, subtraction, or whatever it may be) on both sides simultaneously, we then proceed by the axiom, "the sums of equals are equals."

CHAPTER III.—COMPOUND QUANTITATIVE REASONING (CONTINUED).

This chapter consists of the three following sections:—
§ 281. An intuition of the equality of two relations is implied in every step of quantitative reasoning. § 282. This is exemplified by the Proposition "The angles at the base of an isosceles triangle are equal," and by analyzing "Proposition xxxii." § 283. Each step in an algebraic argument is of the same nature.

In this short chapter Mr. Spencer seeks (p. 19, § 281) for "some more general cognition" than his axiom about "*relations*," since the latter can have no concern "with most geometrical truths." And he says that since such more general cognition must be involved in the kinds of reasoning already exemplified, it will be best to continue the analysis commenced. He continues: "If, then, ceasing to consider in its totality the complex axiom," "we inquire what are the elements of thought into which it is proximately decomposable, we at

once see that it twice over involves a recognition of the equality of two relations. Before it can be seen that the relations $A : B$ and $E : F$, being severally equal to the relation $C : D$, are equal to each other, it must be seen that the relation $A : B$ is equal to the relation $C : D$, and that the relation $C : D$ is equal to the relation $E : F$. And this is the intellectual act of which we are in search." But I cannot admit the correctness of this analysis, which seems to me to contain a great fallacy. It is, of course, a truism that before we can conclude that the relations between any concrete things represented by $A : B$ and $E : F$ are equal, we must be sure that the relations in each case are really equal to the intermediate relation represented by $C : D$; but Mr. Spencer is analyzing the abstract "axiom" into "the elements of thought, into which it is decomposable." And the axiom itself, "relations which are equal to the same relation are equal to each other," is not decomposable into any perceptions of concrete reality, however it may be advisable or necessary to bring it home to some minds by concrete examples. There is most certainly contained in it no intuition of the equality of relations other than the abstract ones which are supposed to be both equal to some third, and which are thus clearly seen to be equal to each other. If this is, as he says it is, the "intellectual act" of which he has been "in search," then his conception has evidently been gained simply through confusion of thought between the analogies of an abstract axiom and the analysis of its concrete application to one particular case. And a conception so gained cannot but be misleading in its subsequent effects. He adds: "An intuition of the equality of two relations is implied in every step of quantitative reasoning." And he proceeds (p. 20, § 282) to seek it out in the field of geometry.

He first selects the proposition: "The angles at the base of an isosceles triangle are equal to each other." He then observes, that in order to prove this, a concrete example is taken, and that when the equality is proved in it, it is at once seen to follow that "that holds in one case holds in all cases." "What is the nature of this cognition?" he asks. "It is a consciousness of the equality of two relations—on the one hand, the relation between the sides and angles of the triangle ABC ; and, on the other hand, the relation between the sides and angles of another isosceles triangle, of any isosceles triangle, of all isosceles triangles." He affirms that this perception is "a simple intuition," and rightly so affirms, if by that phrase he here means a direct perception of an inferred truth. I would suggest, however,

that the perception is not properly described, as "a consciousness of the equality of two relations;" but as the perception of an absolutely and necessary coexistence, the universality of which is made manifest by an example. This perception once gained, we do not revert to the concrete A B C, save for the purpose of demonstration; but we simply conclude that there is a necessary coexistence between equal sides and equal angles in any and every possible triangle. I do not, therefore, at all admit, or believe, that this cognition is "a consciousness of the equality of two relations."

He then proceeds to claim that this intuition of the equality of two relations "constitutes each of the steps by which the special truth is reached," which he endeavours to show by analyzing the 32nd proposition. He does so in a similar manner to that already described, attributing each step to a perception of the equality of a present to a past relation. Of course it is possible to throw the theorem into such a form, but I contend that here (as before, with respect to the isosceles triangle) what is really perceived is not the resemblance between relations, but necessary and universal coexistences, made manifest by a concrete example. There is not merely, as he says, a perception of likeness or equality between relations, but of absolute and universal objective necessity.

Lastly (p. 24, § 283), he returns to equations, and contends that a perception of the validity of the successive transformations is also due to an intuition in each case of the equality of relations. But, although the process *may* be so described, what is really attended to in working out an equation, is not any equality of relations, but that in each transformation the same change be effected on each of the sides of the equation. This attention is not given in order that the relation between the two sides in one step may be equal to the relation between the two sides of a preceding step, but, in order that that equality may continue to be preserved which is essential to the successful solving of the equation. The mind does not even advert to the fact that there is a relation of equality between the two sides in the preceding step—though, of course, it recognizes the fact when for any reason (*e.g.*, to suit Mr. Spencer's argument) attention is called to it. It attends to the preceding step only for the purpose of making a similar change on each side of it. What *does* underlie these and all the other intellectual processes adverted to by Mr. Spencer, is the PRINCIPLE OF IDENTITY. It is the fact that that principle would be violated were the steps in the different valid processes of reasoning denied, which really establishes their irrefragable truth. But, as before said, this great principle is by Mr. Spencer entirely ignored.

CHAPTER IV.—IMPERFECT AND SIMPLE QUANTITATIVE REASONING.

This chapter consists of the following sections: § 284. In imperfect quantitative reasoning, though the primary relations are those of inequality, yet the secondary relations are mostly those of equality as evidenced by geometry and, § 285, by algebra; § 286. The axiom "things which are equal to the same thing are equal to each other" expresses an intuition of the equality of two relations, and an intuition of the inequality of two relations is implied in such perceptions as "if $A > B$ and $B > C$, then $A > C$," or if $A > B$ and $B = C$, then $A > C$; § 287. In intuitions in which four magnitudes are involved, (such as "the sums of equals are equal," &c.); the compared relations have no common term and so it is the more manifest that an intuition of the equality or inequality of two relations is involved; § 288. These two groups of intuitions are respectively related to proportions of three and four magnitudes, though these latter differ from the former in their complete quantitativeness.

Mr. Spencer begins this chapter (p. 26, § 284) by observing most truly that "ability to perceive equality implies a correlative ability to perceive inequality," and, that while "there is but one equality, there are numberless degrees of inequality." From this he deduces the consequence that while "*perfectly* quantitative reasoning proceeds *wholly* by the establishment of equality between relations" in *imperfectly* quantitative reasoning some of the magnitudes standing in immediate relation are neither directly equal nor the one equal to so many times the other, or some of the successive relations which the reasoning establishes, are unequal.

He illustrates this in geometry from the proposition: "Any two sides of a triangle are together greater than the third side," which he states at length, and side by side with it, he places a statement of relations of equality and inequality which he declares to be involved in its successive steps.

The first step is the perception that the angles at the base of a particular isosceles triangle $A D C$ are equal, because the angles at the base of all isosceles triangles are equal. This, Mr. Spencer interprets into a perception of "a relation equal to a previously-established relation," and, of course, it may be so expressed, but it may also, and, I believe, more rationally be expressed thus: isosceles triangles have the angles at their base equal, $A D C$ is an isosceles triangle, therefore, the angles at the base of the triangle $A D C$ are equal.

Similarly the angles $A D C$ and $A C D$ being equal, and

the angle B C D greater than the angle A C D, the resulting consequence that the angle B C D is greater than the angle A C D is interpreted by Mr. Spencer as being an "intuition of the equality of two relations of inequality, which have one term in common, and the other terms equal." But to my mind, this is a very cumbrous and indirect intuition, whereas the simple intuition that if one thing is equal to another, either must be greater or less than whatever the other is greater or less than, amply suffices. It is things themselves, and not anything so complex as the "equality of two relations of inequality" to which the mind adverts. Similarly I regard Mr. Spencer's explanation of the whole proposition as a cumbrous and involved (and, in so far, a distorted) representation of it.

He adds: "though the magnitudes dealt with are unequal, yet the demonstration proceeds by showing that certain relations among them are equal to certain other relations: though the primary relations (between quantities) are those of inequality, yet the secondary relations (between relations) are those of equality. And this holds in the majority of imperfectly quantitative arguments. Though, as we shall see by and by, there are cases in which both the magnitudes and the relations are unequal, yet they are comparatively rare; and are incapable of any but the simplest forms." The application of these remarks will appear later, but I may here observe that Mr. Spencer throughout misuses the term "*equality*," which means "exact resemblance *as to quantity*." He, however, makes it mean exact resemblance of any kind—an abuse of language!

In the next section (p. 28, § 285), he applies his view to mathematical analysis as exemplified in the inequation:—

$$\begin{aligned} a + \frac{x^2}{\sqrt{y}} &< a + x\sqrt{y} \\ \frac{x^2}{\sqrt{y}} &< x\sqrt{y} \\ x^2 &< xy \\ x &< y \end{aligned}$$

And he assumes an intuition at each step of relations of inferiority, as in the equation before referred to he assumed an intuition of the equality between relations. To this I reply, as I replied before, that the advertence at each step is merely to the preceding step, and not to the relations between relations. Indeed, that there is not such advertence, is manifest from the fact that the validity of the inequation can be fully seen without any perception of the fact (to which Mr. Spencer

advert) that, in the original form of the inequation, the second quantity bears a greater ratio to the first quantity than it does in the form which follows, seeing that when equals are taken from unequals, the remainders are more unequal than before.

Next (p. 30, § 286), Mr. Spencer goes on to say that, though much has already been incidentally implied with respect to simple quantitative reasoning, it will be convenient to consider apart arguments of this simple kind, whether axioms or truths nearly allied to axioms. And he proceeds to analyse the axiom, "things which are equal to the same thing are equal to each other," which he declares to express an intuition of the equality of two relations, saying: "When A and B are united together in the single concept—a relation of equality; and when C and B are united with another such concept; it becomes impossible to recognize the equality of these two relations of equality, which possess a common term, without the equality of the other terms being involved in the intuition."

In the first place it may well be asked, how can Mr. Spencer talk of some concepts of relations as equal to others? He says, the concept $(A = B)$ = the concept $(C = B)$, and here the symbol $(=)$ means (is like) and can mean nothing else. But how is it like? Plainly, because both are concepts of equality. But what real "*equality*" exists? Clearly an equality resulting from the same term, B, occurring in each, and from no other cause,—from there being, in fact, but three terms. But in other places Mr. Spencer endeavours to represent these as four terms.

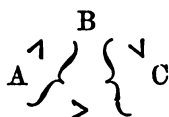
But, apart from this criticism, it may be remarked that we have here again the analysis of a mental operation into another which is much more complex than the one analyzed. That "things which are equal to the same thing are equal to each other" is a simple truth directly evident; but if it is to be analysed at all, it can only be so into the yet more simple principle of identity. If any two things, X and Y, are in any respect equal, they may be represented as identical as regards this abstract matter of resemblance, by the symbol $A = A$; and if any other two things, Z and Y, are similarly equal in the very same matter, their resemblance may be similarly represented. If, therefore, Z did not equal X in the matter abstracted, then A would not equal A, and the principle of identity would consequently be violated.

Mr. Spencer illustrates his position thus: "Suppose A to represent a standard measure preserved by the State; and let a surveyor be in possession of a measure, B, which is an

exact copy of the original one, A. Imagine that in the course of his survey the measure B is broken, and that in the meanwhile the building containing the standard measure A has been burnt. Nevertheless, by purchasing another measure, C, which had also been made to match the standard A, the surveyor is enabled to complete his work, and knows that his later measurements will agree with his earlier ones. By what process of thought does he perceive this? It cannot be by comparing B and C, for one of these was broken before he got the other; nor can it be by comparing them serially—B, A, C, and C, A, B, for two of them have ceased to exist. Evidently, then, he thinks of B and C as both copies of A; he contemplates the *relations* in which they respectively stood to A; and in recognizing the sameness or equality of their relations, he unavoidably recognizes the equality of B and C." It appears to me, however, that the process is simpler than that described. I believe that the mind adverts, not to the "equality of the relations," but to the equality of the things themselves; not to the equality of the relation AB with the relation AC, but to the equality of B and C with A, whence, from the principle of identity, the equality of B and C follows.

Incidentally it may be remarked that Mr. Spencer says (p. 32): "that the mind may retain an accurate resemblance of a *relation* when it is unable to retain an accurate remembrance of the *things* between which the relation subsisted." Surely such a remembrance of a relation as a relation is something more than a repetition of faint sensations!

He then proceeds to consider another type of intuition, namely, one "between two relations of inequality having a common term. Thus, if A is greater than B, and B greater than C, then A is greater than C."



"The relation A to B being given as a relation of superiority, while that of C to B is given as a relation of inferiority, it is known that the relation A to B is greater than the relation C to B; and as the term B is common to the two relations, the intuition that the relation A to B is greater than the relation C to B cannot be found without involving the intuition that A is greater than C."

Mr. Spencer can, of course, simply mean that A is greater than B, and B is greater than C; and this appears to show plainly that the mind adverts, not to the *relations* but to the

things, i.e., not to the relations as related, but to the things as related. In the same way may be treated his other example: "If A is greater than B, and B is equal to C, we know that A is greater than C."

He then passes (p. 34, § 287) to consider cases in which not three but four magnitudes are involved, such as equals added, subtracted, multiplied, or divided, by equals or unequals; and he says that, "in this second series, the relations being perfectly independent and distinct, the mental processes into which they enter are more readily analyzable." And here, since the intuitions are avowedly occupied with binary groups of things the relations between which are expressly declared, it does seem more as if the mind was occupied about the relations of the relations themselves, and, of course, the intuitions can be so expressed. Nevertheless, I contend that even here what is adverted to is not relations as relations, but things themselves as related.

Lastly (p. 35, § 288), he observes: "These two groups of intuitions have a common root with those which proportions express." Thus the equality of things equal to a same third thing may, he says, be written

$$A : B :: B : C,$$

and the equality of the sums of equals:

$$A : B :: A + C : B + D;$$

A and B and C and D being supposed equal pairs. It is true that these axioms may be served up in this fashion, but so to serve them up is to present them in a cumbrous and involved fashion compared with their ordinary presentation. Moreover, in addition to being cumbrous and involved, they are explicitly much less complete.

$$A : B :: A + C : B + D$$

expresses a particular fact with regard to the equal pairs A and B and C and D, but it does not directly express that always, and in all cases, the "sums of equals are equal."

CHAPTER V.—QUANTITATIVE REASONING IN GENERAL.

This chapter has the following sections: § 289. The intuitions, out of which quantitative reasoning is built, must be exclusively those of coexistence, connature, and coextension. § 290. The successive forms which quantitative reasoning assumes presented in ascending order. § 291. It may be seen, *à priori*, that quantitative reasoning must consist in the establishment of the equality or inequality of relations.

Herein, Mr. Spencér terminates what he has to say about

quantitative reasoning, beginning (p. 37, § 289) by the remark, that "quantitative reasoning involves the three ideas—coextension, coexistence, and connature;" and that its "germ, the simple intuition of the equality of two magnitudes, necessarily involves all these ideas." To this section I have no special opposition to offer.

He then (p. 40, § 290) proceeds to present over again in serial and ascending order the successive forms of quantitative reasoning, as he has before exhibited them, beginning with the simple perception of the equality of two magnitudes. Since I have already considered his arguments in this matter, as he has before (and first) stated them, I will not again restate my criticisms, but merely say a few words. He asserts (at p. 46) that the theorem, "the angle in a semicircle is a right angle," may be more correctly analyzed as follows:—

DEMONSTRATED CASE.		ANY OTHER CASE.	
(The relations constituting the angle in the semicircle)	A	(The relations constituting the angle in that semicircle)	C
(coexist with)	:	(coexist with)	:
(The relations constituting a right angle)	b	(The relations constituting a right angle.)	d

And adds, "such seems to be the more correct analysis of those kinds of quantitative reasoning, in which the antecedents are not homogeneous with the consequents." Now it is, of course, *possible* to represent every conceivable statement as a statement about relations, but so to do is often a cumbersome and inconvenient mode, and one which misleads us as to which really are the matters the reasoning mind in fact adverts to.

Finally (p. 48, § 291), he endeavours to show that it may be seen, *à priori*, that the process of quantitative reasoning must consist in the establishment of the equality or inequality of relations. But, indeed, it may be seen at once that, not only every process of quantitative reasoning, but every act of intuitive perception may be expressed as the perception of the relatedness of relations. I may express the perception that a hat is too small for me by the phrase that "the relations of the hat, as regards extension and figure, and the similar relations of my head are disparate." In fine, then, though to suit any given purpose the process of quantitative reasoning may be expressed as Mr. Spencer expresses it, not only it need not be so expressed, but so to express it is to take a cumbersome and round-about road, which the mind, as a fact, does not habitually traverse.

Mr. Spencer remarks, in the course of his exposition, that

there can only be argument when magnitudes are so circumstanced as not to be directly comparable; but how many propositions are there not in Euclid in which it would be quite possible (as in the fifth of the first book) simply to measure the angles of the diagram given? But the argument is needed, not to show that the particular angles are equal, but that every conceivable pair of angles at the base of a truly isosceles triangle must always and everywhere be exactly equal.

CHAPTER VI.—PERFECT QUALITATIVE REASONING.

The contents of this chapter may be thus shortly expressed : § 292. In quantitative reasoning, coextension is no necessary element, but we are occupied with the coexistence or non-coexistence of things, attributes or relations that are connatural with other things, attributes or relations, and "coexistence" is a form of equality of relations. § 293. Coexistence or non-coexistence of attributes, and simultaneity or non-simultaneity of changes, are cases of the equality or non-equality of two relations. § 294. To these only are applicable Mills' axioms of the syllogism—"things which coexist with the same thing coexist with one another," &c. § 295. Perceptions of unconditional sequence are also reached by intuitions of the equality of relations.

Here (pp. 50—53, § 292) Mr. Spencer introduces a new application of the "equality of relations," namely, by applying it to the coexistence of attributes—since of two attributes invariably coexisting, if we see one we know we shall find the other, and thus the relation to time of one is equal to the relation to time of the other. But here, again, I must protest that though the coexistence of attributes *may* be thus looked at, it is not thus that it is looked at either by ordinary men or by philosophers.*

He follows this up (p. 53, § 293) by observing that reasons which predicate time-relations only, "exhibit in a large group of cases that same necessity often ascribed exclu-

* He observes (p. 52), by the way : "The true interpretation of equality is *indistinguishableness*. Distances, and sizes, and weights we call equal when no differences can be discerned between them." I should rather say that two objects are seen to be equal, not by a negative but by a positive process, such as that each is mediately or immediately but positively seen to be equal to some other object or objects. The heights of the mountains on the other side of the moon are *indistinguishable*, but they are not therefore equal. "Equality" is not a negative but a positive attribute. I may here refer to my former observation that Mr. Spencer makes an abuse of language in the use he makes of the term "equality," which instead of meaning exact resemblance of any kind, means only exact resemblance *as to quantity*.

sively to quantitative reasonings;" and adds: "this group of cases is divisible into two sub-groups"—one of disjoined relations involving four phenomena, the other of conjoined relations involving only three.

The first sub-group includes "cases in which, from certain observed attributes of objects, we infer the presence of certain other attributes that are inseparable from them. When, on feeling pressure against an outstretched limb, I conclude that there is something before me having extension; when, on seeing one side of an object, I know that there is an opposite side, were it not that perpetual repetition has consolidated these cognitions into what may be termed organic inferences, it would be at once seen they stand on a like footing with those in which the equilateralness of a triangle is known from its equi-angularity, when the coexistence of them has once been recognized." . . . "The mental act implied is an intuition of the equality of two relations," thus:—

$$\begin{array}{lcl}
 \text{(Tangible substance)} & A & \\
 \text{(Universally, or neces-} & : & \\
 \text{sarily, coexists with)} & & \\
 \text{(Limiting surfaces)} & B &
 \end{array}
 \left. \vphantom{\begin{array}{l} A \\ : \\ B \end{array}} \right\} = \left\{ \begin{array}{l} a \text{ (This mass of rope)} \\ : \text{ (coexists with)} \\ b \text{ (Two ends, which uncoil-} \\ \text{ing it will disclose.)} \end{array} \right.$$

But I deny that Mr. Spencer's above formula expresses a case in which, "from certain observed attributes of objects, we infer the presence of certain other attributes"; for there is no word expressing *inference* in it, no "Therefore." It really expresses the equality of two pairs of relations all four of which are known, but if one were not known save by a mental process dragging it out from implicit to explicit recognition (*i.e.*, by an *inference*), then the path the mind would implicitly follow would be a syllogism, and, in this instance, one in which the major premiss is a conclusion reached by simple enumeration, as follows:—Tangible substance is that which has limiting surfaces in all directions. This mass of rope is tangible substance. *Therefore* this mass of rope is that which has limiting surfaces in all directions. We *cannot* have an intuition of the equality of two relations unless all the four terms are already explicitly known; but an inference is a process by which one term becomes explicitly known; therefore no process of inference can possibly be expressed by a statement of the equality of two relations.

A word now as to his expression "organic inferences," which appears to me to show no slight confusion of thought.

An organic process of the highest order, a "feeling," can never, by any process of repetition, be "consolidated" into a process of a fundamentally different kind—an intellectual perception. Feelings may, by varied repetitions, be consolidated into clusters and clusters of clusters of strong and faint feelings associated in the most complex manner, and such associations of images in brutes simulate inference and constitute a process which may, by a figure of speech, be not unaptly called "organic inference." Feelings so combining may also, as in man, give rise to intellectual perceptions of a low or high order of abstraction and generality, but they themselves are not such perceptions.

In Mr. Spencer's second sub-group, he tells us, the fact predicated "is either the coexistence or non-coexistence of certain things, as determined by their relations to some third thing, or else the simultaneity or non-simultaneity of certain events, as determined by their known relations to some third event"; and he illustrates his position, as before, by symbols.

Now, of course, each of the terms "simultaneous with," "before," and "after," expresses a relation; and if we say that we saw A before we saw B, inasmuch as we saw A before breakfast and B after it, we, of course, express two relations; but this is not *reasoning*, but a mode of statement of certain facts. If we *reason*, *e.g.*, as to a MS., and say that a given one is of or before the ninth century, because of the form of its letters, we mean:—"Whatever MS. has a certain form of letters is of or before the ninth century; this MS. has a certain form of letters, *therefore* it is of or before the ninth century." Here, as before, I contend the mind does *not* advert to the two relations of simultaneity or antecedence between the abstract style of letters and the letters of the particular MS., with the ninth century respectively, though subsequently the facts may, of course, be so expressed; and I therefore deny that *reasoning* about coexistences, or about antecedence, or consequence of attributes, is intued as the equality or non-equality of two relations.

In the next section (§ 294, p. 58) he turns aside to consider John Stuart Mill's syllogistic axioms ("Things which coexist with the same thing coexist with one another," and "A thing which coexists with another thing, with which other thing a third thing does not coexist, is not coexistent with that third thing"), and affirms that they are applicable to no cases save Mr. Spencer's second sub-groups of perfect qualitative reasonings. He objects against Mr. Mill's view first (1) that these axioms "refer positively or negatively to one time only; whereas the syllogism, as involving in its major premiss an

appeal to accumulated experiences, refers to *two* times." But this is surely but a quibble, the syllogism often includes all time, past, present, and future. "All men" are not only at present "mortal"! (2) He objects that "the entities presenting parallel coexistences may have been every one annihilated. How, then, can the mental act by which the predication is effected be formulated in an axiom which involves *three co-existent terms*?" But it is enough that a law of coexistence be established such that *if* there is A there is also B. If all men but Socrates were annihilated, it would not be one bit the less true that "all men are mortal," *i.e.*, that mortality is an attribute of humanity. Finally (3) he objects against Mr. Mill a good *argumentum ad hominem* respecting his (Mill's) quibble about "same," and says with effect that the attributes of Socrates are no more "*the same*" as the attributes of "all men" than the diseases of two successive men can be said to be the same, and Mr. Mill has said they cannot be really the same. Therefore, Mr. Spencer contends, the syllogism must have four terms—(1) the attributes of all men; (2) mortality; (3) Socrates; and (4) his attributes. But I venture to think that the answer to all this is the simple one that, in this matter, both Spencer and Mill err together, and that the attributes of all men and of the man Socrates (as a man) are *the same*, and also that two different men can have successively the same disease or hold the same office, *i.e.*, exactly alike—the same for all purposes of argument, though not, of course, numerically identical. But even if the mortality of Socrates be not that of another man, *e.g.*, of Plato, the mortality (or rather, on the supposition we are considering, "the mortalities") of all men will include that of Socrates.

He then returns from this parenthetical discussion, and (p. 62, § 295) affirms that perceptions of unconditional sequence are also "reached by intuitions of the equality of relations"; but he does not argue out the position, so that it is sufficient here to observe concerning this point *quod gratis asseritur gratis negatur*, but though I deny that such perceptions are so reached, I, of course, am far from denying that where they have been once reached they may be so *expressed*.

CHAPTER VII.—IMPERFECT QUALITATIVE REASONING.

This chapter is composed of the following sections:—§ 296. The negations of the conclusions of imperfect qualitative reasoning can be conceived with greater or less difficulty. § 297. It is distinguished from perfect qualitative reasoning by the relative indefiniteness of its intuitions. § 298. These reasonings are reached by intuitions of the likeness or unlikeness of

two relations. § 299. Analogical reasoning differs from syllogistic, by the much smaller degree of likeness of the terms, but is also reached by observing the likeness between two relations. § 300. Inductive reasoning is also carried on by the comparison of relations and an hypothesis in an incipient induction. § 301. Reasoning from particulars to particulars is also an intuition of the likeness (or unlikeness) of relations.

Mr. Spencer begins (p. 65, § 296) this chapter by observing that while "the conclusions of perfect qualitative reasoning are of such kinds that their negations cannot be conceived," while those of the imperfect kind can, yet that "the approximation of the two is so close that some members of the second class may readily be mistaken for members of the first." Next (p. 66, § 297), he remarks on "the relative indefiniteness of its intuitions" which distinguishes imperfect from perfect qualitative reasoning—the compared relations being "no longer considered as *equal* or *unequal*, but as *like* or *unlike*." This change is due to the increasing complexity of the conditions of the circumstances compared, as is evidenced by language since complex things, "exhibiting at once the attributes, size, form, colour, weight, texture, hardness" are not said to be *equal* or *unequal*, but *like* or *unlike*.

He then (p. 68, § 298) observes "this premised, it will at once be seen that these cases of imperfect qualitative reasoning, commonly given in Treatises on Logic, as illustrating the process of thought, said to be expressed by the syllogism, severally exhibit intuitions of the likeness or unlikeness of relations." He gives, as an example, "All horned animals are ruminants; this is a horned animal; therefore this animal is a ruminant," and, he adds: "the mental act indicated is a cognition of the fact that the relation between particular attributes in this animal, is like the relation between homologous attributes in certain other animals." He symbolizes it thus:—

(The attributes constituting a horned animal)	A	} is like {	(The attributes constituting this a horned animal)
(coexist with)	:		:
(The attributes constituting a ruminant animal)	B	}	(The attributes constituting this a ruminant animal)
			b animal).

That I may the better guard against involuntary misrepresentation, I here add Mr. Spencer's comments in full. He

says: "That this formula—the relation between A and B, is like the relation between a and b—represents the intuition, will, from our present stand-point, be obvious. Only in virtue of the perceived *likeness* between A and a—the group of attributes involved in the conception of a horned animal, and the group of attributes presented by this particular animal—can any such inference be valid, or even be suggested. Further, the attributes implied by the term 'ruminant,' can be known only as previously observed or described; and the predication of these, as possessed by the animal under remark, is the predication of attributes *like* certain before-known attributes. Once more, there is no assignable reason why, in this particular case, a relation of co-existence should be thought of between these attributes and those signified by the words, 'horned animal,' unless as being *like* certain relations of co-existence previously known; and whether the thinking of this relation can be otherwise accounted for or not, it is clear that the predication cannot otherwise have any probability, much less certainty. To state the case with greater precision. Observe, first, that as the unseen attribute predicated cannot, on the one hand, be supposed to enter the mind save in some relation to its subject; and that as, on the other hand, the relation cannot be thought of without the subject, and the predicated attribute being involved in its terms; it follows that the intuition which the inference expresses must be one in which subject, predicate, and the relation between them, are jointly represented. Observe next, that while subject and predicate are separately conceivable things, the relation between them cannot be conceived without involving them both; whence it follows that only by thinking of the relation can the elements of the intuition be combined in the requisite manner. Observe, lastly, under what form this relation must be thought. Since the subject is recognized as *like* certain others previously known with which it is classed; and since the attribute predicated is conceived as *like* an attribute possessed by these previously-known members of the class; and since the relation between the subject and the predicated attribute is proved, by the truth of the predication, to be *like* the relation subsisting in these previously-known members of the class; it must be by recognizing the relation as *like* certain previously-known relations, that the conclusion is reached."

Now I venture to affirm the direct contrary, and say "it cannot be by recognizing the relation as *like* certain previously-known relations, that the conclusion is reached." For, in the first place, the relations cannot be seen to be *like* till the pre-

dicating supposed unknown has become known, and I am convinced that no one would in such a matter compare the relations, but would advert to the fact that the creature investigated was a member of the group "horned animals," and as *therefore* probably sharing in another attribute, possessed by all of them, previously known. This is the simple path—as it appears to me—the line of least resistance which the mind spontaneously follows. Again, there is no perceived "likeness" between A and a, and B and b, but A and a are *the same*, as also are B and b, though the horns of ruminants generally are, of course, not the same as the horns of the animal considered, yet the abstract "hornedness" is the same with respect to both, and the same with the "rumination" of both. Far from such "likeness" being necessary to the validity of the inference its existence would be simply fatal to it; what *is* necessary to the validity of the inference is the "sameness," without which there would be more than three terms, and this is Mr. Spencer's fundamental error. He then proceeds (p. 70) to compare this species of reasoning with "that species of mathematical reasoning which is confessedly carried on by comparison of relations," namely, proportion. Now I have before admitted that reasoning may be *expressed* in the relational form, and what therefore has been admitted as to quantity may be admitted as to quality, without weakening the contention that the mode of expression so admitted is a forced and unnatural one. He concludes by justly observing that what applies to positive reasoning applies also to negative reasoning, and he refers (p. 73) to "cases where an inference is reached, not by a single intuition of the likeness or unlikeness of relations, but by a connected series of such intuitions," which, he says, conform to the general type given by him in sections 282 and 284, and I similarly here refer to my previous criticism of those sections.

He then (p. 73, § 299) treats of analogical reasoning, saying (p. 76), "that ordinary syllogistic deductions differ from analogical ones simply in degree," but if the view of the syllogism which I maintain be correct, there is not a difference simply of degree, but a thorough difference of kind between it and an assertion of analogy, for in the latter there are really four terms, and such an assertion is the assertion of a certain proportion or resemblance between two of the terms, and I fully admit that here a certain resemblance between relations is asserted.

In the following section (p. 77, § 300) Mr. Spencer considers induction, which he assimilates to deductive reasoning, saying, "Both kinds are seen to be carried on by comparison

of relations ; and the contrast between them is seen to consist solely in the numerical preponderance of the premised relations in the one case, and of inferred relations in the other." But, as I believe that syllogistic reasoning does not consist of a comparison between relations, for the reasons before adduced, so I believe that, for the same reasons, induction does not consist of a comparison between relations, although of course the process can be so expressed.

Finally (p. 84, § 301), he considers reasoning from particulars to particulars, which he represents as the starting-point from which both induction and deduction diverge. An apparently common origin, however, may be possessed by things essentially different, and just as sensible phenomena generally are the occasions which call into action intellectual power, so associations of images (in which so-called "reasoning" from particulars to particulars may at least often consist) are the occasions for eliciting both deductive and inductive reasoning. But neither in sensible association nor in either reasoning is the psychical advertence directed to the relations. In brutes the association is between the *sensations* (e.g. the aspect of sticks and the feel of blows), not between "relations." The attention of the reason is to the "properties" considered as "properties," and not to the phenomena considered as "relations."

He concludes as follows : "The verification thus furnished of the general view set forth is complete. For it is manifest that while, by the multiplication of experiences, the known and unknown relations, instead of being respectively one and one, become many and many, and so originate deduction and induction, the act of thought by which the inference is reached, remains fundamentally similar." Having contested Mr. Spencer's reasoning all along the line, I must now deny his conclusion, and distinguish once more between mere passive association (even though resulting in spontaneous actions) and intellectual activity of any kind ; again distinguishing between that "intellectual" activity which directly apprehends self-evident truths of all kinds, and that peculiar intellectual activity called "inference," which educes implicit truth into explicit recognition, and is expressed in the word "therefore."

CHAPTER VIII.—REASONING IN GENERAL.

This important chapter contains the following sections :—
 § 302. The views both of the importance and of the triviality of the syllogism may be reconciled by regarding logic as the science of objective existence and not of the laws of thought.
 § 303. The utmost analysis of reason shows a perception of

likeness or unlikeness of relations as its universal *process* § 304. The syllogism fails to express the simplest and most complex "ratiocinative acts." § 305. This is sought to be shown by examining a syllogism. § 306. Really an induction precedes every deduction, which is thus a comparison of relations. § 307. The special results before reached may be thus harmonized as parts of one whole; the doctrine, as it applies to all orders of reasoning, is a true generalization, explaining all the phenomena. § 308. Ordinary speech gives confirmatory evidence of this analysis. § 309. The conclusion that every ratiocinative act is the indirect establishment of a definite relation between two things by the process of establishing a definite relation between two definite relations, may be reached even *a priori*.

In this very important chapter—important because so much depends on the truth of the views contained in it—Mr. Herbert Spencer seems altogether to confound those two kinds of intellectual activity, which were distinguished by Aristotle as *νοῦς* and *λογος*, the *intellectus* and *ratio* respectively of the later Peripatetics, and which may be called—the former, direct intellectual apprehension, the latter, inference. The clear perception of this confusion affords a clue to elucidate the intellectual tangle which Mr. Spencer has here produced for his readers.

At the beginning of the chapter (p. 86, § 302) Mr. Spencer refers to the two views of the syllogism noticed by Mr. Mill—one, that it is the normal mode of discovering and proving truth; the other, that it is a useless frivolity. This divergence he proposes to reconcile by affirming that the syllogism refers not to dependencies of "thoughts" but of "things." He says, "Logic formulates the most general laws of correlation among existences considered as objective; while an account of the process of reasoning formulates the most general laws of correlation among the ideas corresponding to these existences." But now, in the first place, though logic is, I contend, the science of the laws of thought and not of things,* yet the "syllogism" is neither so all-important as one school is said to affirm it to be, nor so trivial as it is deemed by the other. It really represents the process of deductive reasoning, but, as we all know, our knowledge is mainly increased by induction. Again, logical forms are valid or invalid in themselves, quite apart from their material contents, and therefore the science of those forms must concern thoughts *primarily*.

* It is, of course, true that the laws of thought are also the laws of things.

Nevertheless, as unless our concepts correspond with objective reality, conclusions, however validly arrived at logically, are of no practical utility, the forms must concern things, things *secondarily*, i.e. the laws of thought must be in harmony with the laws of objective existence.

Mr. Spencer proceeds to endeavour to prove, by reference to Professor De Morgan's quantified syllogisms, Professor Boole's mathematical method, and Professor Jevons's logical machine, that objects and attributes, not thoughts, are the matters really referred to in logic. But, the fact that these processes can be applied to things (as they, of course, can be) by no means proves that the logical processes involved do not primarily refer to thoughts. Such logical terms as "Babara," and "Celarent," manifestly refer to thoughts but they are also applicable to things. The movements of a syllogistic machine may serve as well as written characters to symbolize processes of thought. He says, "the machine having been set to represent objects and attributes in certain relations, evolves certain necessarily-accompanying relations, such as would otherwise be ascertained by actual examination of the objects and attributes." But it matters not what it is set to represent, it will work equally well, and, according to the laws of thought, whatever the object may be, only the result will not be objectively true, unless the propositions used as premisses conform to objective reality.

He then (p. 90) contends that his view of logic may be reached *à priori*, inasmuch as there must be a science of "universal objective correlations." If so, it does not follow, as he says it follows, that such a science would be "logic," it would be a science of objective being, an "ontology." I therefore venture to affirm the direct contrary to what Mr. Spencer affirms, and to say that logic is the science of the laws of thought, and refers to things only secondarily.

But, surely, in a "Psychology" we must employ logic, and here, at any rate, it must be treated as a science of thoughts, seeing that as yet we have not got to the proof that external objects have any existence. We must begin with the subjective, now that idealism has been formulated, and the laws of logic would be equally true and valid were all objectivity done away with and the subject alone left.

He then (p. 93, § 303) proceeds to confound inference with intuition. He says: "There appears to be among logicians a general agreement that a certain abstract truth, said to be involved in every syllogism, is recognized by the mind in going through every syllogism; and that the recognition of this abstract truth, under any particular embodiment, is *the*

real ratiocinative act;"* and he adds, "neither the *dictum de omni et nullo*, nor Mill's axiom about 'marks of marks' . . . can, I think, be rightly held capable of expressing the ratiocinative act. . . . Each of them generalizes a large class of cognitions; he does not by so doing approach any nearer to the nature of the cognitive act . . . contemplate all the axioms. . . . Every one of them is a rational cognition . . . become known by similar intellectual acts. But, if so, how can the addition of a new one to the list answer the question—what is the common nature of these intellectual acts?"

But the *dictum* referred to was not intended, and is not supposed to answer the question as to what is the nature of reasoning in general, but only of a special kind of reasoning to which Mr. Spencer expressly refers, *i.e.*, ratiocination; that indirect process by which an implicit truth is explicitly recognized by the aid of a middle term. He goes on (p. 94): "The distinction drawn in the foregoing section between the science of logic and the theory of reasoning, at once opens a way out of this secondary perplexity. We can admit that these logical axioms express universal truths, without admitting that they are axioms tacitly asserted in drawing valid inferences." . . . If logic "has for its subject-matter objective relations among terms, the natures of which are ignored . . . it is clear that there will be some *universal* necessity of correlation—some axiom. Such an axiom is, therefore, to be accepted as expressing absolute dependencies in the *non-ego*, which imply answering absolute dependencies in the *ego*—not, however, absolute dependencies in the *ego* that are recognized as such in reasoning."

But it seems to me that Mr. Spencer confounds the "ratiocinative act," that peculiar mental process expressed by the term "therefore," with the direct apprehensions of truth, in which the term "therefore" has no place, such as—*e.g.*, "the whole is greater than its part." The "distinction drawn" by Mr. Spencer between logic and reasoning (which really consists in calling logic reasoning, and applying the term logic to ontology), does not really aid in the least either to explain "the ratiocinative act," or the genus—intellectual action—whereof ratiocination is a species.

Moreover, with respect to the axioms referred to, it is always contended, as Mr. Spencer justly says, that they are "involved in every syllogism," not that they are always explicitly referred to by the mind in reasoning syllogistically, and though they may be "not recognized as such" (*i.e.* explicitly), "in

* The italics here are mine.

reasoning" they can be always recognized as having been latent in ratiocination, when the mind adverts to the matter.

He concludes: "The utmost that any analysis of reason can effect is to disclose the *act of consciousness* through which these and all other mediate known truths are discerned; and this we have in the inward perception of likeness or unlikeness of relations. But a truth of this kind does not admit of axiomatic expression, because the universal process of rational intelligence cannot become solidified into any single *product* of rational intelligence."

But if the mind can truly recognize the process, then the expression of that process is a product of rational intelligence; and since by the hypothesis the recognition is true, there may be a conformity between the process and the product, though not, of course, identity, which no one would think of affirming.

The utmost analysis of *reason* seems to me to show an act of apprehension of truth, and that such an act may be of two kinds: direct—as in axiomatic truths; indirect—as in those perceived by reasoning, which latter genus of truth is further subdivisible into the species induction and deduction, the latter being ratiocination.

In the next section (p. 95, § 304) he proceeds, strangely enough, to test the value of the syllogism,—the vehicle for expressing deductive inference and nothing else,—by seeing whether it will serve to express every rational process. He says: "We shall find that the simplest deliverances of reason, as well as the most complex deliverances, have alike the form which the syllogism fails utterly to represent." This is a remarkable instance of the solemn way in which Mr. Spencer every now and then enunciates a truism as if it was a profound and recondite truth. "Fails to represent" "the simplest deliverances of reason." I should think so! It would be odd indeed if "*a judgment*," and still more so if "*a simple apprehension*," were expressed by a syllogism.

He goes on impressively: "For how are we to express syllogistically the data for the conclusion, that 'things which are equal to the same thing are equal to each other'?" How, indeed! He tells us: "Each of these truths is reached by an intuition of which the theory of reason, as logicians present it, gives no account whatever." But sane logicians give the same account of it as the author criticised (namely, that they are "intuitions of reason"), the origin of those intuitions, however, is another matter. Mr. Spencer would say that they are inherited brute sensations, which I contend is an absurd account of them, and can only be received by those who know

not what they really do think, when they think on intuition. He continues: "All the various simple axioms, quantitative and qualitative, treated of in the preceding chapter, are extra-syllogistic; and if so, one of two things is inevitably implied,—either that there is a kind of reasoning formulated by syllogism, and another kind of reasoning so entirely different that syllogism cannot formulate it, or else that syllogism does not formulate reasoning at all." This is really amazing. It is amazing that a writer on logic should not know the doctrine so widely received that there is one "kind of intellectual operation formulated by syllogism,"—namely, the indirect or "inference" (*ratio*, or *λογος*), and another kind of intellectual apprehension,—the direct (*intellectus*, or *νοϋς*).

But even more surprising still is the passage which follows. Therein he argues: "If it be urged that these axiomatic truths are truths recognized by the simplest order of reasoning, and that syllogizing represents reasoning of a developed order, the defence serves but to bring on a still more serious attack." As to this attack we will see by and by. But how profound must be Mr. Spencer's ignorance of the system opposed to him, the universal tradition of the schools, since he does not know that what he imagines would be the *defence* adopted by his opponents would really be regarded by them as a most self-evident absurdity. Axiomatic truth recognized by the "simplest order" of intellect, and "syllogizing" by a "developed order"! Why, it is precisely the reverse! Ratiocination is the consequence of the feebleness of our intellectual power, which compels us so often to adopt the round-about road of inference instead of the direct path of intuition. The logicians whom Mr. Spencer controverts without having read, or at any rate understood, have always represented that, as intellect gains in power, its ratiocinative province becomes reduced, and its intuitive province enlarged; so that in the highest intellectual natures there can be no such thing as reasoning, all in them being direct and perfect intuition.

And now for the "more serious attack," which "serious" attack has an undeniably droll aspect. He tells us (p. 96), again with impressive solemnity: "For the syllogism can as little express the most involved deliverances of reason as it can express its simplest deliverances;" and he refers to his before-given example (§ 277) of the tubular bridge, saying that it "cannot, however violently dislocated, be brought within the syllogistic form."

To this I have already sufficiently replied by simply bringing it within the syllogistic form."

He then proceeds (p. 97, § 305) to directly examine the syllogism which he declares to be a "psychological impossibility." He takes as his example :

"All crystals have planes of cleavage.

This is a crystal ;

Therefore,

This has a plane of cleavage " ;

and, in reply to the objections he starts, as to the how and the why of the order followed, he says : "There is one answer, and only one. *Before consciously asserting that all crystals have planes of cleavage, it has already occurred to me that this crystal has a plane of cleavage.* Doubtless it is the registered experience I have had respecting the cleavage of crystals which *determines* me to think of this crystal as having a plane of cleavage." But in this single passage Mr. Spencer concedes all that logicians need demand. The "registered experience" is, really, the universal proposition—the major premiss. And if this "*determines*" the thought of "this crystal" having a plane of cleavage, it does so only on the principle of the *dictum de omni et nullo*. He goes on to say : "But that registered experience is not present to my mind *before* the special predication is made, though I may become conscious of it subsequently." Present to my mind explicitly,—"*no*" ; implicitly,—"*yes*." The whole process of ratiocination, as has again and again been said, is the making of implicit truths into that which is explicitly recognized.

No one, however, is so absurd as to contend that people ordinarily reason syllogistically ; it is enough to affirm that valid ratiocination can always be thrown into a regular syllogistic form.

In the next section (p. 100, § 306), Mr. Spencer returns to his "theory of reasoning," and considers an objection which might have been made to his representation of the reasoning process (a comparison of relations), as well as to the syllogism—namely, that we think of the particular instance in each case before we think of the class. He says : "On the presentation of some object (*a*), there is suggested to the mind some unperceived attribute (*b*), as possessed by it. This act is simple and spontaneous ; resulting, not from a *remembrance* of the before-known like relations (*A : B*), but merely from the *influence* which, as past experiences, they exercise over the association of ideas." It is, of course, true that as the rational nature of man supposes animality, so reason in him, supposes sense, (as its starting point), and the association of images as the basis for intellectually perceived dependencies of

things. Associated sensations and images, simple intellectual apprehensions and judgments, are all anterior to ratiocination, but, though they precede and lead up to it, no number of them will constitute deductive inference, which is a peculiar process, and the work of a special faculty necessary to an inferior order of intellect like our own. Judgments which, as all know, must precede ratiocination, may, of course, be repeated as affirmations of "relations;" and as a syllogism is made up of judgments, so it may in a sense be represented as a statement of relations, but this in no way invalidates either the infallibility or the peculiarity of ratiocination, nor is it at all true that in the process the mind adverts to relations, and compares them as relations, and when he says "the possibility of the inference depends on their being so thought of" all he really seems to mean (incredible as it appears), is the obvious truism that judgments must precede syllogisms.

In the next section (p. 103, § 307), he takes a retrospective "glance at the series of special results that have been reached," and he reminds his readers of what he has contended for in the foregoing chapters from his treatment of perfect quantitative reasoning down to reasoning by analogy. As I have contended with him all along this line, it would be an undue strain upon the reader's attention to here recapitulate what I have before said.

He then passes to his two genera of forms of reasoning (1), with three terms, and (2), with four terms, and their subordinate species.

The former he represents by the formula:—

$$\begin{array}{ccc} & B & \\ : & & : \\ A & \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{is equal} \\ \text{or unequal to,} \\ \text{greater or less than} \end{array} \right\} & C \end{array}$$

The latter he represents by the formula:—

$$\begin{array}{ccc} A & \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{is equal or unequal to,} \\ \text{greater or less than,} \\ \text{like or unlike} \end{array} \right\} & C \\ : & & : \\ B & & D \end{array}$$

That much reasoning may be thus expressed I have before conceded, while denying that such expression expresses the course which the mind naturally follows. Above all, such formulæ do *not express* at all the process of deductive ratiocination which is absolutely incapable of expression without the introduction of the term "therefore."

As to certain inferences of his second genus, he observes: "if A be but a fiftieth part less than B, it is at once inferable

that a half of A is greater than a third of B. Neither a general principle nor a particular experience can be quoted as the ground for this conclusion. . . . We may aptly term it a *latent* inference, . . . while the species of reasoning thus exemplified is obviously effected by comparison of relations, and so conforms to the theory above set forth, it does not conform to any of the current theories."

But I do not think that a logician of the school opposed by Mr. Spencer would have any difficulty in classing the reasoning in question, and showing that it conforms to the received theory. Indeed, in spite of what Mr. Spencer says, "general principles"—namely those of mathematics—are involved in it, and could be drawn out syllogistically, as well as in the instance of the "tubular bridge," before cited from Mr. Spencer. To minds of ordinary mathematical competency the simpler of such general principles are intuitive truths. Mr. Spencer concludes this section by the assertion that, as his doctrine applies to all orders of reasoning, "it fulfils the character of a true generalization." If, however, what has been here contended is true, it does not properly apply to reasoning generally, and will not at all apply to some, *e.g.*, deductive inference; while, to say the least, it is difficult to see how the simplest of intuitions, that upon which all reasoning seems to hang, can be the expression of the similarity of relations. This simplest intuition is the principle of identity, A is A,—an ultimate foundation of all our reasoning, the consideration of which, Mr. Spencer has, as yet, strangely neglected altogether to notice.

In the next section (p. 111, § 308), Mr. Spencer considers ordinary forms of speech, as giving confirmatory evidence of the truth of his views. These phrases are "*ratio*" and its derivatives. Analogy, (as expressing a "likeness"); parity, equality; *cæteris paribus*, parallel, similarity, similes, proportion.

Whatever etymology may have to say to this matter, I do not care to contest this point. Likeness and unlikeness are primary intuitions; but, because we are ever comparing things, it by no means follows that the mind is constantly comparing relations as such. Likeness and unlikeness of relations in these cases exist, of course, but it is not, once more, to the relations, but to the things related that the mind ordinarily adverts.

Lastly (p. 114, § 309), Mr. Spencer seeks to show that his view as to ratiocination can be reached *a priori*. In the first place, he says: "it may be demonstrated in two ways, that every inference involves an intuition of the likeness or unlike-

ness of relations." It does so, but it is more, it is a perception of one truth being involved as a necessary consequence in two other truths, and, as has been again and again said, cannot be expressed without "therefore."

These two "ways" are each, he says, "based on the very definition of reason, considered under its universal aspect." Since every rational proposition is a predication, *i.e.*, expresses some relation, which can only be thought of as belonging to some class of relations, "*reasoning* is a classification of *relations*." I reply, once more, that reasoning is thus not adequately represented; every brick-house is a heap of bricks, but it is also more. Every judgment expresses a relation, and all reasoning consists of judgments, and of relations between judgments, but relations of a certain and definite kind, to omit reference to which in defining reasoning, is to omit the Prince of Denmark from the logical Hamlet.

His second argument is as follows (p. 115): "Not only does the kind of proposition called an inference assert a relation, but every proposition, whether expressing mediate or immediate knowledge, asserts a relation. How, then, does knowing a relation by reason differ from knowing it by perception? It differs by its *indirectness*. A cognition is distinguishable as of one or the other kind, according as the relation it embodies is disclosed to the mind *directly* or *indirectly*. If its terms are so presented that the relation between them is immediately cognized—if their co-existence, or succession, or juxtaposition is knowable through the senses; we have a perception. If their co-existence, or sequence, or juxtaposition is not knowable through the senses—if the relation between them is mediately cognized; we have a ratiocinative act. Reasoning, then, is the *indirect establishment of a definite relation between two things*."

Now, here again, the same objection applies as in his first argument, namely, the incompleteness of his account of reasoning; it is what he says, but it is also much more. But, in addition to this defect, the passage just quoted exhibits the most striking fallacy of all—namely, an account of reasoning from which all consideration of *reason* is omitted. There is no distinction drawn between a sensible perception and an intellectual one; whatever is not "knowable through the senses," is represented as "a ratiocinative act." But the truth that two straight and parallel lines will never meet, though prolonged to infinity, is certainly not "knowable through the senses," and yet is not "a ratiocinative act." The same may be said of the proposition "A is A," "a thing cannot both be and not be at the same time and in the same sense," and

"ingratitude can never be a virtue." These are neither sensible perceptions nor ratiocinations, but direct cognitive acts of the intellect. Mr. Spencer's account of reasoning may usefully be applied to the understanding of the "organic inferences" of brutes; but that self-conscious knowledge which knows truth, its necessity, and the fact that it knows it, is not even adverted to by Mr. Spencer. He continues: "But now the question arises, by what process can the indirect establishment of a definite relation be effected? There is one process, and only one. If a relation between two things is not directly knowable; it can be disclosed only through the intermediation of relations that are directly knowable, or are already known," *e.g.*, two mountains compared by their respective heights above the sea, &c. "Hence, every ratiocinative act is the indirect establishment of a definite relation between two things, by the process of establishing a definite relation between two definite relations."

But *reasoning* is very inadequately represented by the phrase "the establishment of relations"; it is much more, it is the conscious intellectual recognition of a truth as a necessary consequence of truths antecedently known. The "establishment" of relations other than artistic (using the word in its widest sense) is the work of the Divine mind only. Our intellects can *recognize* relations established between things and between relations, and when we examine "reasoning" we find that the "recognition" of the relations between relations is involved in it, but it is not to these that the mind adverts, but to that necessary dependence which it is enabled to recognize from propositions formed and arranged according to the laws of logic—that is, according to the formal laws of thought.

I contend, in opposition to Mr. Spencer, that it may be shown *à priori*, that reasoning does not and cannot *consist* in the recognition of a relation between relations, for reasoning consists in the evolution from the implicit to the explicit condition of a new relation. To reason is to acquire new explicit truth from other truths already explicitly known, and all these must be expressible as judgments—the antecedent judgments. Every A is B, and C is A, express indeed relations between A and B, and A and C respectively, and then relations are compared; but reasoning is not the act of comparing them or of recognizing that they are like or unlike, but that from their juxtaposition there arises necessarily and infallibly another new proposition of a quite peculiar kind, namely, "therefore C is B." It is not even that the comparison of the relations between A and B

and between A and C respectively, reveal a new relation between C and B, but that this new relation is seen to be involved in, and to necessarily flow from, the preceding propositions, as expressed by the special term so often referred to.

At the end of these eight chapters, we must then (as it appears to me), recognize the futility of Mr. Spencer's attempt to reduce the reasoning process to even an intellectual, reflex comparison of relations as such—*a fortiori* then he fails to reduce it to that sort of automatic action which he seems alone to recognize. For Mr. Spencer attempts to explain reasoning by considering only its lower kinds. The apprehension of truth as *true*, of related things as relations recognized *as* relations, he altogether ignores. As to reasoning, it has, like every other human intellectual act, its sensible and material substratum. Associations of images serve as a basis for the associations of ideas, and organic inferences for reasoning. Comparisons of relations are no doubt implied and latent in the reasoning process—materials employed by and in it, just as perception makes use of sensations as materials; but just as past sensations weakly resurging into consciousness do not constitute thought, so no association of related groups of them, or clusters of clusters of them, whether harmonizing or conflicting, constitute reasoning. Mr. Spencer enunciates truth, but not the whole truth, and he does not, as yet, even touch upon the more important truth, I mean he does not notice or attempt to explain the power of the intellect to recognize the true as true, and to discriminate between intellectual truth directly and intuitively known and ratiocinative truth known only indirectly through that logical process required by the infirmity of our intellectual nature, and symbolized by the one formal inferential word "THEREFORE."

M.



ON SOME RECENT COMMENTARIES ON THE
SYLLABUS.

By PÈRE DESJACQUES.

Translated from the "Etudes," November, 1877.

Exposition historique des Propositions du Syllabus. Par l'Abbé VERDE-
REAU, curé de Romenay (diocèse d'Autun). Paris: Palmé. 1877.

Le Syllabus Pontifical ; ou, Réfutation des Erreurs qui y sont condamnées,
Par M. l'Abbé LÉONARD FALCONI, bénéficiaire du Vatican. Traduit
de l'Italien par E. J. MATERNE, curé de Flostoy. 3e édition. Paris :
Palmé. 1876.

Le Syllabus, Base de l'Union des Catholiques. Par le R. P. PETITALOT, de
la Société de Marie. Paris : Bray & Retaux. 1877.

Les Droits de Dieu et les Idées modernes. Par l'Abbé FRANÇOIS CHESNEL,
vicaire-général de Quimper. Henry Oudin. 1875-77.

L'Eglise et l'Etat dans leurs Rapports mutuels. Par le R. P. LIBERATORE,
de la Compagnie de Jésus. Traduit de l'Italien sur la 2e édition par
un docteur en théologie du Collège romain, professeur de grand
séminaire. Paris : Palmé. 1877.

[It has often appeared to us, that English Catholics do not commonly attach such importance to the Syllabus, as is attached to it by their brethren on the Continent. And one very probable reason for this fact (if fact it be) will be found in the circumstance, that England (thank God!) has indefinitely less practical experience than most Continental nations, of the internecine political conflict, between Christianity on one side, and those irreligious principles on the other which assail the very foundations of civil society. But, however this may be, we think we shall do good service by placing before our readers a specimen of the great stress laid by foreign Catholics on Pius IX.'s immortal Act. We have translated, therefore, a considerable portion of an article contributed by F. Desjacques to the "Etudes" of last November.]

WHEN God inspires those to whom He has delegated His authority in the Church to define a dogma or to condemn errors, it is not in order that the light may be hidden under a bushel, but that it may be set on the candlestick, to shine before all men. He Himself so appoints, that its rays shall go forth through means fitted to the times : at one time it is by miracles ; but oftener by a concurrence of events, prepared long before by divine wisdom, or arising suddenly as by the impulse of human passion ; but always one part of the work is left to the free co-operation of men, not only in themselves receiving the grace offered, but still more in causing it to be received by a greater number.

The Syllabus has been one of these lights set up by Providence in the midst of the world. That famous document might have remained unnoticed, or fallen at once into oblivion, like other Acts of the Holy See. It contained nothing new. All the errors brought together there had previously fallen under the condemnation of Pius IX. without exciting public opinion. What would be known now of the Syllabus, if it had been let pass without protest during these thirteen years? It would have served for the guidance and direction of the Episcopate, which was its chief object. Theologians would have quoted it in their lectures and in their books, as they cite the list of propositions condemned by Innocent XI. or Alexander VII. But it would have been unknown to the mass of the faithful ; it would have remained utterly unheard of by those, who neglect to hear the teaching of their pastors, while they preserve the Faith and even practise the most essential duties of their religion. And so, despite the thunders of the Vatican, the great heresy of modern times would have gone on spreading its venom through the Church.

God would not permit this to be. He had willed that the Syllabus should not be a passing gleam in the stormy night, but a beacon with an undying flame to show to the voyager the rocks that are to be avoided and the port for which he is to make. No miracle was needed for this ; the hatred of His enemies was enough. No one has forgotten what a stir was made in the world by the publication of the Syllabus ; how governments tried to stop its way ; how it was denounced in the parliaments of Paris, Florence, London, Brussels, and Berlin, in every existing parliament, as an outrage against modern liberty ; how the press cried out against it day after day, declaring with torrents of false and abusive language, that civilization was threatened by a frightful danger ; how several Catholics stigmatized the courageous decision of the Holy Father as imprudent or inopportune, either because they were alarmed by the outcry, or because they found their own liberalistic tendencies checked. Is it not to be wondered at, that the word of an old man, a sovereign without power, despoiled even then of a part and since of the remainder of his states, should have echoed so long throughout the world? How can we explain why this agitation lasts still, after so many years ; how it is that, in legislative assemblies and public meetings, in newspapers and reviews, in books and pamphlets, there is constantly repeated that unpopular and little understood word, the *Syllabus* ?

It is the means appointed by Providence, to make it better known and more widely accepted. A voice stopped by nothing would lose itself in space ; obstacles make it echo. When the Sovereign Pontiff spoke firmly and strongly, the docile children of the Church signified their respect and submission by silence. But they threw off their reserve, when they saw his doctrinal authority violently attacked by some, and abandoned and almost betrayed by others. Protests of absolute adhesion and obedience came from all sides and under all forms to the foot of the Pontifical throne ; addresses written collectively by the clergy and faithful ; letters from writers who, in offering their works to the Pope, bound themselves to follow and to defend his infallible decisions ; ardent words read aloud

in the name of bands of pilgrims, who crowded unceasingly to the Vatican; speeches warmly applauded in Catholic congresses; addresses pronounced by fearless orators among the discussions of stormy meetings: such proofs of the faith and obedience of true Christians were poured out before Pius IX. during less unhappy times than these, and above all in the glorious days of the General Council; they still continue, and in his captivity they are his consolation.

Even the tepid and indifferent have been stirred by the agitation amongst the rest. How many, who would have found it insupportably tedious to read a long catalogue of eighty propositions formulated in concise abstract terms, became curious to know what was contained in this notorious work, and asked that they might be made acquainted with its sense and its general drift!

At this favourable crisis, brought about by Divine Providence for the propagation of the Syllabus, the Catholic press had its work to do. First of all, of course, it belonged to the Holy Father and the Episcopate with him to interpret the Pontifical words. Then it was for theologians to settle among themselves the dogmatic value of this work of the Holy See, and the precise meaning of each of the propositions that it censures: a work which, requiring long consideration, is still slowly going on. But a wide field for action is left to those writers, who have the means of addressing the public, and who wish to serve the Church. It is their task to satisfy the reasonable desires of those who wish to understand the Syllabus; to reply to the insults and the sophistry of those who attack it; to popularize authentic statements, learned refutations, and theological commentaries; and above all to receive deep into their own minds the truths on which the Vicar of Jesus Christ insists; to take his judgments as the rule of their theories, their estimates, and their leanings; and, as if they were flying from the plague, to eschew those errors which he has condemned. Many have valiantly done their duty. Not to speak of the numerous articles in favour of the Syllabus published by religious reviews and newspapers,—the list is already long of those books, large and small, which are devoted to the work of explaining it or putting its teaching in practice. Before now some of them have been commended in the “*Etudes*.” Not being able to notice all the others, we shall only point out four or five of the most recent and the most worthy to be known; perhaps they may suggest the idea of some other still more useful work on the same subject.

One can look upon the Syllabus either in a general manner or in detail; and comment on it all together, or study only a portion. M. l'Abbé Verdereau takes it as a whole, dividing his work into three parts. In the first he examines the doctrinal authority of the Syllabus. Is it merely an authentic list of all the condemnations pronounced until then by Pius IX. against contemporary errors? Or is it something more, a new promulgation and a confirmation of the previous Acts to which it refers? We know that theologians are divided on this point. M. Verdereau decides upon and adopts the latter theory, as it has been supported in these pages by

Father Dumas.* In the second part of his book he translates the Syllabus as many others have done before him ; but, moreover, opposite each condemned error, he places the contradictory proposition which is to be received as true. This last work, beyond doubt a valuable one, required a most delicate hand. It was easy to slip into faults there ; and we should not like to say for M. Verdereau that he has escaped them all. The third part of the "Exposition Historique" justifies the title of the work. There we find details of the circumstances which led up to each of the Pontifical Acts mentioned in the Syllabus. No doubt these details throw some light upon the censured propositions ; but they can only be clearly understood, when they are carefully compared with the text of the original documents from which they are derived, and with the principles of theology and philosophy.

This last point, that is, the doctrinal interpretation, has been ably treated by the Abbé Falconi in a series of articles, first published in the Roman religious weekly paper, "Il divin Salvatore," and afterwards in a volume which has gone through several editions. The learned author takes the propositions of the Syllabus one by one, and briefly demonstrates their falsehood by solid vigorous arguments. It is a proof of the merits of this little work, and of the need of it that existed, that the translation made in Belgium from the third Italian edition was successful, and quickly reached a third edition itself, notwithstanding that it was full of mistakes.

* [The opinion, here first mentioned, must not be confused with quite a different theory which has been started in England. According to this latter theory, the Syllabus is not an *authentic* catalogue of certain condemnations, which Pius IX. had issued before its promulgation ; but on the contrary an *unauthentic* catalogue made by some anonymous writer, and no official Act of the Holy Father's at all. Considering Pius IX.'s repeated public attributions of the Syllabus to himself and to the Holy See—we find it very difficult to understand how it is, that more than one excellently intentioned Catholic can have persuaded himself to acquiesce in this theory. But it is not one of those to which F. Desjacques refers.

The two opinions, between which—according to F. Desjacques—theologians are divided, are these. Some hold that Pius IX. did no more in the Syllabus, than declare distinctly and unmistakably that the eighty errors therein recited had already been condemned by him *ex cathedrâ*. Others hold that—in addition to this—the Syllabus contains a *second* condemnation *ex cathedrâ* of those errors. According to either of these opinions—as we need hardly point out—absolute interior assent is due from every Catholic to the Syllabus : every Catholic is bound to regard the eighty errors as having been infallibly condemned ; and is bound also to regard that doctrine concerning the Pope's civil principedom to be infallibly true, which is contained in the Six Acts enumerated by the Syllabus.

We may add however that there is a third view, which we are disposed to regard as nearer the truth than either of those mentioned by F. Desjacques. The bearing of this view is, that on one hand the Syllabus is strictly an *ex cathedrâ* utterance ; while on the other hand several of the errors censured therein had not been condemned strictly *ex cathedrâ*, by the earlier Pontifical Acts on which it is based. —ED. D. R.]

There was still needed something of a similar kind, but shorter and at the same time more complete and more fitted to French taste. This has been attempted by Father Petitalot; and we believe his book is destined to do much good. It considers the Syllabus as *the basis of Catholic unity*; a happy and most true idea, which has won for him the congratulations of the Holy Father. "In fact," we read in the letter written to the pious author on behalf of His Holiness, "Catholic unity could not last, unless all the faithful think the same thing, speak the same thing, and take their stand together on the common ground of the same ideas and the same feelings: an end which is impossible to attain, if all do not submit with docility to the same infallible teacher, and do not take care to do it, the errors opposed to sacred doctrine. On the other hand, the Syllabus,—a brief enumeration and condemnation of certain modern errors, in which is hidden the poison of all the old ones,—is a most fitting and most efficacious means of preserving souls from the contagion of those errors, and binding them more closely to the truth. The Holy Father, therefore, has judged that you were not mistaken in calling the Syllabus the basis of Catholic unity."

We may notice before passing on, that in this letter the Syllabus is not only called the *enumeration*, but the *condemnation* of modern errors; which appears to favour the opinion adopted by M. l'Abbé Verdereau, as to the doctrinal authority of the document.

We must now make known by a few words the book of the learned Marist. Here the propositions of the Syllabus are grouped in as many chapters as there are paragraphs in the official text; an arrangement which allows one a better view of its general design. The longer paragraphs are subdivided. The reader will be glad to find (opposite the translation) the Latin text, which does not appear in the two books of which we have already spoken; but he will regret to see cut short the full title of the Syllabus, which has its own importance. This seems to have been an oversight. Each group of propositions is preceded by a few lines giving a summary of them or marking the change of subject; then comes a short historical explanation, if there is occasion for it, and invariably a doctrinal commentary. This commentary, which is an exposition of dogma or a refutation of error, is taken either from the Allocutions and Apostolic Letters of Pius IX., referred to in the Syllabus, or from the teachings of theology and canon law, or the principles of reason. Frequently the author uses the same arguments as the Abbé Falconi, but the turn which they take in his hands makes them his own. In his style he seeks to attract by a free lively manner; sometimes a little in contrast with the gravity of the subject, but well calculated to rouse and sustain the attention of those readers who might be repelled by a more didactic style. Had I to choose between the book of the Abbé Falconi and that of Father Petitalot, I would give the first to a priest, the second to a man of the world.

Another larger, wider, and more profound manner of interpreting the Syllabus is that followed by M. l'Abbé Chesnel in his work entitled "*Les Droits de Dieu et les Idées modernes.*" If we read it attentively,

and seek to discover the bond that unites the long list of propositions condemned by Pius IX., we shall find that in general they express the great error of our times regarding the nature of civil society and its relationship with the Church; in a word, for the most part they concern liberalism. Without an effort one could even bring all of them under this point of view. Atheism and pantheism, naturalism and rationalism, the pretension of human science to absolute independence and indifference on matters of religion: these are the premisses of which liberalism is the consequence; imbued with such doctrines, society has endured with repugnance the yoke of God and of His Christ; and aspired to be secularized. Errors touching morals infect the very source of civil law and of the law of nations. As for Christian marriage, it is a region long coveted by the secular authorities, and it was sacrilegiously usurped when they became inspired with the maxims of the Revolution.

Thus the Syllabus is, before all things, the condemnation of liberalism. Therefore an almost complete commentary on the Syllabus may be formed by a doctrinal refutation of this error; a laying down of the principles of social law; an explanation of what the State is and what the Church is; what is the origin, the nature, and the end of these two societies; what are their rights, their limits, their duties; at what points they touch each other, and in what relationship they are placed confronting one another. The work of the Abbé Chesnel is the realization of this idea.

After having laid down, with ample proofs, the sound doctrine of social law, the Abbé Chesnel had only to set forth some definitions of the last Œcumenical Council and the propositions condemned by the Encyclical of 1864 and the Syllabus; and enough was done to show how the teaching of the Church on these important subjects is both reasonable and necessary to public prosperity. This he has done in the penultimate chapter of the first volume. The last chapter, summing up the fundamental principle of the whole work, completes his argument against liberalism by comparing it with paganism. The two false systems touch each other at their source. Paganism refused to believe in the doctrine of creation; liberalism puts aside the rights of the Creator. But there is this difference between the two: viz. that the Pagans worshipping the false divinities of their nations, *idola gentium*, at least looked upon religion as the foundation, the bond, and crown of social order; while the creed of the Liberals is essentially irreligious. Paganism is idolatry become a national religion. Liberalism is impiety penetrating all public order; it is national irreligion. . .

There is a book which M. l'Abbé Chesnel quotes with praise, and from which he has frequently borrowed ideas. It is Father Liberatore's "*L'Eglise et l'État*," of which a good French translation, from the last Italian edition has just been published. The points of doctrine briefly set forth by the Vicar-general of Quimper in an elementary form in his second volume, are treated with greater length and profundity by the learned Italian publicist. He divides his subject into three books. In the first he explains the position of the Church with regard to the State. To the false idea of it given by Liberals of all shades of opinion, he opposes that held by Catholics. The State is distinct from the Church,

and subordinate to her. It cannot separate from her, proclaiming liberty of conscience and of worships; it is bound to afford her the protection of its laws, and to make its sword serve for the defence of the Kingdom of God and of the spiritual order. The second book is directed against the error which declares the secularization of the State, and its independence of the Church and of the supernatural order. Naturalism in politics effaces the true notion of right, it debases the royal authority, and ruins the institutions of free government. By usurping the paternal rights, it carries corruption and confusion into the family; in fine, having no other end but enjoyment and riches, it degrades and brutalizes society. The third book sets forth the rights of the Church in relationship with the State. She has of herself, and independently of the State, the right to possess temporal goods and to form associations; to exercise her ministry; to publish and carry out her laws; without the Government having power to fetter her action by challenging them as erroneous, or by imposing upon her the conditions of the "placet" and "exequatur." She has the right to institute and to maintain public works of benevolence and charity, to exact the observance of Sundays and festivals as days of rest, to teach, and to watch over education. The last chapters contain a treatise on the force and nature of concordats; a refutation of the difficulties raised by politicians against the dogma of Papal infallibility; and three dissertations, one on the right of the clergy not to be subjected to military service, another on ecclesiastical immunities, and the third and last on the temporal sovereignty of the Pope. The whole work is a refutation of the errors of liberalism, so many times censured by Pius IX. By recounting successively after each chapter the condemned propositions of which it treats, it could easily be shown that it forms a doctrinal and polemical commentary on nearly the whole of the Syllabus.

An important service is being rendered to society by those who labour to defend the dogmatic decisions of the Holy See, and to give to men's minds a clear knowledge of them. That error, which leads individuals out of the path of salvation, ruins nations also; and only the truth can save them. The remedy for our evils lies in those infallible condemnations, which tear the mask from false doctrines and make them explicitly known. If the remedy be applied, if the warnings of the Holy See penetrate the intelligence of men, little by little will ideas be reformed, and through ideas all the rest. But if the teaching of the Holy Father be unknown, or misunderstood, or cast disdainfully back, the errors stigmatized by it will continue their dread work. By perverting the reason, they will more and more corrupt morals, and change into deeds. Sooner or later events will justify the Church, showing that she blessed by her severity. They will be the clearest and most eloquent commentary upon the Syllabus.

Already they are speaking loudly enough for those who understand or have a will to hear them. Statesmen, who have despised the paternal advice of the Vicar of Jesus Christ, and wanted to do without God—what fruits have they reaped from their proud policy? They would not suppress the secret societies denounced so many times by the Holy See: now the in-

fernal network of those societies is spread throughout the whole world, and, according to the avowal of the Prime Minister of a great empire, they hold diplomacy in check. They have secularized marriage, reducing the sacrament to the level of profane things; and divorces go on multiplying, the conjugal tie is relaxed, the family disorganized. They invented their false principle of non-intervention, expressly to let the Church be despoiled and the Pontifical States robbed; and the world, shaken to its foundation, seems unable to steady itself again. To free themselves from the Divine law, they placed in numbers the origin of authority; and universal suffrage, handled by unprincipled politicians, pushes society towards an abyss. They adore their false liberties like so many idols—liberty of conscience, liberty of thought and of the press, liberty of worships: and the conscience of the people turns with every breath of opinion, the reason of the people is a chaos, and adventurers improvising ridiculous creeds cast the majesty of religion to the winds. They have broken with a sacrilegious hand the bond which God himself formed between Church and State: the Church rides fearlessly above every revolution, stayed by Divine promises; but the State, like a vessel about to overturn, knows no longer how to rule the waves of popular passion. Carrying audacity to yet greater lengths, they assumed to the State supremacy over the Church; but they have come across Catholic conscience, standing before them like an impassable wall. All their talk of liberty has not kept them from going back to the persecutions of Julian the Apostate; and when fines, confiscation, imprisonment, exile, every kind of trial has been resorted to in vain, behold them obliged to confess that their war against Jesus Christ, what they hypocritically call their struggle for civilization, has been a failure. Like the tyrant whose example they followed, they in their turn will be obliged to cry out, "Thou hast conquered, Galilean!"

TWO PHILOSOPHICAL PAPERS BY DR. WARD.

[The two following papers were contributed respectively to the May and the October numbers of the "Nineteenth Century," and are here reprinted by permission of the Editor.]

THE INFLUENCE UPON MORALITY OF A DECLINE IN RELIGIOUS BELIEF.

I agree with the Dean of St. Paul's, that the wording of our question is unfortunately ambiguous; and I think that this fact has made the discussion in several respects less pointed and less otherwise interesting than it might have been.

For my present purpose, I understand the term "religious belief" as including essentially belief in a Personal God and in personal immorta-

lity. Less than this is not worthy the name of religious belief; and, on the other hand, I will not refer to any other religious truths than these. I am to inquire therefore, what would be the influence on morality of a decline in these two beliefs.

But next, what is meant by "morality"? I will explain as clearly as brevity may permit what I should myself understand by the term; though I am of course well aware, that this is by no means the sense in which Sir J. Fitzjames Stephen, or Mr. Harrison, or Professor Clifford, understands it.

I consider that there is a certain authoritative Rule of life,* necessarily not contingently existing, which may be regarded under a twofold aspect. It declares that certain acts (exterior or interior) are intrinsically and necessarily evil; it declares again that some certain act (exterior or interior), even where not actually evil, is by intrinsic necessity, under the circumstances of some given moment, less morally excellent than some certain other act. Any given man, therefore, more effectively practises "morality," in proportion as he more energetically, predominantly, and successfully aims at adjusting his whole conduct, interior and exterior, by this authoritative Rule. Accordingly, when I am asked what is the bearing of some particular influence on morality,—I understand myself to be asked how far such influence affects for good or evil the prevalence of that practical habit which I have just described; how far such influence disposes men (or the contrary) to adjust their conduct by this authoritative Rule.

These explanations having been premised, my answer to the proposed question is this. The absence of religious belief—of belief in a Personal God and personal immortality—does not simply *injure* morality, but, if the disbelievers carry their view out consistently, utterly *destroys* it. I affirm—which of course requires proof, though I have no space here to give it—that no one except a Theist can, in consistency, recognize the necessarily existing authoritative Rule of which I have spoken. But for practical purposes there is no need of this affirmation: because in what follows I shall refer to no other opponents of religion, except that antitheistic body—consisting of Agnostics, Positivists, and the like—which in England just now heads the speculative irreligious movement. Now it is manifest on the very surface of philosophical literature that, as a *matter of fact*, these men deny in theory the existence of any such necessary authoritative Rule, as that on which I have dwelt. A large proportion of Theists accept it, and call it "the Natural Law";† an Agnostic or Positivist

* To prevent misapprehension, I may explain that, in my view, those various necessary truths which collectively constitute this Rule are, like all other necessary truths, founded on the Essence of God: they are what they are, because He is what He is.

† The Natural Law more strictly includes only God's *prohibition* of acts intrinsically evil, and his *preception* of acts which cannot be omitted *without* doing what is intrinsically evil. But we may with obvious propriety so extend the term, as to include under it God's *counselling* of those acts which, as clothed in their full circumstances, are by intrinsic necessity the more morally excellent.

denies its existence. It is very clear that he who denies that there is such a thing as a necessarily existing authoritative Rule of life, cannot consistently aim at adjusting any, even the smallest, part of his conduct by the intimations of that Rule ; or, in other words, cannot consistently do so much as one act, which (on the theory which I follow) can be called morally good.

Here, however, a most important explanation must be made. It continually happens, that some given philosopher holds some given doctrine speculatively and theoretically, while he holds the precisely contradictory doctrine implicitly and unconsciously ; insomuch that it is the latter, and not the former, which he applies to his estimate of events as they successively arise. Now the existence of the Natural Law,—so I would most confidently maintain,—is a truth so firmly rooted by God Himself in the conviction of every reasonable creature, that practically to leaven the human mind with belief of its contradictory is, even under the circumstances most favourable to that purpose, a slow and uphill process. In the early stages therefore of antitheistic persuasion, there is a vast gulf between the antitheist's speculative theory and his practical realization of that theory. Mr. Mallock has set forth this fact, I think, with admirable force, in an article contributed by him to the "*Contemporary*" of last January. When antitheists say,—such is his argument,—that the pursuit of truth is a "sacred," "heroic," "noble" exercise—when they call one way of living mean, and base, and hateful, and another way of living great, and blessed, and admirable*—they are guilty of most flagrant inconsistency. They therein use language and conceive thoughts, which are utterly at variance with their own speculative theory. If it be admitted (1) that the idea expressed by the term "moral goodness" is a simple idea, an idea incapable of analysis ; and (2) that to this idea there corresponds a necessary objective reality in *rerum natura* ;—if these two propositions be admitted, the existence of the Natural Law is a truth which irresistibly results from the admission. On the other hand, if these two propositions be *not* postulated, then to talk of one human act being "higher" or "nobler" than another, is as simply unmeaning as to talk of a bed being nobler than a chair, or a plough than a harrow. Whether it be the bed, or the plough, or the human act, it may be more *useful* than the other article with which it is brought into comparison ; but to speak in either case of "nobleness," is as the sound of a tinkling cymbal. Or rather, which is my present point, the fact of antitheists using such language shows, that their practical belief is so far essentially opposed and (as I of course should say) immeasurably superior to their speculative theory. To my mind there is hardly any truth which needs more to be insisted on than this, in the present crisis of philosophical thought : when antitheism successfully conceals its hideous deformity from its own votaries, by dressing itself up in the very garments of that rival creed which it derides as imbecile and obsolete. I heartily wish I had space for setting forth in full and clear light the argument on which I would here insist.

* Pp. 177-8.

I may refer, however, to Mr. Mallock's article, for an excellent exposition of it from his own point of view ; and, in particular, I cannot express too strongly my concurrence with the following remarks :—

"All the moral feelings (he says) at present afloat in the world depend, as I have already shown, on the primary doctrines of religion ; but that the former would *outlive* the latter is nothing more than we should naturally expect : just as water may go on boiling after it is taken off the fire, as flowers keep their scent and colour after we have plucked them, or as a tree whose roots have been cut may yet put out green leaves for one spring more. But a time must come when all this will be over, and when the true effects of what has been done will begin to show themselves. Nor can there be any reason brought forward to show why, if the creed of unbelief was once fully assented to by the world, all morality—a thing always attended by some pain and struggle—would not gradually wither away, and give place to a more or less successful seeking after pleasure, no matter of what kind."

I would also recall to Sir J. Fitzjames Stephen's remembrance an admirable statement of his, which occurs in the work on "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity." "We cannot judge of the effects of atheism," he says, "from the conduct of persons who have been educated as believers in God, and in the midst of a nation which believes in God. If we should ever see a generation of men, especially a generation of Englishmen, to whom the word 'God' has no meaning at all, we should get a light on the subject which might be lurid enough."*

So far I have used the word "morality" in that sense which I account the true one. But a different acceptation of the word is very common ; and it will be better perhaps briefly to consider our proposed question, in the sense which that acceptation would give it. Morality then is often spoken of, as consisting in a man's sacrifice of his personal desires for the public good ; so that each man more faithfully practises "morality," in proportion as he more effectively postpones private interests to public ones. I have always been extremely surprised that any Theist can use this terminology ; though I am well aware of course, that many do so. To mention no other of its defects, it excludes from the sphere of morality precisely what a Theist must consider the most noble and elevating branch thereof—viz. men's duties to their Creator. Constant remembrance of God's presence, prayer to Him for moral strength, purging the heart from any such worldly attachment as may interfere with His sovereignty over the affections—these, and a hundred others, which are man's highest moral actions, are excluded by this strange terminology from being moral actions at all. Still in one respect there is great agreement between the two "moralities" in question, for under either of them morality very largely consists in self-denial and self-sacrifice.

Now, if it be asked in what way morality, as so understood, would be affected by the absence of religious belief,—I think the true reply is one, which has so often been drawn out that I need do no more than indicate it. Firstly, apart from Theistic motives there is no sufficient moral leverage ;

* Second edition, p. 326.

men would not have the moral strength required for sustained self-denial and self-sacrifice. Secondly and more importantly, if Theistic sanctions were away, no theory could be drawn out explaining why it should be *reasonable* that a man sacrifice his personal interest to that of his fellows.

On this matter I am glad that I have the opportunity of drawing attention to a very fine passage of Mr. Goldwin Smith's, published in the "*Macmillan*" of last January.

"Materialism has in fact already begun to show its effects on human conduct and on society. They may perhaps be more visible in communities where social conduct depends greatly on individual conviction and motive than in communities which are more ruled by tradition and bound together by strong class organizations; though the decay of morality will perhaps be more complete and disastrous in the latter than in the former. God and future retribution being out of the question, it is difficult to see what can restrain the selfishness of an ordinary man, and induce him, in the absence of actual coercion, to sacrifice his personal desires to the public good. The service of humanity is the sentiment of a refined mind conversant with history; within no calculable time is it likely to overrule the passions and direct the conduct of the mass. And after all, without God or spirit, what is 'humanity'? One school of science reckons a hundred and fifty different species of man. What is the bond of unity between all these species, and wherein consists the obligation to mutual love and help? A zealous servant of science told Agassiz that the age of real civilization would have begun when you could go out and shoot a man for scientific purposes; and in the controversy respecting the Jamaica massacre we had proof enough that the ascendancy of science and a strong sense of human brotherhood might be very different things. 'Apparent diræ facies.' We begin to perceive, looming through the mist, the lineaments of an epoch of selfishness compressed by a government of force."

In fact, even in the present early stage of the English antitheistic philosophy, if its adherents are directly asked what is man's reasonable rule of life, I know of no other answer they will theoretically give except one. They will say that any given person's one reasonable pursuit on earth is to aim at his own earthly happiness—to obtain for himself out of life the greatest amount he can of gratification. No doubt they will make confident statements, on the indissoluble connection between happiness and "virtue." Still, according to their speculative theory, the only reasonable ground for practising "virtue" is its conduciveness to the agent's happiness.

Now let us suppose a generation to grow up, profoundly imbued with this principle, carrying it consistently into detail, emancipated from the unconscious influence of (what I must be allowed to call) a more respectable creed. What would be the result? Evidently a man so trained, in calculating for himself the balance of pleasure and pain, will give no credit on the former side to such gratifications as might arise from consciousness of conquest over his lower nature, or from the pursuit of lofty and generous aims. These, I say, will have no place in his list of pleasures: because he will have duly learned his lesson, that there is no "lower" or "higher" nature; that no one aim can be "loftier" than

any other ; that there is nothing more admirable in generosity than in selfishness. On the other hand, neither will he include, under his catalogue of *pains*, any feeling of remorse for evil committed, or any dread of possible punishment in some future life ; for he will look with simple contempt on those doctrines, which are required as the foundation for such pains. His common-sense course will be to make this world as comfortable a place as he can, by bringing every possible prudential calculation to bear on his purpose. Before all things he will keep his digestion in good order. He will keep at arm's length (indeed at many arms' lengths) every disquieting consideration, such, e.g., as might arise from a remembrance of other men's misery, or from a thought of that repulsive spectre which the superstitious call moral obligation.

It is plain that duly to pursue the subject thus opened would carry me indefinitely beyond my limits ;* and I will only therefore make one concluding observation. If the term "virtue" be retained by those of whom I am speaking, it will be used, I suppose, to express any habitual practice, which solidly conduces to the agent's balance of earthly enjoyment. I am confident that,—should this be the recognized terminology, and should the new school be permitted to arrive at its legitimate development,—there is one habit which would be very prominent among its catalogue of "virtues." The habit to which I refer is indulgence in licentiousness—licentiousness practised no doubt prudently, discreetly, calculatingly, but at the same time habitually, perseveringly, and with keen zest.

THE SOUL AND A FUTURE LIFE.

MR. HARRISON considers that the Christian's conception of a future life is "so gross, so sensual, so indolent, so selfish," as to be unworthy of respectful consideration. He must necessarily be intending to speak of this conception in the shape in which we Christians entertain it ; because otherwise his words of reprehension are unmeaning. But our belief as to the future life is intimately and indissolubly bound up with our belief as to the present ; with our belief as to what is the true measure and standard of human action in this world. And I would urge that no part of our doctrine can be rightly apprehended, unless it be viewed in its connection with all the rest. This is a fact which (I think) infidels often drop out of sight, and for that reason fail of meeting Christianity on its really relevant and critical issues.

Of course I consider Catholicity to be exclusively the one authoritative exhibition of revealed Christianity. I will set forth therefore the doctrine to which I would call attention, in that particular form in which Catholic teachers enounce it ; though I am very far indeed from intending to deny,

* I have treated it at somewhat greater length in an article which I contributed to the DUBLIN REVIEW of last January, pp. 16-21.

that there are multitudes of non-Catholic Christians who hold it also. What then, according to Catholics, is the true measure and standard of human action? This is in effect the very first question propounded in our English elementary Catechism. "Why did God make you?" The prescribed answer is, "To know Him, serve Him, and love Him in this world, and to be happy with Him for ever in the next." And S. Ignatius's "Spiritual Exercises"—a work of the very highest authority among us—having laid down the very same "foundation," presently adds, that "we should not wish on our part for health rather than for sickness, wealth rather than poverty, honour rather than ignominy; desiring and choosing those things alone, which are more expedient to us for the end for which we were created." Now what will be the course of a Christian's life in proportion as he is profoundly imbued with such a principle as this, and vigorously aims at putting it into practice? The number of believers, who apply themselves to this task with reasonable consistency, is no doubt comparatively small. But in proportion as any given person does so, he will in the first place be deeply penetrated with a sense of his moral weakness; and (were it for that reason alone) his life will more and more be a life of prayer. Then he will necessarily give his mind with great earnestness and frequency to the consideration, what it is which at this or that period God desires at his hands. On the whole (not to dwell with unnecessary detail on this part of my subject) he will be ever opening his heart to Almighty God; turning to Him for light and strength under emergencies, for comfort under affliction; pondering on His adorable attributes; animated towards Him by intense love and tenderness. Nor need I add how singularly—how beyond words—this personal love of God is promoted and facilitated by the fact, that a Divine Person has assumed human nature, and that God's human acts and words are so largely offered to the loving contemplation of redeemed souls.

In proportion then as a Christian is faithful to his creed, the thought of God becomes the chief joy of his life. "The thought of God," says F. Newman, "and nothing short of it, is the happiness of man; for though there is much besides to serve as subject of knowledge, or motive for action, or instrument of excitement, yet the *affections* require a something more vast and more enduring than anything created. He alone is sufficient for the heart who made it. The contemplation of Him, and nothing but it, is able fully to open and relieve the mind, to unlock, occupy, and fix our affections. We may indeed love things created with great intenseness; but such affection, when disjoined from the love of the Creator, is like a stream running in a narrow channel, impetuous, vehement, turbid. The heart runs out, as it were, only at one door; it is not an expanding of the whole man. Created natures cannot open to us, or elicit, the ten thousand mental senses which belong to us, and through which we really love. None but the presence of our Maker can enter us; for to none besides can the whole heart in all its thoughts and feelings be unlocked and subjected. It is this feeling of simple and absolute confidence and communion, which soothes and satisfies those to whom it is vouchsafed. We know that even our nearest friends enter into us but

partially, and hold intercourse with us only at times ; whereas the consciousness of a perfect and enduring presence, and it alone, keeps the heart open. Withdraw the object on which it rests, and it will relapse again into its state of confinement and constraint ; and in proportion as it is limited, either to certain seasons or to certain affections, the heart is straitened and distressed."

Now Christians hold, that God's faithful servants will enjoy hereafter unspeakable bliss, through the most intimate imaginable contact with Him Whom they have here so tenderly loved. They will see face to face Him, Whose beauty is dimly and faintly adumbrated by the most exquisitely transporting beauty which can be found on earth ; Him Whose adorable perfections they have in this life imperfectly contemplated, and for the fuller apprehension of which they have so earnestly longed here below. I by no means intend to imply, that the hope of this blessedness is the sole or even the chief inducement which leads saintly men to be diligent in serving God. Their immediate reason for doing so is their keen sense of His claim on their allegiance ; and, again, the misery which they would experience, through their love of Him, at being guilty of any failure in that allegiance. Still the prospect of that future bliss, which I have so imperfectly sketched, is doubtless found by them at times of invaluable service, in stimulating them to greater effort, and in cheering them under trial and desolation.

Such is the view taken by Christians of life in heaven ; and surely any candid infidel will at once admit, that it is profoundly harmonious and consistent with their view of what should be man's life on earth. To say that their anticipation of the future, *as it exists in them*, is gross, sensual, indolent, and selfish, is so manifestly beyond the mark, that I am sure Mr. Harrison will, on reflection, retract his affirmation. Apart, however, from this particular comment, my criticism of Mr. Harrison would be this. He was bound, I maintain, to consider the Christian theory of life *as a whole* ; and not to dissociate that part of it which concerns eternity, from that part of it which concerns time.

And now as to the merits of this Christian theory. For my own part I am, of course, profoundly convinced that, as on the one hand it is guaranteed by Revelation, so on the other hand it is that which alone harmonises with the dicta of reason and the facts of experience, so far as it comes into contact with these. Yet I admit that various very plausible objections may be adduced against its truth. Objectors may allege very plausibly, that by the mass of men it cannot be carried into practice ; that it disparages most unduly the importance of things secular ; that it is fatal to what they account genuine patriotism ; that it has always been, and will always be, injurious to the progress of science ; above all, that it puts men (as one may express it) on an entirely wrong scent, and leads them to neglect many pursuits which, as being sources of true enjoyment, would largely enhance the pleasurable of life. All this, and much more, may be urged, I think, by antitheists with very great superficial plausibility ; and the Christian controversialist is bound on occasion steadily to confront it. But there is one accusation which has been brought against this

Christian theory of life—and that the one mainly (as would seem) felt by Mr. Harrison—which to me seems so obviously destitute of foundation, that I find difficulty in understanding how any infidel can have persuaded himself of its truth: I mean the accusation that this theory is a *selfish* one. There is no need of here attempting a philosophical discussion on the respective claims of what are now called “egoism” and “altruism”: a discussion in itself (no doubt) one of much interest and much importance, and one moreover in which I should be quite prepared (were it necessary) to engage. Here, however, I will appeal, not to philosophy but to history. In the records of the past we find a certain series of men, who stand out from the mass of their brethren, as having pre-eminently concentrated their energy on the love and service of God, and pre-eminently looked away from earthly hopes to the prospect of their future reward. I refer to the Saints of the Church. And it is a plain matter of fact, which no one will attempt to deny, that these very men stand out no less conspicuously from the rest, in their self-sacrificing and (as we ordinary men regard it) astounding labours, in behalf of what they believe to be the highest interests of mankind.

Before I conclude I must not omit a brief comment on one other point, because it is the only one on which I cannot concur with Lord Blachford’s masterly paper. I cannot agree with him, that the doctrine of human immortality fails of being supported by “conclusive reasoning.” I do not, of course, mean that the dogma of the Beatific Vision is discoverable apart from Revelation; but I do account it a truth cognizable with certitude by reason, that the human soul is naturally immortal, and that retribution of one kind or another will be awarded us hereafter, according to what our conduct has been in this our state of probation. Here, however, I must explain myself. When Theists make this statement, sometimes they are thought to allege that human immortality is sufficiently proved by *phenomena*; and sometimes they are thought to allege that it is almost intuitively evident. For myself, however, I make neither of these allegations. I hold that the truth in question is conclusively established by help of certain premisses; and that these premisses themselves can previously be known with absolute certitude, on grounds of reason or experience.

They are such as these: (1) There exists that Personal Being, infinite in all perfections, whom we call God. (2) He has implanted in His rational creatures the sense of right and wrong; the knowledge that a deliberate perpetration of certain acts intrinsically merits penal retribution. (3) Correlatively, He has conferred freedom on the human will; or, in other words, has made acts of the human will exceptions to that law of uniform sequence, which otherwise prevails throughout the phenomenal world.* (4) By the habit of prayer to God we can obtain augmented strength for moral action, in a degree which would have been quite incredible antecedently to experience. (5) Various portions of our divinely

* I shall not, of course, be understood to deny the existence and frequency of miracles.

given nature clearly point to an eternal destiny. (6) The conscious self or ego is entirely heterogeneous to the material world: entirely heterogeneous, therefore, to that palpable body of ours, which is dissolved at the period of death.

I do not think any one will account it extravagant to hold, that the doctrine of human immortality is legitimately deducible from a combination of these and similar truths. The antitheist will of course deny that they *are* truths. Mr. Greg, who has himself "arrived at no conviction" on the subject of immortality, yet says that considerations of the same kind as those which I have enumerated "must be decisive" in favour of immortality "to all to whose spirit's communion with their Father is the most absolute of verities."* Nor have I any reason to think that even Mr. Huxley and Mr. Harrison, if they could concede my premisses, would demur to my conclusion.

* See his letter in the "Spectator" of August 25.

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De Ecclesiâ et Cathedrâ: an Epistle. By the Hon. COLIN LINDSAY.
Vols. I and II. London: Longmans. 1877.

ANY one that will construct for us "The Book of the Church," must know, when he has gone forward but a little way in his undertaking, how great and perilous, and, for that very reason, how fascinating is the enterprise he has begun. Milton, designing to write of Paradise lost and regained, promises to "justify the ways of God to men." But that he, or another Protestant with gifts more splendid than his, should succeed in the Divine Apology, was not, and never will be, conceivable. To interpret the prophets is itself the task of a prophet; and what is History, what, above all, is the Church, but an unfolding series of decrees made in Heaven, and then shadowed forth in this lower world, taking form and substance, and life, and so coming to their fulfilment? The prologue is traced out in the story of Adam's fall, with its twofold meaning, the true historical, and the experienced personal; and after the Fall comes the Promise that is the one master-key to all the labyrinthine courses of this world's action. Now, to whom has the mind of God been thus far revealed? Not, certainly, to any Greek or Hebrew, nor yet to those that have broken Christian truth into pieces and made a thousand shivers of the first larger fragments. "The history of the world," says Schiller, "is nothing but the judgment of the world." But it is only the Spirit of God in His Church that can pass sentence on the ages, their culture and science and morals, their exalted glories, and their irretrievable disasters. History is a drama, taking in Heaven and Earth; the entanglement and the tragedy of it must be sought in the discord between the secular and the spiritual, not as mere conflicting influences, but as rival policies. From first to last, Holy Scripture would have us gaze fixedly on the light that is gathered to a focus in the City of God, and the darkness that has its throne and its power in the kingdom of the Adversary,—of Satan.

Prophecies are fulfilled but slowly, and often (for the time at least) secretly. The seven seals in the Apocalyptic vision were opened one by one. And if the real events themselves do not hasten, no wonder that it is a matter of centuries to grasp their significance. S. Augustine, indeed, may write his "*De Civitate Dei*" at the moment when Rome is visibly the subject of a superhuman destiny, and is changing its character that it may be fitted for its mediæval and modern conquests. But with what amount of truth can we say that past ages have entered into and thoroughly realized the new encompassing creation, the imperial society and sovereignty that

God has established "in the last days"? The Reformation, as it actually took place, would not have been possible unless Germans, and French, and English had as good as forgotten that there was a divine order to be revered. And if the modern world is to escape the anarchy which threatens it from so many sides, there is only one road open,—the principle of tradition, of historical and even divine continuity, of prophetic anticipation and providential (or, as the case may be, miraculous) accomplishment must win recognition from Europe and mankind. In a word, the will of God, as revealed to us, is that rational order and undying growth shall be possible only where Christendom exists in honour. The Church or Anarchy—these are the plain alternatives.

At such a time, every study that can throw light on the Church's nature, prerogatives, or jurisdiction claims from us a hearty welcome. Nay, it is likely that divine grace will insensibly move Catholics to meditate upon the supernatural Empire in which they are living, and to make its very existence a reason for their loyalty and their faith. Events, too, have given us an insight into the meaning of Scriptural words that were dark to men in earlier times. Moreover, is there not a multitude, growing in number every day, whom the disintegrating power of Protestantism shocks and terrifies as it breathes upon the forms of beauty, the venerable creeds, the solemn and heretofore so steadfast temples of truth, and dissolves them into a dream? For these, and their like, the abiding Church, with its majestic unity of life and thought, its security through the past and its promise of endurance into the future, is the one hope still left. They desire nothing better than to be shown that they may believe. To them we recommend, as furnishing this happy demonstration, Mr. Lindsay's noble and large-hearted volumes.

One of the most famous of Roman theologians is reported to have said, some years ago, that no proper treatise "*De Ecclesiâ*" is extant. Since then, Murray has written, and Scheeben and Hurter, and Cardinal Franzelin, and all have laboured with a success that their loyal earnestness and conscientious learning deserved, at the raising up of the great edifice. So, too, has Mr. Allies in a work that is already making its power and its truthfulness felt in younger minds, and is thus gaining a permanent influence. And Mr. Lindsay, though his conversion does not date more than nine or ten years back, has now published two works, that for theological ability, research, calmness, and balance—the last a rare quality—will take rank with some of the best we know. His former book on the "*Evidences for the Papacy*" was answered, of course, by many amongst the friends who had esteemed him when president of the English Church Union; but it is as much a matter of course to say that the book remains unanswerable. Mr. Lindsay rejoins in the first of his new volumes; we think there can be no doubt upon which side victory has pronounced. This is the more easy to perceive, because of the frank and natural courtesy that enables Mr. Lindsay to let the truth speak for itself. He is not an advocate, but an exponent; and, therefore, not eager to make himself supreme at any cost, but only to attain perfect clearness in his expression as in his thought. He has done what he proposed

to do ; to our judgment, he has done it admirably. And though the two volumes run to more than a thousand pages, and there is a third yet to come—we hope it may not be long delayed—our readers will find them, on the whole, agreeable in manner, fluent, and, we may even venture to say, light. But we would choose for exceptional praise, from every point of view, the second half of the first volume and the first half of the second. We mean, in fact, the chapters on the Church's Unity and on the *charismata* or divine gifts that follow upon Unity.

Here will be found the justification of what we said above, that history shows us Protestantism and the Church confronted as the principle of confusion and analysis leading to anarchy, with the principle of a divine and life-giving order. In modern language, the Catholic Church proves her right to exist and expand, by virtue of this, that she is the heir of all the ages, of the promises made at the beginning, of the four thousand years' preparation, of the Grecian philosophy, of the Roman jurisprudence, of the Hebrew morality made perfect through Christ. Mr. Lindsay has laid hold of a principle that he never lets go, and that may be summed in the words of Scripture, "The gifts of God are without repentance." This is a deep truth, immeasurable in its consequences and its implications : and what is very remarkable, the whole modern world has accepted it under the name of the principle of continuity. Have we here some point of confluence, of lawful and possible reconciliation, by-and-by, between Science and Faith? That we cannot tell ; neither does Mr. Lindsay busy himself so much with the philosophical explanation of continuity (though he touches upon it, and not without effect), as with its force and relevance in history. It is true that he does not argue ; he elucidates, and that is far better ; but we may bring out the character of the book by saying that it proves Catholicism as moderns prove the wave theory of light. Given the undulations of an elastic medium pervading space, and the laws of light are thence deducible : assume any other theory, and our knowledge that instant lapses from Science into mere haphazard empiricism. So too, given the Church, God's ways are made plain to us ; mankind has been led, according to a design that we see to be worthy of the merciful Creator ; the Old and the New Testaments become intelligible and full of light ; the poets and the philosophers are as prophets among the heathen ; God is good, and man, though still a creature, is free. But if the Church must be discarded as an unscientific delusion, as a fact that has got wedged into history somehow, and if not lawless, is still at first sight irregular, itself needing a reason, and not the reason of all else that is divine in this world, then there is no such thing as a principle of continuity, and what we call history is mere disorder. Now, an average Protestant ought to be convinced by this argument, for he confesses himself to be incapable of framing any theory whatever to explain the course of things since Christ. And we do not believe there is a Pantheistic view of the past and present that will bear to be closely looked into.

Mr. Lindsay has written with such unusual tenacity of purpose—unusual in these times of fitful interrupted thought—and has taken so much care to recapitulate the points and show their connection, that to

read his last fifty pages is to view his entire course at a glance. But that is not the same thing with accompanying him along his way, and we do not fear to assert that every chapter is worth studying on its own account. The principles that he regards as fundamental in the divine governance of the world, and as steadfast facts in history, are called by him the principles of Unity, of Monarchy, of the Original, of Succession, of Infallibility, and of the Temporal Power. Each one of them is traced up to its origin in Scripture, and exhibited in its various stages of development through the times of the Jewish and of the Christian dispensation. The language employed, not so much in the way of proof or argument, but as a felicitous rendering of these divine truths, is taken from the Fathers. We need hardly say that Mr. Lindsay has studied the great Christian classics with long-enduring zeal. He knows them well, makes most apposite and beautiful quotations from them, and is plainly in love with S. Chrysostom and S. Augustine; but he never dreams of pitting an individual Father against the Church which has received a divine commission to teach. He is not patristic in the Anglican sense, but a Catholic without qualification. The Fathers have let him into their secret of handling Scripture; and we can remember few essays which have pleased us better in that line than Mr. Lindsay's comments on the Epistle to the Romans, on the Apocalypse, on some parts of Ezechiel, and especially on the words addressed by the Lord to S. Peter. The cumulative illustrations brought to bear on these passages give us, as it were, the whole strength of the sea in a single wave. We do not understand with what conscience the High Anglicans can overlook so clear a challenge, or rather, so absolutely demonstrative an argument. Take them on the sense of Scripture, they are beaten; take them on the voice of tradition, they fare no better: where is the standing-ground left them? Perhaps it is true, as a convert clergyman once said to us, that the later generation of Anglicans prefer to read the religious newspapers, or if of a higher tone, to institute sisterhoods; but for nothing in the world will consent to study the Fathers. Anyhow, we may safely predict that they will not attempt to meet Mr. Lindsay in direct argument.

We have not the space to make extracts, and will beg our readers to peruse Mr. Lindsay's preface and plan of his book for themselves. They will find the plan exquisitely clear, marked by that symmetry which is an instinct in the well-trained theologian. But we do not guarantee beforehand that all will agree with some incidental statements occurring here and there. Quite the largest part of the book is unimpeachable theology, accepted and taught in all the Catholic schools. And where matters are open to debate Mr. Lindsay has spoken with prudence and a charming candour. If we may point out what seem to us to be shortcomings, we would say, for instance, that the style is upon occasion too gentlemanly; by which reproachful epithet we think it right to distinguish a certain lack of vigour, an occasional slackness of tone, and a too great diffuseness, owing, perhaps, to the courtesy that would smooth down what is harsh, or even smooth it away. The writing may yet gain by more concentration, and a more trenchant manner.

Then, as to points of opinion, some of the things said are fanciful, and

that at the beginning, where Protestant readers are likely to form their judgment upon the book. In so large a subject fancy and conjecture cannot be kept out, but we could wish the fancies were relegated from the text into the notes. Mr. Lindsay reminds us now and then of a great seventeenth-century divine who has never had to endure the discipline of nineteenth-century criticism. For example, he constantly employs the mystical or parabolic interpretation of Scripture, and argues from it with plausible ingenuity. But it would have served his purpose and ours very much had he spent a few pages on showing the reasonableness of allowing such a sense of Scripture texts. It can never enough be borne in mind that the real difficulties which prevent Anglicans from coming into the Church are not so much difficulties peculiar to them as a general inclination to close with the sceptical and unconsciously empirical philosophy. And we have to prove, first of all, that the Catholic Church respects common sense, and then to pass upward to that which common sense can neither affirm nor deny. Mr. Lindsay, we know, has not written for infidels; but infidelity is the prevailing epidemic, and its presence ought rather to be always taken for granted than always left out of the question. Whatever is written to meet instant wants must reckon with the spirit of the age.

Mr. Lindsay has, in this department of theology, suggested an interesting subject of inquiry; one, we think, that is likely to draw attention to itself as time goes on. We know how to formulate the doctrine of S. Peter's prerogatives, because the Church has told us what we are to say, and, in the Vatican decrees, has suggested to us the one scientific method to be here observed. But what was the exact relation of any other Apostle, taken singly, to the first Vicar of our Lord? Each and all were to be confirmed by S. Peter: true; but in what sense and on what condition did each by himself apprehend and infallibly declare the entire revelation? Perhaps some ambiguity lurks in the question. Mr. Lindsay inclines to think that the Apostles were infallible only as a College of which S. Peter was the divinely-appointed Chief, and therefore singly they would be liable to err. But this view has such a weight of authority and of reason against it, and is so completely without support, that it cannot be held even for a moment. The contrary doctrine which asserts their individual infallibility has ever been taught by the Church. F. Palmieri has gone into the matter with some care in his recent valuable treatise, "*De Romano Pontifice*." He would explain the relations of S. Peter and the Apostles, by insisting that each was infallible, but would take as a key the passage in S. Optatus (to which parallel passages may be found in Cyprian and Augustine) on the *Una Cathedra*. This is the course to be adopted. But we do not deny that the whole matter requires more complete handling, and would repay us the trouble.

The treatise, then, which we have thus briefly noticed may be looked upon as a real and very worthy addition to our theology in English. On many points it approaches very closely to perfection; throughout it is careful, patient, and learned. Its loyalty to Holy Church could not be surpassed; and it is, in the best sense of the word, theological. This we

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account very high praise, but to withhold or lessen it would be to do Mr. Lindsay an injustice. We beg leave to congratulate him on having got so far in his undertaking, and to express our hope that he may complete it in the same winning and effective way in which he has written these volumes.

The Via Media of the Anglican Church. By JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, D.D.
Vol. II. London : Pickering.

THIS second volume will be intensely interesting to those who were personally cognizant in its various circumstances of the great Oxford revival, inaugurated by F. Newman, and led by him to so triumphant an issue. To such persons almost every page will be suggestive of this or that keenly interesting incident ; and will furnish fresh illustration of the noble simplicity and conscientiousness of purpose, which distinguished F. Newman—as during all his life—so throughout that eventful period.

But we suspect that the book will be rather dull reading to those Catholics who were never mixed up in the movement ; because they will be unable to read between the lines, and discern the various momenta which were then so actively agitating Mr. Newman's mind. In fact, we think it is only the fourth paper—"on the mode of conducting the controversy with Rome"—which will greatly interest them. This paper, however, is well worth the study of every Catholic, and will show how singularly pure and elevated was Mr. Newman's controversial method ; how carefully he abstained from mere vague and random declamation ; how desirous he was of doing fullest justice to all which could be said in his opponents' favour. The notes appended to this new edition, though brief, are most forcible. And we will here refer to two in particular, because they have a bearing far wider than is needed by the actual text to which they are appended.

F. Newman observes (p. 112), that "there is a large private judgment allowed to individual minds in the Church of Rome" on devotion to Saints ; "and that very fact," he adds, "leads humble and charitable minds, while they profit by the toleration allowed to themselves, not to censure those who avail themselves of it for a different tone of religious sentiment." Our own "tone of sentiment" on the subject would undoubtedly be different from that with which F. Newman has occasionally seemed to show himself more in sympathy. We think it very far more important than some Catholics think it,—in order to the acquisition of a truly mortified and interior spirit,—that Christians be carefully trained to vent their religious emotions, not on the Infinite only, but also on finite objects of veneration and supplication. And, on the other hand, we are very sceptical as to the supposition, that any serious practical evils are at all likely to result with the mass of men from this habit. Mr. Newman objected (p. 111), that the Roman Church "has not felt sensitively on the subject of this particular evil." F. Newman meets this objection by

applying to it the principles set forth in his Preface to vol. i.; but our own reply would rather be that there *is* no prevalent serious evil, on which she *need* be sensitive. Still we agree most heartily with F. Newman, that he has to the full as much right to his opinion on these matters as we to ours.

Nor, of course, do we deny that there have been *individual* excesses. Our readers may remember, e.g., some most eccentric statements quoted by Dr. Pusey from a young writer, named Oswald; and they may remember also, how speedily Mr. Rhodes discovered that that writer's work had been placed on the Index. F. Newman refers (p. 121) to another excess, which has resulted from the statement, so common among Catholics, that (as Harding expresses it) "Mary has a certain right to *command* her Son." This statement, as commonly used by Catholic devotional writers, implies no unsound doctrine. F. Newman makes the obvious reference to Luke ii. 51. And take the parallel case of an absolute monarch, whose mother still lives and is fondly loved by him. His assent to her just petitions will not altogether resemble in kind his assent to other suppliants; he will regard her with what may be called a certain filial deference; and she may be said, in a figurative sense, to exercise over him a certain maternal authority. It is certain that this is all which is commonly meant by the expression. In July, 1866 (p. 187), we drew attention to S. Alphonsus's remark, that the sense of such words is so universally understood among Catholics to be merely figurative, that no possible danger of misconception is incurred by using them. Yet individuals *have* perversely gone beyond reasonable bounds. F. Newman seasonably cites a decree of Inquisition, dated so lately as Feb. 28, 1876, censuring those who "ascribe power to her, as issuing from her divine maternity, beyond its due limits"; and adding that "it cannot be piously affirmed" in any literal sense of the words "that she exercises command over Him."

We will take this opportunity to speak of a somewhat kindred matter. In our notice of F. Newman's former volume (Oct. 1877, p. 514), we followed the author in saying, that the woman who touched the hem of our Lord's garment had real superstition mixed up with her faith, because she deliberately expected that "virtue" might "go out" of Him without His knowing it. A most highly-respected correspondent protests against this allegation; and we cannot but feel that he has the best of the argument. These are his words:—

"The woman's faith in our Lord's Divine Person was manifestly imperfect, as she expected to be cured without His knowing it: which only makes our Lord's commendation of her faith the more striking, with reference to the question in dispute. Suppose it had been S. Peter, instead of our blessed Lord: would it have been superstition for a sick person to have expected to have obtained a cure, by secretly touching the hem of his garment? Does not, in other words, Almighty God vouchsafe miracles through the instrumentality of the relics of the Saints and for the sake of their (the Saints') merits, without any active intervention of the Saints themselves, and quite possibly without their knowledge? Must we suppose that S. Paul, for instance, was cognizant of all the miracles which were wrought by the 'handkerchiefs and aprons' which 'were brought from

his body'? (Acts xix). They are spoken of as being 'more than common miracles'; and yet they were in themselves the ordinary miracles of 'curing diseases' and casting out of evil spirits. May not the '*more than common*' refer to this very fact, that they were wrought without the immediate action and knowledge of the Apostle? At all events, has it not always been the practice of pious Catholics to expect graces from the devout use of relics, without any special invocation of the Saint to whom they belonged? Expecting the grace or favour from God through the merits of the Saint indeed, but without any advertence to the fact of the Saint knowing or not knowing anything about the matter."

On the Latin Vulgate as the Authentic Version of the Church. By the Rev. THOMAS G. LAW, of the Oratory. (From the Douay Bible, with Notes, &c. Revised by Canon OAKLEY and F. LAW. London: Virtue & Co. 1877.)

IT is not common to meet within a narrow compass such abundant and valuable information as the reader will find in the essay we notice here. It is evidently the result of long and conscientious labours; and, besides making the reader well acquainted with the matter of which it treats, is calculated to enable him to face other difficulties on the same subject, and resolve them by the application of the principles and method laid down in this dissertation.

After some well-grounded remarks on the difficulty of faithfully translating in general, the learned author points out the special difficulties attending translations of the Holy Scripture. The larger part of the Old Testament was written in Hebrew, which had already become a dead language, understood by only a few of the most learned Jews, before a single book of the Old Testament had been translated into any other tongue. Besides, the vowel signs are the work of Jewish scribes and doctors who lived many centuries after Christ. One must add to this the comparatively recent date of the oldest manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible in existence, the extreme scantiness of the materials available to the critic for deciding upon the original text, the peculiar genius of the Hebrew language, and the small remains of its literature which have come down to us. The Greek version of the Septuagint, the first translation made of the Old Testament, considerably differs from the present Hebrew text, not merely in single words and sentences, but in the arrangement of whole chapters and books, the essential points of important prophecies, as well as the entire system of chronology. . . . For instance, in the single book of Jeremias, whole passages, besides many single verses, are omitted in the Septuagint; so that altogether about 2,700 words are wanting in the Greek, which are found in the Hebrew.

In the case of the New Testament, apart from the circumstance that it is written, as it were, in a Greek dialect of its own, needing no little linguistic skill, as well as theological science, for its interpretation,—the earliest copies which have come down to us are of the fourth century, and

literally swarm with the mistakes of transcribers. Out of some 50,000 variations, through which the critical editor has to pick his way, there are not a few which concern important facts of history, questions of harmonizing the Gospels, and even dogmatical teaching. Striking examples of this kind are given by F. Law at pp. 12, 18. In fact, the old versions, both of the Old and New Testament, and the writings of the Fathers show that, even in the early ages of the Church, omissions, interpolations, and a perplexing variety of readings disfigured the current biblical texts.

"Now, it may be evident to a Catholic," says F. Law, "that notwithstanding the manifold errors which may have crept into particular copies, the substance of the Written Word could never be lost to the Church. It may be assumed that the Holy Spirit, whose office is to preserve the purity of tradition and to guide the Church in her interpretation of Scripture, could not fail to guard the sacred books themselves against essential corruption. Yet, if the autographs of the inspired writers are no longer accessible, and the extant copies of the original texts differ among themselves, and if some of them may contain false and dangerous interpretations, how are we to be certain, in the case of any one Bible before us, that we possess a faithful copy of the Divine Word, which is the source of true doctrine? This is the question which the Council of Trent set itself to answer in the year 1545" (p. 14).

After some remarks on the translations and editions of the Bible, brought forth by the Reformation and calculated to increase the confusion, concluded by reference to a striking avowal of Luther himself, the learned author of the dissertation gives a short but careful account of the discussions which took place at Trent in preparation for the decree concerning the authenticity of the Latin Vulgate. It is highly satisfactory for a Catholic to remark that objections and difficulties advanced every day by superficial writers had been foreseen and triumphantly answered by the Fathers of the Council, and that only a false interpretation of the Decree can lay it open to any serious charge. Let us, on this most important point, hear F. Law himself:—

"The Council," he says, "refrained from any mention of the original texts. The Vulgate is not once brought in comparison with them. To determine the state of those texts, or the exact philological relation of the Vulgate to them is a matter left to the investigation of private scholars. When the Church declares that *the Vulgate is an AUTHENTIC Latin edition of the Bible*, she declares that from this version we may learn, as from a certain and infallible source, all the doctrines and commandments of God, which He has been pleased to reveal through the sacred writings. *It is substantially identical with the original for all such purposes as the Bible was intended to fulfil.* The Church does not pronounce on the philological exactness of the book, but on its *real* value. . . . Just as if (to use an example given by Bishop Haneberg) the Emperor of Austria were to publish a code of laws in the German language, and at the same time several private translations were to appear in Hungary, some of which were more literally faithful, and others more free, the Emperor might declare the more free version to be the only legitimate and authentic organ of his legislation in Hungary. And further, the same code of laws might have many authentic translations for the use of various countries, differing one from another in certain details,

and yet the authenticity of the one would not exclude that of the other. So, in like manner, the Church's declaration that the Vulgate is authentic need not exclude the *intrinsic* authenticity of the Septuagint, or the Syriac Peschito, still less of the original texts. But since this definition of the Church has been made, we have a certainty which we cannot have in the case of any other editions, that not only is there no error whatsoever in the Vulgate regarding matters of faith and morals, but that the whole of the written revelation of God is therein contained" (pp. 20, 21).

A great task was now laid on the Pope,—that of the publication of a corrected edition of the Vulgate.

"The researches of the two learned Barnabites, Ungarelli and Vercellone," says F. Law, "have recently brought to light fresh evidence, if fresh were needed, of how faithfully and perseveringly the Roman Pontiffs laboured to carry out the wishes of the Council. These labours were indeed far greater than were at first expected. . . The studies hopefully commenced in 1546, were to continue, with some slight interruption, for forty years before the anxiously-expected official text was ready to see the light. . . . This task was but just finished when Gregory XIV. died, October, 1591, and the glory of finally carrying out the Tridentine decree, and giving to the Church the official copy of the authentic Vulgate, was reserved for the Pontificate of Clement VIII., 1592" (pp. 24, 29).

How far, as it was to be expected, prejudices of sect succeeded in biasing the judgment of critics on the value of this edition, is plainly shown by the opposite opinions of Protestant scholars, and especially by the history of the printed Greek text of the New Testament as opposed to the readings adopted in the official edition of the Vulgate. There is enough in this history to make one distrust for ever bare assertions, even of the most celebrated biblical scholars, until they are supported by unquestionable evidence. After three centuries, however, the truth is now recognized, which was "long ago perceived by Roman scholars, that the Vulgate possesses great critical value in correcting the originals themselves. . . . No [ancient] edition of any kind, including the Septuagint itself, can now compete with that of S. Jerome as a critical representative of the original Hebrew text" (pp. 30, 31).

As for the New Testament, "it may be confidently affirmed, that although the Vulgate may be here and there capable of correction, the Greek text, which lies at its basis, rests upon better evidence than that of any critical edition yet produced. A rapid survey of the origin of the Vulgate and the labours of S. Jerome in its revision, which have been seriously misunderstood, even by very learned men, will make this plainer" (p. 37).

The following abstract of this part of F. Law's dissertation will not prove without interest to our readers :—

"The name *Vulgate* was originally applied to the edition of the Septuagint in common use, κοινή ἐκδοσις, and from that passed to the Latin translation of the Septuagint, and finally, to the Latin Bible as a whole. This ancient Latin Bible, as it existed before S. Jerome's time, now goes by the name of the Itala. The greater part of the Old Testament has been entirely superseded by the new version from the Hebrew, made by S.

Jerome, but the New Testament still substantially remains in the present Vulgate, which is, in fact, the Itala carefully edited by S. Jerome.

"The origin of this old Latin version is lost in obscurity. Its author, its native country, its date, are all unknown. . . . Its extreme literalness makes it almost a photograph of the original. . . . In course of time, however, this venerable version suffered the usual fate of books often copied, and lost much of its purity and its unity. . . . By the end of the fourth century there was no uniformity in the Bibles, and complaints were made that there were almost as many standards as there were copies (*tot enim sunt exemplaria pene quot codices*). . . . This want of uniformity was felt to be a great evil by the Roman See, and the Pope, S. Damasus, in the year 382, determined to remedy it. 'It happened providentially,' says Canon Lightfoot, 'that at the very moment when the need was felt, the right man was forthcoming. In the first fifteen centuries of her existence the Western Church produced no biblical scholar who could compare with S. Jerome in competence for so great a task.'

We must now refer the reader to the dissertation itself, concerning the special qualifications of S. Jerome for the great task laid upon him by the Pope, and the way in which the work was carried on in the face of much opposition. The account is very instructive, and not without parallel with the way in which other great works were carried on in the Church.

It is a fact generally admitted, that he "proceeded on the soundest principles," and "produced the best and noblest work of the kind of which antiquity can boast." "It made its way in the Church by sheer force of its intrinsic worth" (p. 51).

In conclusion F. Law gives an interesting account of the Douay version, perhaps the most important of all translations made from the Vulgate since the Council of Trent, and one of the first fruits of the English Seminary founded at Douay under the direction of Cardinal Allen in 1568. The history of this version is particularly interesting as connected with that of the English Catholics in the time of persecution.

Such is, in the main lines, the little but remarkable sketch of F. Law, which, as it is now published, forms part of the introductory matter prefixed to the new edition of Haydock's Bible. If we may be allowed to express a wish, it would be that this dissertation should be reprinted and published in a more handy form. By making some divisions in it according to the contents, and adding a list of the works where the reader could find further information on the topics discussed, a manual of great utility would be offered to biblical students.

Pius IX. and the Revolution: a Pastoral Letter to the Clergy and Laity of the Diocese of Sydney. By ROGER BEDE, Archbishop of Sydney. Sydney: E. F. Flanagan. 1877.

THE key-note of this admirable Pastoral lies in the words of the Holy Father, which are here quoted from the Allocution regarding the proposed clerical Abuses Bill:—"We would wish that our voice might reach at one and the same time all the pastors, even the most distant of

the Catholic Church, to invite them to make known to the faithful committed to their care the ever-increasing perils of our difficult situation. . . . We exhort them to forewarn their flocks against the base and hypocritical insinuations of those who with insidious arts attempt to misrepresent our true and real situation, either by concealing the gravity of it or by extolling its liberty and independence. Our whole situation is epitomized in these words: The Church is persecuted in Italy, and the Vicar of Jesus Christ is neither free nor independent in the exercise of his supreme power." With the purpose of carrying out the desire of the Holy Father, the Archbishop of Sydney gives a vigorous outline of the wrongs inflicted upon the Church by her enemies in Italy; and, moreover, shows how Pius IX. has during his pontificate opposed with "Divine blows worthy of his greatness" the evils which threaten society. These evils he counts as Libertinage, which was confronted by the definition of the Immaculate Conception; Materialism, answered by the solemn canonization of the crowd of martyrs of Japan, who had shed their blood in defence of the unseen; Intellectual Pride, opposed by the publication of the Syllabus; and Rebellion against Authority, to which a marked contrast was shown in the assembling at the Vatican Council of a multitude from the ends of the earth all subject to one Head. This Pastoral Letter is in itself consoling evidence of the unity of the Church; bearing witness that not only in those countries that may be said to lie close under the voice of Rome, but far away under the southern cross there is the same spirit of faithful devotion spread everywhere among the children of one Father.

A Visit to the Roman Catacombs. By the Rev. J. SPENCER NORTH-COTE, D.D. London: Burns & Oates. 1877.

A POPULAR work on the ever-interesting subject of the Catacombs ought to receive a ready welcome, especially when it comes from an author who has made that subject in England peculiarly his own, and whose study of the Roman Catacombs, as we are told in the preface, began more than thirty years ago. The chapters of the book which justify the title best are the last four, describing the cemetery of S. Callixtus as it would be seen by a visitor. But this is only something like a quarter of the book. The first three-fourths are devoted to giving an accurate idea of the Catacombs in general, the manner in which they were constructed, their appearance and use, their history, their artistic adornments, and such other information as would tend to give an ordinary reader a clear impression of the subject, all details and views being brought up to date by being drawn from De Rossi's volumes. Thus in a small compass, and with a clear, bright style, which makes every page interesting, a book has been produced which can give a fund of information to those for whom the larger volume by the same author would be too deep or too lengthened reading. In the preface it is stated that the object in view was to supply

the need of a short manual, "a safe guide to those who only desire to become acquainted with the leading features of the subject, according to the present condition of our knowledge of it." These pages, he adds, "do not pretend to give a complete account either of the past history or present condition of the Catacombs, but merely a correct outline of the whole, so that those who would pursue the study further shall at least have nothing to unlearn."

In the first chapter there is a brief refutation of the old idea that the Catacombs were quarries or sandpits, the plan of sandpits being contrasted with that of part of the Catacomb of S. Agnes, to show their radical difference of construction. Then, in explanation of the difficult question, How was it that the first Christians were able, without the interference of the government, to construct such extensive works? the Roman laws as to burial, and what might be called burial societies, are shown to have been peculiarly favourable, the sepulture of the dead being respected, whether pagan or Christian, while the custom of the assembling of relatives and dependents to do honour to the memory of the dead sanctioned the gathering together of the Christians, when their real object was worship or counsel in times of persecution? In the subsequent chapters their history is briefly told; their gradual falling into disrepair in later centuries; how the passages were stopped, and the chambers filled with "the accumulated rubbish of ages." Such was their state when the systematic work of reclaiming them from ruin was begun, at the end of the sixteenth century, by Antonio Bosio, the Columbus of the new world of subterranean Rome. After many years of labour, he died before he could complete and publish the result of his work. Then began excavations in various places, tending rather to confusion than to order. The year 1740 closes this period of individual and comparatively fruitless exertion; the interest that had revived for a time seemed to have died out, and "then followed another hundred years, during the greater part of which the Catacombs remained almost in the same obscurity in which they had been buried for so many ages before Bosio was born." Then the work recommenced, mainly through the influence of Father Marchi, S.J. He was appointed *custode* of the Catacombs, and began to publish a work on early Christian art. But after the appearance of the first volume it ceased, owing partly to new discoveries having shown him its imperfection, and partly to the troubles of the time (about 1840), which affected the Society. But a pupil of his took up the work, which had been too great for his failing strength. This new labourer in the Catacombs was destined to have his name associated with them as no other name can be. It was the Chevalier de Rossi, whose ardour, conscientious accuracy, and persevering devotedness to the study he adopted, have done more than the labours of all who went before him to send light into the darkness of the Catacombs, and to read from them the history of our fathers in the faith long ages ago.

The chapter on the painting and sculpture of the Catacombs forms in itself quite a little popular treatise, and it is made still more valuable by a number of illustrations aptly chosen. The two chief facts to be drawn from it are, that pictures were used in the places of divine worship from

the beginning, and did not come gradually into use in later years, brought, as it were, by stealth into the church, in dread lest they might be misused as the pagans used their idols. De Rossi's words are quoted on this subject as the words of one who argues only from facts, and those the facts that his own eyes have seen.

"I can only say," he wrote, "that the universal use of pictures throughout the subterranean cemeteries, and the richness, the variety, and the freedom of the more ancient types, when contrasted with the cycle of painting which I see becoming more stiff in manner and poorer in conception towards the end of the third century—these things demonstrate the impossibility of accepting the hypothesis of those who affirm that the use of pictures was introduced little by little—on the sly, as it were—and in opposition to the practice of the primitive Church."

The second fact that appears from this brief summary of the art discoveries in the Catacombs, is that, as De Rossi states, the subjects painted became "more stiff in manner and poorer in conception towards the end of the third century," so that there is more merit to be found in the works of its beginning and of the end of the second. Thus art rather declined than advanced, and not only did pictures illustrate religion at its beginning, but, instead of coming as if by stealth, they appeared with a "richness, variety, and freedom," which fell away as time advanced towards the fourth century. In the short chapter on inscriptions, their character is traced changing from century to century. In the earliest times Christians wrote only the name, with perhaps such a brief word of distinction as *filio dulcissimo*, or *dulcissimus parentibus*. Then came the anchor of hope, telling of belief in a future life, and at once dividing those sealed with that emblem from the pagans whose epitaphs showed no sign that all had not ended when the ashes mouldered away. Next, words of Christian faith and love appeared, those beautiful, well-known inscriptions in which "the dead speak," breathing into our later days the fragrance of the early time when all had but one heart.—*Mayest thou live in the Lord and pray for us.—Dionysius, an innocent child, lies here with the saints: and remember us, too, in your holy prayers, both me who engraved and me who wrote.* Before the end of the third century the record of the day of burial began to appear. In the time of Constantine the original simplicity of the epitaphs was unfortunately vanishing. As one author states here, "complimentary phrases as to the goodness, wisdom, innocence, and holiness of the deceased came into fashion," these modes of expression being borrowed from the outer world, and marring the beauty and simplicity that was the Christian habit of thought in earlier times. This ends the first part, and the second, which is so much shorter, is a graphic description of a visit to the Catacomb of S. Callixtus, where we tread our way slowly through passage and chamber, get an excellent black-and-white view of the crypt of S. Cecilia on the way, and hear the story of the recovery of the relics of that virgin bride of ancient Rome. Altogether this makes a most welcome and valuable book, which every one ought to read who desires, in a very short time and in a very pleasant manner, to receive as good and accurate an idea of the Catacombs and

their history as can be given by a facile pen in a brief space. The proceeds of the sale of the book will be sent to the Commendatore de Rossi "to promote the work of excavation, which languishes for want of funds. At more than one spot in the Catacombs, the Commission of Sacred Archaeology, of which De Rossi is secretary, has the strongest reason for believing in the existence of historic monuments of great value, and it is most desirable that these monuments should be recovered whilst we have amongst us so competent an interpreter of them."

The Written Word: or, Considerations on the Sacred Scriptures. By WILLIAM HUMPHREY, Priest of the Society of Jesus. London: Burns & Oates. 1877.

WE think that we can understand the reasons underlying the appearance of this learnedly written volume. It is the result of the impression made by Cardinal Franzelin's treatise, *De Divina Traditione et Scriptura*, on an appreciative mind, which desires to extend the benefit far wider than itself. All whose life is of the studious kind, can recall the exceptional results of some few books on their intellectual acquirements or tendencies. Sometimes a single treatise has decided our opinion on open questions, or given a predominant impulse to a special line of study, or so cleared and expanded our view of a particular subject, that, although no new one to us, it seemed to be really understood for the first time. For many reasons we think that very few works which have appeared in the last twenty years have left so lasting an impression, and so thoroughly settled some controverted theological points, as the treatise we have named. Its chief characteristics are well known, we presume, to theological readers. The theories are so complete, look so plain, hang together so admirably in all their parts, and are so satisfactorily applicable to all difficulties, that a powerful intrinsic argument is advanced in their simple statement. Besides, there is no modern theologian that has built up his arguments by such careful syntheses, as Cardinal Franzelin has done; and even when the copious erudition with which he establishes his principles may have been forgotten, the principles themselves, clear and stable as axioms, live in the mind. We point to the most important question in that part of the treatise given by Father Humphrey ("The Idea of the Inspiration of the Sacred Scriptures, as contained in and derived from the idea of their Divine Authorship") as an example of Cardinal Franzelin's unrivalled power in explaining an obscure question. The stereotyped method of treating the point, was the arrangement of the views of theologians in order from the one extreme, a divine dictation *ad apices* of the Written Word, to the other extreme, which viewed inspiration as being little more than a divine *imprimatur*. Usually the extreme views were summarily rejected, and some one of the intermediate adopted for reasons not easily understood. It is not easy to forget the manifold perplexities of the question. The reasons for tending towards

what was called *inspiratio rigidior*, were manifestly strong, but the tendency was accompanied by difficulties of a most serious kind ; while a leaning to the opposite extreme (*inspiratio liberalior*) seemed to be a departure from the instinct of faith. Cardinal Franzelin bases his exposition on a dogmatic formula, *God is the Author of the Sacred Scripture* ; and from this principle develops the idea of Inspiration as adequately as the most reverent upholders of it can desire, and yet, with an elasticity that will reach the difficulties arising in its application to the various books or parts of the Sacred Scriptures. The success of his method, we judge, consists in his apprehension of the two agents, the Divine and human ; above all in the fact, that the human, though an instrument, does not lose its characteristics, intelligence and freedom, in being made the instrument of a divine operation. We need hardly point out the harmony of the method with ideas familiar to us in questions of grace. But we must allow Father Humphrey to state the point more ably :—

“ This supernatural operation of God is called *His Inspiration*, using that term in its active sense ; in its passive sense, or, as *their* inspiration, it belongs to the writers of the Sacred Scriptures.

“ That the Catholic Church holds God to be the Author of the Sacred Scriptures is plain from the decree of the Council of Florence, which defines that the Holy Roman Church most firmly believes, professes, and proclaims, that the one true God . . . is the *Author* of the Old and the New Testament,—that is, of the Law, the Prophets, and the Gospel,—since, *by the inspiration* of the same Holy Ghost, the holy men of both Testaments spoke.

“ This decree of the Council of Florence is embodied also among the decrees of the Council of Trent. It is repeated in almost the same words. The Council declares that it receives and venerates all the books both of the Old and of the New Testament, since the one God is *the Author* of both.

“ Further, the Council of the Vatican . . . declares that the Church holds as sacred and canonical all the books of the Old and New Testaments, inasmuch as being *written by the inspiration* of the Holy Ghost, they have *God for their Author*.

“ It is evident, then, that the proposition, *God is the Author of the Sacred Scriptures*, is a dogmatic formula of the Catholic Church ” (p. 23).

Passing over the proofs of the revealed truth, which are given at length from the Sacred Scriptures and from tradition, we come to the analysis of it. In the first place we must distinguish in the Sacred Scriptures, as in other documents, between the ideas or *sense*, and the words or *signs*, in which the sense is expressed. Again—the distinction is not quite the same as the preceding,—we must distinguish between what is *formal*, that is essential to the idea of Divine Authorship, and what is simply the *matter*, in itself capable of different forms, but determined in this case to a divine work. With those distinctions the author proceeds :—

“ What we have called the *sense*, as opposed to the words or signs which express it, or what in such books as are the Sacred Scriptures, we may call the *truths* conveyed, as distinguished from the *language* in which they are clothed and whereby they are conveyed, constitutes the *formal* of the book, while the *signs* or words, including their order, and the language along with its style and method, belong to the *matter* of the book.

"We must, however, remember, that . . . even they—the signs or words—must always be at least adequately adapted to express the sense or truths intended. Otherwise the *formal* of the book could not be preserved" (p. 31).

We cannot give at length the careful development of the preceding principles, as found in the author; but the two following passages are the results:—

"Taking revelation, not in the strict sense but in a not uncommon sense, as the proposition of truths by God Himself, then certainly every inspiration, in order to the writing of Sacred Scripture, was a revelation, first made interiorly in the mind of the inspired writer, and then, by means of his writing, proposed as the Word of God to others; thus committing an object of faith both for the inspired writer himself, and for every one to whom his work should be sufficiently proposed as inspired truth" (p. 35).

"Since God, by His inspiration of the *sense* of the Sacred Scriptures, so acts on the inspired writer in order to his writing that the document written by him should infallibly, in virtue of that divine operation, really and truly contain the sense divinely intended, it follows that in that inspiration is included such a divine operation as that the writer should not only actually choose, but that he should *infallibly choose* such *signs*, that is, such words, phrases, expressions, or formulas, as are apt and adequate truly to express the sense divinely intended, or, in other words, the truths which God wills thus to communicate" * (p. 35).

The idea of inspiration as developed by Cardinal Franzelin, is of the highest kind, and yet it easily explains, or admits explanation of, the difficulties which appear on the surface of the "Written Word," "manifest diversity of style and diction" (p. 41), verbal differences in the records of "not only the same events but also the same sayings," and the use of existing documents (p. 42). For the inspired instruments were *human* beings, and co-operated therefore in a human way, that is, intelligently and freely, with the Divine Author, and were not as the material tool in a workman's hand. The reader will be thankful for the author's thoughtful illustration of the point:—

"This may be explained and illustrated from the manner of God's ordinary dealings in the order of His grace. . . . By grace He elevates and endows the human soul with supernatural faculties and forces in order to even such acts of various virtues as might, so far as their substance is concerned, be performed by the unaided powers of nature. By the addition of divine grace, these acts become supernatural, and belong to an entirely different order to that in which they would have been had they been simply done in virtue of the natural powers of the man left to himself. Similarly, in the formation of the Sacred Scriptures, God, their principal Author, made use sometimes of external instruments, supplying to the writers documents, witnesses, observation, or a natural knowledge of that which they were to write; while at the same time, He conjoined with such external and natural means an internal supernatural illus-

* Cardinal Franzelin, more clearly than the author of "The Written Word," distinguishes between the *inspiratio* and *assistentia* given to a Sacred writer. The former pertaining to the revealed truths (*verbum formale*), the latter to the language, style, &c. (*verbum materiale*).—"De Divinis Scripturis," cap. i. th. iii. p. 347.

tration of the understanding and motion of the will in such wise as to effect that all those things, and those things only, the writers should conceive as to be written and should will to write, which He, in His eternal counsel, had previously conceived and willed to be communicated and proposed to His Church in writing as the Word of God" (p. 43).

The extracts we have given will enable our readers to understand in what way Father Humphrey has accomplished his undertaking. In common with many others, he has found in the learned work of Cardinal Franzelin, "*De Divina Traditione et Scriptura*," a revelation to his thoughts on the Idea of Inspiration, the mutual relations of Scripture and tradition, and their place in the divine dispensation of a teaching Church; and he has attempted "to popularize in English some of the arguments of the more dogmatic chapters of that admirable treatise" (Preface). A popular work "*The Written Word*" will hardly be. It is with large excisions and sundry compressions, that are judiciously made, a faithful following of the original, in fact almost a translation; but that very character will limit its utility. As may be seen from the extracts given, and they are found in the simplest pages of the book, "*The Written Word*" follows the Latin work too closely (even its technicalities are reproduced) to be a successful claimant for popular reading; while there are wanting many things—notably, references to and ampler insertion of Cardinal Franzelin's arguments on tradition—that a theological student would seek. We cannot complain much that the first part of the "*De Divina Traditione et Scriptura*," is not more extensively used, since "*The Written Word*" nominally professes to give the second part, and has generously incorporated from the first; but we feel that the treatise of Cardinal Franzelin must be studied as a whole, or else it loses in the force of its argument. We could hardly dream, for instance, that in the phrases "Catholic understanding and belief," "Consent of the faithful," "Consentient belief," &c. (Chapter viii.), we had the expressions, arguments in themselves, of infallible *criteria* of divine tradition. Their effect depends on the arguments of Theses IV.—XI., summed up by Cardinal Franzelin in the words "*Ex quibus omnibus apparet, ecclesiam universam omnium aetatum et omnium locorum, cum tota sua historia esse magnum commentarium reale, ac perpetuam confirmationem veri sensus, quem in verbis Christi et Apostolorum expressum Catholici credimus et demonstramus.*"* The vivid conception of divine tradition left on the mind by a study of Cardinal Franzelin's *theses*, is, that the Church, being the ever-living, mystical Body of Christ, informed throughout—in every faculty and power—by the Spirit of Truth, must present an infallible criterion of truth under every aspect, be it the *conscientia fidei*, or *Catholicus intellectus*, or *ecclesiasticus sensus*, &c. The force of these formulas seems to us almost lost in "*The Written Word*." We must also note the want of precise references in Father Humphrey's book. He is so consistent on that point, that we look for a thoughtful motive; and no doubt it was confidence in the reader's ability to find out readily the quotations given. We must leave the matter to the reader's judgment with respect to the quotations from the Sacred Scriptures; but we venture to say that more defi-

* Franzelin: "*De Divina Traditione*," cap. ii. Th. xi. p. 97.

nite reference may be fairly desired than, "Philo gives the division," "Josephus does the same," "the decree of the Council of Florence," "among the decrees of the Council of Trent," "S. Augustine habitually proves," &c.

In a few words we may say that we have either too much or too little of Franzelin's work. A literal translation of the "*De Divina Traditione et Scriptura*" might be acceptable to some readers who have a preference for the study of theology in English. A work founded on it, but written in a clear simple style—such as we know from previous publications, is well within Father Humphrey's power—would be widely valued. But we fear the middle course adopted in "*The Written Word*" will not be deemed a complete success. The book, however, is a valuable contribution to our scanty store of English theology, and would be of great worth to Protestants of the educated class.

God our Father. By a Father of the Society of Jesus. London: Burns & Oates.

THIS little volume abounds in beautiful and touching thoughts, addressed to those who are deficient in tender filial love towards God, and who regard Him with too unmixed awe and alarm. No one can read its successive chapters without great edification and spiritual comfort. At the same time—we must frankly say—the volume gives us an impression, that its author has not fully apprehended those various circumstances and considerations, which occasion that unhappy state of mind against which he is so admirably earnest. As one instance of what we mean—though there are several others—we think a good deal more might with advantage have been said—especially considering the direction in which men's minds just now are travelling—on the tremendous verity of eternal punishment.

Memoirs of Missionary Priests and other Catholics of both sexes, that have suffered death in England, on religious accounts, from the year 1577 to 1684. By Bishop CHALLONER, V.A.L. Preface by the Rev. Father THOMAS G. LAW, of the London Oratory. Edinburgh: Jack. 1878.

THIS splendid quarto volume offers us an unusual number of attractions. First, the elegant cover, the beautiful paper and print, and a number of fine lithographs, render it a fit ornament for the drawing-room table. Next comes a letter of thanks to the publisher and recommendation of the work, by the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. Then follows an interesting preface by Father Law, who gives us a graphic sketch of the leading features of a lengthened persecution, which, for sanguinary and unrelenting cruelty, is unparalleled in history.

Finally, we have Bishop Challoner's "*Memoirs of the Martyrs of the Catholic Faith*," which are distinguished by truthfulness, and the pathos which naturally belongs to a narrative of heroic deeds told in the simplest language.

In 1741, Bishop Challoner brought out this work "as a supplement to English history," because the trials and executions of Catholics for religion had not been noticed by English historians. He flattered himself that it would interest lovers of history, of whatsoever religious persuasion they might be. For he naturally expected, "that every generous English soul would be pleased to find so much fortitude and courage joined with so much meekness, modesty, and humility, in the lives and deaths of so many of his countrymen, who have died for no other crime but their conscience." Above a century has elapsed, and his hope has found but a limited fulfilment, his work being hitherto known and prized almost exclusively by Catholics. But its reappearance in so attractive a form, at a time when the study of history inspires such general interest, leads us to augur a wider appreciation of it as a book which throws light on some of the most important crises of our national life.

The student of history, in reading these simple narratives, will involuntarily resign his lingering suspicions of foreign intrigues and treasonable plots, and will gain an insight into the true character and workings of Elizabeth's ecclesiastical policy. At a time when theological controversy engrossed and divided Europe, her inordinate love of personal power led her to anticipate, by three hundred years, the modern idea of a purely State Church. This Church she founded in the blood of both Catholics and Protestants. The defects in its Apostolic Succession, she avowedly rectified by Act of Parliament. Its worship and dogmas rested on the same authority. In the records of the time it is characteristically described as "the Queen's religion," or "the Church established by law." Her boast that she meddled with the conscience of no man, was true in a cynical sense; for she ignored the existence of conscience. So long as her subjects would practise a religion which they disbelieved, and refrain from practising that which they believed,—in fact, so long as they were hypocrites and practical infidels, she was content. But no sooner did conscience assert its rights in private spiritual worship, which touched not her temporal sovereignty, than the gibbet and vivisection were their doom; while the rack and the varied ingenuities of torture in her prisons, were called in to compel her victims to base acts of treachery to friends and benefactors, from which even natural conscience recoils.

To the ordinary reader, whether Catholic or Protestant, the charm of these memoirs is their touching simplicity. Here, without the least attempt at dramatic effect, we are told of priests and laymen, nobles and rustics, men and women, uniting in deeds of saintly virtue and heroic courage. We see gentlemen of birth and fortune resigning their social position, living in farm-houses in their own country, or in London garrets, in order to be more accessible to the poor; going about on foot meanly dressed, with a bag or pack, containing the necessaries for Mass, on their shoulders; defying walls and moats, bars and bolts, to carry the Sacraments to Catholic prisoners; and, at last, dying joyfully on the scaffold for their

priesthood. We see young men of all ranks banded together to guide the priest to a safe refuge at the risk of their own lives ; and every Catholic door thrown open to receive him, whose presence under their roof exposed them to a felon's death. So numerous and varied are the subjects of interest, that we must give up the attempt to do them justice. Two points, however, we must not omit. One is, the patriotism of these martyr priests, whose love of their country was scarcely less than their love of souls. The other is, their unfeigned love of their persecutors, and even of Elizabeth and her successors, which could spring only from a supernatural source.

In conclusion, we cannot too highly recommend this book to our readers ; nor can we omit to express our hope, that its wide circulation will recompense Mr. Jack for the public spirit which has led him to undertake its reproduction in so beautiful a form.

The Lectures of a Certain Professor. By the Rev. JOSEPH FARRELL. Macmillan : 1877.

"THERE are book and books," says our professor, and his own book is certainly a full commentary on his own dictum. If of the making of books there is no end,—and Mr. Farrell himself complains of the multitude of them that swarm on every side,—we at first incline to ask why this special book should ever have been written at all. As we turn over the pages, however, we confess to seeing reasons why ; for if the thoughts are not particularly new or particularly deep, they *are* thoughts, showing a good and wholesome mind, considerably cultivated, and yielding us chapters of very pleasant, gossiping reading. The book is somewhat spoilt by a strain of jaunty egotism, and a certain preachy trick of such expressions as, "let me tell you," "I would have you to know, dear friends," and the like, as if looking down from a professional or other pulpit upon the benches below. The pattern of all essayists, Charles Lamb, lets the quaint, richly-tinted stream of his thoughts flow out as if he could not help it, enjoying the rare, unique wit, as it rises and bubbles away, with any chance passer-by ; but he never speeches or preaches about any of it. The playfulness of Mr. Farrell's remarks—and they are often not only pleasantly playful, but pregnant also with matter—is marred by the undercurrent of himself, the perpetual sub-consciousness of "c'est moi qui vous le dis." But having pointed out those obvious faults, which every one must stumble over on the surface, let us for a few moments advert to the pleasant side of Mr. Farrell's book. In his chapter "About Books" we fall upon a good idea in reference to his standing in hesitation before the bookshelves, and, while reading the titles, balancing the subjects and their pleasures in the mind, as a man acquainted with books can well do.

"The golden minutes roll themselves into still more golden hours, and I have opened never a book. Perhaps, after all, . . . my 'brown study' "

may have stood me in good stead. Through the chambers of my brain has passed a goodly procession of the great thoughts of great minds. The music of remembered passages, and the melodies that have linked themselves imperishably with golden memories of the youth when first they bounded on my spirit's ear, raise their sweet, silent tunes within my heart. Perhaps I have been doing better than reading any books, however famous. I have, as it were, been extracting the subtlest essence of many books, and that is the sweetest perfume for the chambers whether of mind or heart" (pp. 35, 36).

It is a pity Mr. Farrell did not work out the deeper secret of another of his remarks in the same chapter, beginning with a "believe me," which should be left out.

"The great names in literature are rarely those of the men who, with the hands of giants and the hearts of heroes, have gone into the quarries of human thought, and hewed and blasted huge boulders from the mass. Rather are they the names of those who took the rough, undressed stones, and shaped and polished them, and built them into enduring structures,—whether the temple, or the palace, or the domestic home,—places where all generations come to pray, or to be guided, or to be happy" (p. 39).

There is a beautiful passage in the chapter "About Knowledge of the World," illustrated by the inner life of Paris, flaunting to the outsiders with cafés and boulevards, restaurants and glittering shops. The author, in illustrating the various strata of knowledge of any subject, gives an account of turning out of the gay surface-life of Paris, full of worldliness and sin, into the "Missions Etrangères," and witnessing the departure of twelve students for the Eastern missions. He describes the kissing of their feet, and their leaving the house without a word to any of their relations, going forth to almost certain death in China and Japan. Seeing these things, and knowing that they are a part of the yearly life of Paris, Mr. Farrell justly remarks upon the way in which that marvellous city may be intimately known in one sense, and yet remain a sealed book to those whose knowledge lies on the surface. And thus, he argues, if men would seek the good and not the evil in each other, there would not be that cynicism, "that evil knowledge that blossoms into scorn, the acquiring of which is like sowing salt, that not only produces no crop, but renders the soil for ever barren."

Again, in "About Life," there are beautiful thoughts upon materialism and utilitarianism, which can be pursued at leisure to greater depths than are there fully plumbed.

"The eyes of some insects are microscopic beyond conception, but such insects do not see in the blade of grass to which they cling what a man can see. . . . It is not the thing seen that matters, but the thing that lies behind it that it suggests. Thought must sit behind sight, if sight is to be of any permanent use. Nay, we must go farther still; it is not mere thought that stands,—lost spirits have it deep and keen,—but thought worked up by will into love" (p. 222).

But we have quoted more than enough to show that both the writing and the reading of the "Lectures of a Certain Professor" cannot be reckoned as loss of time.

The Marpingen Apparitions. From authentic German sources.

By CHARLES KEMEN. London: Washbourne.

PROBABLY most of our readers have made themselves acquainted with Prince Radzivil's account of the chain of remarkable circumstances that occurred at Marpingen, in the diocese of Treves, in Germany, during the years 1876 and 1877; and they will certainly be glad to see the pamphlet now before us, prefaced by Dr. Barry's admirable letter. The Professor of Theology at St. Mary's Oscott has done a public service by this letter, which, while giving the fullest and widest encouragement to belief in supernatural visitations according to the mind of the Catholic Church, yet throws out such clear suggestions of prudence as the Church also invariably practises in their case. At this moment no ecclesiastical authority can open an inquiry at Treves, owing to the troubles with the German Government, and under these circumstances the Church inevitably remains silent. And "whilst she is silent," as Dr. Barry says, "we may each of us form our own opinion, or abstain from forming one, according to the estimate we put on the various parts of the evidence." No devout person, Dr. Barry continues, could in the meanwhile feel startled, much less shocked, on hearing of a fresh apparition of our Lady. The circumstances also have a family likeness to others so well known to us. The appearances were vouchsafed to innocent children, while they were denied to many grown people, who afterwards accompanied them to the favoured spot. Again, there was an outflow of two wells of healing waters, giving occasion to a multitude of cures of the sick, always accompanied by the injunction to pray and repent. And lastly, a great concourse of pilgrims was drawn from all parts of Germany to Marpingen, in spite of the threats, chastisement, and every opposition of the Government. The whole story is well narrated in the ten chapters of Mr. Kemen's pamphlet, which is written, as Dr. Barry says, in the most simple and straightforward way. Marpingen is a little village six miles from St. Wendel, which again is on the railway line between the now historical Saarlouis and Kreuznach (or Creuznach). It contains about fifteen hundred mining and labouring inhabitants, who have for about a couple of centuries practised peculiar devotion to our Lady, even binding themselves by vow, in 1699, to abstain from work after the Angelus on Saturdays, and to say the Rosary publicly in the church. This vow was kept without intermission for a hundred years, till the French Republican troops, after the Revolution, occupied the village, and abolished all public worship. The vow was, however, renewed in 1814, and kept till 1847, when the Bishop of Treves released the inhabitants from the vow, while offering all who wished to renew it entrance into the confraternity of the Sacred Heart. The whole body of parishioners at once enrolled themselves as Children of Mary, and to this day it is the usual course for the children after First Communion to be enrolled in the guild. In July, 1876, three little girls of eight years old went out to gather whortleberries at Härtelwald, in the neighbourhood; and when the Angelus was rung they all knelt down to say it. Suddenly

one of them, who was rather apart from the others, uttered a loud cry, which made her companions run towards her, when they also shrieked out with fright, and all set off home as fast as they could run. They all said in answer to their mothers' questions, that they had seen a white lady ; and, in spite of rebukes and punishment, maintained their story. The next day the same children went again, as if irresistibly attracted to the wood, and knelt down to say three times the "Our Father" and "Hail Mary," when the same bright figure appeared before them. Losing at once their dread, they began to ask who she was, to which she replied, "*I am the spotless conceived one.*" That same evening a crowd of people and children accompanied the first three to the Härtelwald, when the three children, and no others, again saw the radiant figure, and put questions to her which were answered. The answers were heard, but still no one else saw the vision. This time the children were told to pray devoutly, and not commit sin. The next time our Lady said that a chapel of stone should be built on that spot, and that she would appear that day and the next again, and at one of the succeeding apparitions gave leave for sick people to be brought to be healed. Immediately the listening crowd ran joyfully to the village to fetch out their sick and diseased, who were guided by the three children to lay their hands on our Lady's foot. After a number of cures, and vast crowds of people had been to the spot, even carrying away the least fragment of the bush where the vision had first been seen, grown people were first allowed to see the apparition. As it appeared to them, it was no longer a *white* lady. "A light-blue veil, covering head and shoulders, descended to her feet ; rich fair hair glittered through it. . . . The garment which the Queen of Heaven wore was of a deep blue, and allowed the front part of her white feet to be seen a little. . . . The left hand . . . held the child Jesus, also dressed in light blue, His right hand raised as if in the act of blessing, His countenance beaming with the bright light of the mid-day sun."

Before the middle of July, pilgrimages of many thousands of people had passed through Marpingen, and on one day the three children had spent the entire time between eight in the morning till eleven at night in laying the hands of sick, maimed, and diseased people upon the Blessed Virgin's foot. Such unbefitting "disturbances," of course, could not be allowed to continue by the German Government. If our Blessed Lady must appear at all to her persecuted and oppressed children, she must do so in a quiet, orderly, not-to-be-wondered-at, regimental manner. Enthusiastic pilgrims, cures of sick people by otherwise than the physic-bottle of the village doctor, wells gushing out of hill-sides unauthorized by "most gracious" mayors and over-inspectors of the water-supply, were all wholly contradictory of the admirable military discipline of the Bismarckian period, in which also public teaching had loudly declared that the invisible and supernatural world had ceased to exist. The next day, accordingly, there was a military occupation of Marpingen, when the soldiers brutally conducted themselves, as if in an enemy's country. They seized, even with blows, the food and wine of the inhabitants, turned them out of their beds, and strictly prohibited any one from visiting the Härtelwald. The upper-

abundant well, which had sprung out suddenly after the apparitions had been seen, was filled with rubbish, and patrols were posted round the wells and through the wood. But notwithstanding every effort of the authorities, the visions continued to appear to many people and in many places during the time our Lady had herself mentioned, of one year and two months. Two priests were then arrested, and the three contumacious children were sent to the Protestant Reformatory at Saarbrück; though, as nothing whatever could be proved against either the pastor or the flock, they were all released in about two months afterwards. The pilgrims also flowed towards Marpingen in such bodies that the military sentries gave up their opposition in despair, and during the August of last year from 10,000 to 20,000 arrived every day. Among them were the Archduke Charles of Austria and his wife, and the Princess of Thurn and Taxis. The Government is apparently powerless to do any more than throw ridicule on what it calls "the Marpingen swindle." Meanwhile our readers will judge of the evidence for themselves.

Lenten Exercises. By ARCHBISHOP VAUGHAN. Sidney, 1877. Edward F. Flanagan.

IT is a pleasant task for us to welcome this volume, which comes like a voice from the ends of the earth, and increases our knowledge of the work of faith going on there. An absence of four years has not consigned to oblivion an author whose literary fame was wider than the household of faith; and his name, though it may stir still living regrets in the minds of many, will win for his work a warm greeting, yet not warmer than its own worth will justify. The discourses were preached last Lent by Archbishop Vaughan, in St. Mary's Pro-Cathedral, Sydney, and are inscribed by him "to all earnest persons who are struggling towards the unseen world, with a prayer that our Lord may lead them on." They will now serve a longer season than the period of their delivery, and a wider congregation than that which heard them from the lips of the eloquent prelate. As the Lenten season, during which the sermons were preached, was supposed to be, in a mitigated form, a time of Retreat, the truths chosen for consideration were the simple and fundamental ones, which commonly constitute the framework of "Spiritual Exercises"; namely, "the End of Man," "Sin," "Grace," "Prayer," "Confession," and "Communion." In the first exercise the preacher suddenly calls our attention to his purpose and his motive for choosing those truths:—

"But stay! before inviting your attention to this first meditation, one observation must be premised; and that is, that the object of these instructions is not to say new things, or propound new theories, or advance personal views, or broach novel questions. The main object is to touch upon what is old with the age of truth, and to enforce doctrines which have been handed down from the beginning: fundamental truths, cardinal doctrines of salvation, which contain within them the springs of life and

the seeds of immortality ; doctrines that elevate the interior man, expand his heart, enlighten his intellect, and fill him with something like to a Divine spirit of goodness, purity, and truth. We possess this human and intellectual comfort in our meditations, viz., that the truths which we are dealing with have come straight from the mouth of God, or from the revelation of our Saviour ; have been developed age after age by the highest intelligences, guided by the purest of hearts ; and have upon them the seal and the sanction of millions upon millions of the most exalted beings who have ever trod upon the earth. We are comforted with the thought that they have been at the root of all the growth there has been in the vast Church of God from the day of Pentecost till now ; and that they are the key to the secret of the successes achieved by weak flesh and blood in its contest with the fierce power of darkness, or the subtle blandishments of the world" (p. 5).

As the "Exercises" were given on Sunday evenings, and furnished the subject-matter of meditation in three distinct points for the ensuing week, it was necessary that the divisions should be of the most formal kind. But the reader will not find the work dry and uninteresting on that account. Each point is distinct as a link in its chain, complete in itself as a meditation, though closely connected, and ample enough to give the preacher room for a full and easy exposition of his subject. The style is simple, as popular preaching on the chief practical truths should be—simple, that is, as far as apprehension is concerned—and the eloquence consists in the never-failing flow of allusions and metaphors, the abundance of language, the vivid colours with which the subjects are portrayed, the evidence of close observation when the preacher's gaze is on the earth, and the sense of realization when he looks on the world beyond sense. Any "Exercise" will show the value of the volume, for its excellence is uniform ; but we shall give a brief extract from the one that would seem, *a priori*, the least interesting—that on "Grace." The life on earth which has not a knowledge of the supernatural gift, or any trust in it, is thus described :—

"The world, in the Scripture sense of that word, scorns the idea of Grace, and considers man sufficient for himself. Its pattern man is not the mortified recluse, or the contemplative monk or nun, or even the secular gentleman, who makes God his first consideration, and shuns bad thoughts, and overcomes evil devices, and lives a life of humility, purity, and love. No! such is not the typical man of the world. The world knows nothing of humility and spiritual self-distrust. Who ever heard of the world throwing itself on its knees, beating its breast, and declaring itself to be a sinner and an outcast? Who ever heard of the world combating the Devil, or waging war with the flesh, or putting its foot down upon honours, riches, and pleasures? Who ever heard of its sacrificing its present inheritance for the sake of a heavenly reward ; or admitting that of itself it could do nothing worthy, and requiring the assisting grace of God? We know it ; it is the maxim of the world to consider that itself is man's adequate reward, and that man is sufficient for himself ; to be rich, to be honoured here, to enjoy oneself, and to die quietly after a successful life and a happy one, is all that a reasonable creature need aspire after or covet" (p. 42).

In the Appendix, a fourth part of the whole volume, there are some

valuable and interesting discourses. The sermon on the "Domestic Life" (preached at the Blessing of the Presentation Convent), though on a theme that has been ably treated by several Catholic writers, namely, the purification of domestic life through the Christian idea of marriage, is conspicuous for ability and evidence of extensive learning. An answer to the address of the young men of Sydney, on the occasion of their presenting the Archbishop with a pastoral staff, is a valuable monograph on the office and claims of the Catholic Episcopate. Even on such commonplace occasions as replying to the children of the Convent School at Wagga-Wagga, or to a deputation of Catholics of the town, the Archbishop is prompt to say something well worth recording. For instance, taking as a suggestion an allusion to the glories of monastic history made in the address of the Catholics of Wagga-Wagga, he contrasts the result of Christian education, which had its highest form in the principle of monastic teaching, with the result of that popular system which, low in its aim and incomplete in extension, is the very opposite :—

"Take a notable example" (of what exclusively secular teaching can, at its best, accomplish). "If ever there was a pattern man of the Augustan age, surely that man was the poet Horace. He represents to us what was best and most refined in the Latin mind, and many of the most attractive traits of the Roman character. His friends adored him. He was generous and honourable. Mæcenas (?) loved him; Augustus himself treated him as a bosom friend. He was, as he says himself, 'a hog of the herd of Epicurus.' He tells us himself how carefully his father had him educated. For though his parent was a man of no family, and in narrow circumstances, he loved the child, and wished to preserve him from every harm. He refused to send him to a country school, but took him himself to Rome, and there, with his own eye, watched him and guarded him, and gave him every facility for acquiring all the information that the Augustan age could impart. Here, then, we have a specimen man, educated with the utmost care, and representing in his own person all that was best and highest in the life of a Roman citizen and in the career of a distinguished poet. He may be said to represent the result of the most exquisite culture that the schools of that day could bestow. If, then, you seek for the most successful outcome of the secular education of the empire, fix your eyes upon that king of poets, on Horace, the friend of Mæcenas (?) and Augustus, and the most cultivated intellect of the Roman world.

"Now let us look a little below this surface polish, and the spinnings of imagination, and the gymnastic of the mind. What were the ruling principles, not of the poet, but of the man, of that immortal personality which Horace, together with all others of the human race, possessed? 'Let us crown ourselves with roses, for to-morrow we die.' Of the providence of a Ruling Mind, he does not merely profess to have no notion, but he specifically denies it. The Gods, so far as he knows anything of them, 'Lie beside their nectar, careless of mankind!' With him, and on the principles of his training, earth ends all. If there be no heaven or no hell, he may be considered, possibly, a success; but if there be a heaven or a hell, he is one of the most egregious failures perpetrated by the joint action of worldly wisdom and pagan ignorance or disbelief" (p. 179).

We do not understand the application of the phrase "burning marl," twice repeated (pp. 11, 12), to the fire of hell. In the same sermon we

find, and do not like, the parallel and balanced clauses of this sentence : "Still, remember, fix the undoubted reality in your mind, that as sure as there is a God in Heaven there is a Devil in Hell." It may not have sounded harshly ; but, especially with the formidable capital letters used by the Australian publisher—whose part of the work, by the way, is good—it looks unpleasant, and unfortunately is repeated twice in worse form (pp. 14-18). A few blemishes of another kind may be laid to the printer's account. The founder of the Parsees is called "Zoroarter"; the friend of Horace has his name spelled "Mœcenas"; and the Irish poet has an additional letter to his name in *Sedulious*, which might be all right if it was put at the beginning. But these are trifles, and, being all we find in the whole work, though we have read it carefully, weigh little against the choice extracts that might be gathered from every page.

Daily Meditations on the Mysteries of our Holy Faith, and on the Lives of our Lord Jesus Christ and of the Saints. Translated from the Spanish of Rev. Father ALONZO DE ANDRADE, S.J. Burns & Oates. 1878.

THIS little book of a Jesuit father of the early part of the seventeenth century has the merit of short points full of Scriptural matter and solid considerations exciting to virtue in the most concise terms. This first part embraces the five weeks of Advent and the six weeks after Christmas, together with the chief mysteries of our Lord's life.

The Art of Knowing Ourselves ; or, the Looking-glass which does not Deceive. By F. JOHN PETER PINAMONTI, S.J. With Twelve Considerations on Death, by F. LUIGI DA NUZA, S.J., and Four on Eternity, by F. JOHN BAPTIST MANNI, S.J. Translated by the Author of "S. Willebrord." Burns & Oates. 1877.

IT is rather a pity that the editors and translators of the Society of Jesus indulge in title-pages of such undue length, for it is the only blot we can find in their publications. The exquisite treatise of F. Pinamonti, and the others less known, which complete this volume, are admirably translated, and the appropriate get-up of this charming little work sets it off to great advantage.

A Popular Defence of the Jesuits. By Mr. WILLIS NEVINS. Williams & Norgate, Henrietta-street, Covent-garden.

WE have received the above, which successfully treats of the expulsion of the society from Germany, and the "reasons why."

An Authentic Account of the Imprisonment and Martyrdom in the High-street at Glasgow, in the Year 1615, of Father John Ogilvie, of the Society of Jesus. Translated from the Latin by CHARLES J. KARSLAKE, Priest of the same Society. Burns & Oates. 1877.

THE absorbing interest of this little book is partly owing to the excellent taste of the translator,—who has also done that part of his work unusually well,—in leaving the brief, interrupted diary of the martyred priest to tell its own tale. We have thus the actual photograph of the discussions, questions, revilings, and singularly apt and wise replies and retorts of the Jesuit priest—*lifelike*—exactly as they occurred, so much so that we seem to be actually present at the various scenes, to hear the hard, envenomed accusations of the different judges, and the shouts of the crowd, and to become witnesses of the diabolic cruelty and heartlessness of the persecutors. Our blessed Lord, in some of His last instructions and exhortations to the apostles, promised them a mouth and a wisdom which no man could gainsay; and these words must recur in reading this vivid account of a Scottish martyr of the sixteenth century. It has been well done of F. Karslake to send out this life at this moment, when the hierarchy is on the point of being re-established in Scotland, and thus to deepen the sense in Scottish men and women of what was done and suffered in their country when the Catholic religion had been publicly declared to be no longer the religion of Scotland. The hatred of the Presbyterians was probably envenomed to a sharper poison by their determinate resistance to the forced Episcopalianism of the Crown, but at any rate it was a louder, a deeper, and a more diabolically savage hate even than that manifested in England to the faith. A good photograph of F. Ogilvie's spiritual face is prefixed to this admirable biographical sketch, to which are added also a few interesting woodcuts.

Evidences of Religion. By LOUIS JOUIN, Priest of the Society of Jesus, &c. &c. New York: O'Shea. 1877.

THIS timely volume in every sense deals with subjects of the first magnitude in a summary so clear and condensed as to make it a useful "handy book" towards helping Catholic students to consider and meet some of their most deadly difficulties. The introduction deals at once with these difficulties of unending denial, the absurdities of "an Infinite Number," an "Unknowable" God, and Pantheism, and asserts the freedom of the spiritual soul in opposition to the blind mechanism of forces. Beginning then with the necessity of worship and religion as the impulse to the duties of life, and defining the natural and supernatural states of man, the author passes to the possibility and necessity of revealed truths, and the nature of miracles and prophecy, as opposed to scientific phenomena and heathen oracles. He proceeds to give a short

review of the false and true credentials of religion, instancing Mahometanism, and again Judaism, which pointed to a more perfect revelation to come. This first, toughest portion of the book contains sixteen chapters. The second and larger part of fourteen chapters, treats of the Divinity of Christ and the planting of the Church with the same clear brevity and exact knowledge.

The Spirit of S. Francis of Assisi. Sermon preached in the Church of the Franciscan Fathers, Stratford, E. By the Rev. JAMES CONNOLLY. Burns & Oates, &c.

THIS Sermon is sold for the benefit of the admirable and hard-working community of Franciscan Fathers at Stratford, who have lately finished their church, but who are put to great straits to fit it up. We sincerely hope that, besides giving some help to this work, Mr. Connolly will spread a wider and deeper devotion to the loving apostle of the thirteenth century.

To Rome and Back; Fly-leaves from a Flying Tour. Edited by W. H. ANDERDON, S.J. London: Washbourne. 1877.

IN the preface the Editor states that the letters which are published collectively in this little book were written and sent home to a near relative during the time of the Jubilee. Their appearance in the "Weekly Register" was due to friends who gave no opportunity of withholding consent, and the writer's depreciation of her own sketches has made her reluctant to see them now reproduced. Reluctance for that reason is in this case quite unwarranted. Allowing for the fact that the letters were not intended for publication, but merely to form perhaps a sort of written journal for another, once they are united—a continuous narrative—there is nothing wanting to them to make a charming book. We are all tired of diaries of travel; but if all such diaries were like this one, simple and unpretentious, but full of a running word-picture all aglow with colour, we should not be inclined to dread books of travel as the most wearisome and uncalled-for species of made-up literature. It is almost impossible to choose an extract to give an example of the tone of description in these "Fly-leaves," because we are tempted by every chapter and every opening at haphazard. However, we may take part of the chapter headed "Venice," because every one knows that strange city of the sea, either from pictures or poetry, from Mr. Ruskin's "Stones of Venice," or from other books. But while we have heard of her bygone grandeur, her palaces, her doges, and her present state of "dying glory," there have seldom reached us any details of religious life in the city of gondolas such as we find here. The travellers have been to the green island of S. Elena, and return thence to see the past and present;

dreams of splendour and solemn realities mingle in a function of that religion which is the same in the past, and now, and to the end :—

“ Behind us rose the domes and *campanili* of the water city ; but far away to the right, across the burnished mirror of the sea and girding the whole horizon by a lofty amethystine ridge, were the Alps, their mighty snow-peaks shining in majestic purity as the evening sunlight fell upon them. Not a cloud in the deep Italian sky ; not a ripple on the sea ; no sound but the vesper bells, which from shore to shore were calling to each other in measured cadence—it was an hour for dreamland ! And then we swept away with the gondola’s strong swift strokes, and passing Santa Maria della Salute, we re-entered the grand canal between the sad beauty of the decaying palaces, passed under the bow-like curve of the Rialto, and found our way through the side canals to the church of a poor and pious parish priest, who had resolved to defy the tyranny of the Government by having the procession of the Blessed Sacrament outside. We were too late to see it in all its beauty, for they were re-entering the church, and we hurried in to find places, which we did comfortably close to the altar. But the sight outside was most devotional ; the sides of the callé, the narrow bridges, and a crowd of gondolas, all were thronged with people, who knelt in reverent devotion as the procession passed. Inside the church we found the altar a blaze of lights, banners, and flowers ; and all along the benches that lined the nave stood tall wax tapers and lighted torches. Between them the procession streamed in, the crowd following, with a loud band playing the most lively music. Such a curious, bright-coloured, quaint procession ; first, men in crimson silk doublets, the numerous confraternities, white and red, with the hooded mask, which conceals their faces and has a ghostly appearance ; gondoliers, too, and sailors, each holding an enormous wax taper or flambeau wreathed with flowers. Then came some little children in a sort of fleecy attire, which left their round rosy limbs bare, each one holding a flower-wreathed cross and leading a lamb in a string, its white shorn fleece dotted all over with tiny loops of blue and pink ribbon. I don’t know which looked most innocent, the lambs or the babies. . . . Then came the acolytes and priests, and under a gorgeous canopy was borne the Blessed Sacrament, and as it was placed upon the altar the organ pealed out, the band clashed and clanged, the people rose up and sang, and the *Te Deum* sounded like one voice.”

Besides such pleasant descriptions, there is evidence of much thought in parts of the book. The record of visits to shrines is also given in a simple manner that makes their interest vivid. For instance, in the city of S. Catherine of Siena.

“ We went to see her house this morning ; it looks just like the surrounding ones, and cannot be a whit altered from the time when she dwelt in it, except that her room is turned into a chapel. But her sleeping-place is intact, with the stone on which she used to rest her head ; the staircase, the kitchen, &c., all the same. . . . The chapel of S. Catherine in the Dominican church is lovely, and covered with Sodoma’s most devotional frescoes. Here also her head is preserved ; and the lower part of the church, where most of her heavenly communications occurred, is walled off as specially holy. We went in ; and I was much touched at a small slab let into the pavement, with a heart and a short inscription, saying that here she had received our Lord’s Heart in exchange for her own. It assists one’s faith very much to see all these things, and Siena is perfectly filled with memorials of these two saints, S. Bernardine

and S. Catherine. Would that its people were still impregnated with their atmosphere of sanctity; but I fear it is not so. The convents are entirely suppressed; only two Dominican monks remain, and they are obliged to wear a secular dress. A shopkeeper, where we bought some photographs, began to extol Garibaldi, and to laugh at a picture of S. Catherine."

Pio Nono ed il suo Episcopato nelle Diocesi di Spoleto ed Imola.
Da Teol. GIACOMO MARGOTTI. Torino.

THIS is one of the many books which were called forth by the Papal jubilee last year; but the name of the valiant editor of the "Unità Cattolica" distinguishes it from the rest, marking it at once as an accurate and valuable contribution to the history of Pius IX. His account is based only upon indisputable evidence. "A most eminent personage tried to obtain information from the Holy Father himself, but he could not succeed in overcoming the modest humility of the great Pontiff." However, his first pastoral letter as Bishop of Spoleto was obtained from a friend, and with this and an hitherto unpublished "Life of Pius IX.," and his own extraordinary knowledge of the history of many years in Italy, the Abate Margetti set to work to publish a thoroughly reliable narrative of that long, eventful, and fruitful episcopate. The unpublished "Life" had been composed at Rome by a writer "who had the most precious documents before him, and who had written it with the object of rectifying all those false and inexact statements which have been printed by many with the best intentions and in good faith." From this record of the five years' episcopate at Spoleto, and about that length of time at Imola, the two characteristics of the rule of the future Pope seem to have been his love of the poor, and that union of benevolence, power, and tact which now distinguish him at the Vatican, and which, in the days of his episcopate, enabled him always to master the hearts of his people, and to pass safely through situations of the utmost difficulty and danger. Every one knows how it grieved him to part from his beloved orphans in Rome when he was sent on the expedition to Chili. The same partiality for the orphaned little ones of Christ made itself manifest when he became Bishop. His orphanage at Imola bore witness to it, and previously, during his reign at Spoleto, his first care was to make arrangements for the systematic and effectual relief of distress. The institutions of charity founded by him counted amongst them the House of Refuge at Imola, to which he brought the Sisters of the Good Shepherd from Angers, to conduct a work which he had also specially at heart. As for that admirable tact and mastery of difficulties which arose from and was guided by his love of his flock, occasion for it was not long wanting at Spoleto. In 1831, when the people of Spoleto were rising in insurrection, he induced the Austrians to retire from the city, and by promises of provision for their wants and safe conduct to depart, he prevailed upon many of the insurgents to lay down their arms, and thus saved his people by a wonderful exercise of prudence and mercy. There is a story that on this occasion a written list of the rebels known to him being demanded from the Bishop, he was overcome by pity and solici-

tude for those committed to his care, and at the last moment cast the list into the fire ; and that he was summoned to Rome to explain his conduct to Pope Gregory. The well-informed author of this little work, who, as Editor of the "*Unità Cattolica*," has established his fame for sound opinions and accurate statements, tells us here that this story is entirely untrue. Monsignor Mastai threw no list into the fire, and was not called upon to give an account of any act of his. He pacified the rebellious factions, and received the blessings of his people and of the Pope. He did, indeed, go to Rome, but it was to obtain pardon for those insurgents who were remaining in Spoleto ; and on his return the horses were taken from his carriage, and the arms of a crowd of men drew it into the city amid loud acclamations of gratitude.

It is interesting to read here of the return of Pius IX., in 1857, to visit his former sees. At Spoleto he was received with illuminations, bonfires, and triumphal arches. But what pleased him most was the action of the municipality of Spoleto, who on this occasion distributed to those in need four thousand five hundred pounds of bread, and redeemed and gave back to their owners all the goods at the Monti di Pietà. Another expression of welcome which equally touched his heart, was the erection before the cathedral of a lofty column, surmounted by a statue of our Lady of the Immaculate Conception. At Imola he was greeted with equal demonstrations of joy ; but it is most likely that his greatest happiness there was his visit to the house of the Sisters of the Good Shepherd, where he encouraged the penitents and also the young who were under their guardian care, and where he was met by the children of his own orphanage, and leading them into a large room, talked familiarly with them, as if being in their midst he was in the home of his heart. This little work of the Abbate Margotti is preceded by an admirable photograph of the Holy Father, which, being different from the style of those most frequently seen, appears to give a more life-like and recent representation of him. In the end is the Latin text and Italian translation of his first Pastoral Letter as Archbishop of Imola.

Sketch of the Life of Henri Planchat, &c. &c., One of the Hostages massacred by the Commune at Belleville, May 26th, 1871, out of Hatred to Religion.

By MAURICE MAIGNEN. Translated from the French. With an Introductory Preface by the Rev. W. H. ANDERDON, S.J. Burns & Oates. 1877.

THE Abbé Planchat was a priest of the Congregation of the Brothers of S. Vincent de Paul, and we are glad that F. Anderdon expresses a wish, which must be re-echoed from a multitude of minds, that the way may be prepared for the establishment of this admirable institution in England. Such a congregation, living for and among the most destitute populations of our great cities, and ministering to them not in one stereotyped but in all kinds of ways, is indefinitely needed at this moment among us. This record of Abbé Planchat's life is, therefore, as timely as that of

his glorious death in the Rue de Haxo. Born at Bourbon-Vendée, in 1823, he was early distinguished for his love of sacred subjects and things, and at fourteen was sent to the College of S. Stanislaus for three years, and thence to Vaugirard, where the Jesuit Père Olivaint was for a long time rector. There young Planchat became a member of the lay Society of S. Vincent de Paul, and began to prepare for his future life of active and apostolic charity. In 1850 he was ordained priest, and immediately joined a very small community of Brothers of S. Vincent de Paul, in order to devote himself heart and soul to the poorest of the poor. The little community established many good works at Grenelle, among one of the poorest populations of Paris. Before the Society of S. Francis Regis had been formed, the Abbé Planchat effected some hundreds of marriages between people who had been living only in the bonds of sin. He laboured especially at the excellent work of the "Patronage" for young women out in service and workshops, and presided at their guild, the *Bon Conseil*, established, like so many other admirable things, by the saintly Bishop de la Bouillerie, then of Carcassonne. If among such various good works undertaken by Abbé Planchat any may be distinguished as supereminent, probably the "Patronage" of S. Anne for workmen and apprentices stands out as that productive of the most marvellous results. It was established in 1870, and was interrupted only by the siege of Paris, when every variety and office of charity that came in his way was discharged by him, who was truly called in Paris the apostle of the people. Such a life, and such universal enthusiastic love was most meetly crowned with martyrdom; and the narrative of Abbé Planchat's imprisonment, last sufferings, and the final massacre, will be read with emotion which seems ever to spring up, fresh and unworn, for the martyrs of the Commune.

Utterly unheeding the gathering storm of civil war, which was so soon to threaten Paris with utter destruction, Abbé Planchat had commenced on Palm Sunday the usual retreat preparatory to the Easter Communion of his workmen and apprentices. Holy Week opened with the arrest of the Archbishop and Vicars-general. On Maundy-Thursday, while M. Planchat was distributing to the mothers of the children who were about to make their first communion clothing for the occasion, a commissary of the Commune arrested him. Taken prisoner on the same day as his Divine Master, he was, like Him, pursued from guard-house to judgment-seat with the execrations of those for whose benefit alone he lived. After a week's confinement in the Prefecture he was removed to Mazas. M. Maignen gives a careful and, it need not be said, a most interesting and edifying account of the six weeks' "enforced retreat," as he called it, which prepared the holy priest for the crown of martyrdom. In what a spirit he spent them, let this brief extract from one of his letters tell:—

"I need your prayers now in a threefold sense, in order that I may hold myself in constant readiness to receive the fatal blow, which may fall at any time without previous warning and without opportunity for confession, and that I may maintain myself in unbroken union with God whilst I am dependent solely on the direct help of His grace; finally, that I may not lose, through the oft-recurring infirmity of my unmortified will, the merits of that saving cross now laid upon me by God for the good of my own soul and the welfare of my flock."

But every detail of his life at this time, and as many as possible have been piously gathered by M. Maignen, is equally characteristic of the sublime simplicity of his character. He fell on Friday, the 26th of May, amid that noble troop of holy priests and upright civil servants, brutally slaughtered by the Paris mob for their devotion respectively to the Church of God and the moral order of society. May their blood and their prayers strengthen in France the causes for which they died! We cannot too strongly recommend this most interesting book to our readers.

The Children's Garland, from the Best Poets. Selected and arranged by COVENTRY PATMORE. London: Macmillan.

CHILDREN'S books are a great difficulty in the present day of liberty of unlicensed printing. There is a profound truth in Pope's hackneyed line,—

“Just as the twig is bent the tree's inclined.”

How easily may a bad book in a child's hand incline his mind the wrong way for years and pervert his intellectual and moral development,

“Tortive and errant from its course of growth”!

In the little volume before us Mr. Coventry Patmore has endeavoured, as he tells us, to bring together nearly all the genuine poetry in our language fitted to please children of and from the age at which they have usually learned to read in common with grown-up people. The test applied in every instance, he adds, has been that of having actually pleased intelligent children. It is needless to say that an undertaking such as this, in the hands of so accomplished a poet as Mr. Coventry Patmore, has been carried out with excellent taste and great discretion. The oldest and the newest stores of English poetry have been explored for flowers for this garland, from the Earl of Surrey down to Mr. Mathew Arnold. Perhaps we should have hesitated to include the ballad of “Fair Rosamond,” charming as it is. But we have no doubt Mr. Patmore considered the question fully, and we are not prepared to say that he has decided it wrongly. It is excessively difficult to know exactly where to draw the line in such matters, and there is undoubtedly a real danger on the side of prudishness.

Letters on Music to a Lady. By LOUIS EHLERT. Translated by FANNY RAYMOND RITTER. London: William Reeves.

THE name of Ehlert is hardly known in England. In Germany he enjoys a considerable reputation, both as a composer and as a musical critic. The twenty letters contained in this little volume present his views about some of the great modern masters of his art. He begins with Beethoven, whose last compositions are his starting-point, and then goes on to Mendelssohn, Chopin, Berlioz, Schubert, Schumann, Rossini, and Meyerbeer. He writes always with feeling, and generally with judgment, but perhaps upon the whole in rather too transcendental a tone for the average English reader. “When I am in earnest,” he pleads, “I

must also be read earnestly"; an appeal which is likely to be more successful in his own country than here. There are, however, scattered through the volume sparkling little bits of criticism which every one will welcome. What can be happier than the following on Rossini?—"Rossini represents realism itself; his scores display the unfettered, unconcealed, simple sensuousness of the Italian nature; he is the typical expression of southern enjoyment of life, the audacious full enjoyment of the present. . . . The genius that sparkles in the Barbière is like a fine day at Sorrento, cloudless, brilliant with colour, and heavy with perfume" (p. 155).

Rubáiyat of Omar Khayyam, the Astronomer Poet of Persia. Rendered into English Verse. Third Edition. Quaritch.

THIS little book may serve, like so much else, to illustrate Solomon's dictum that there is nothing new under the sun. In its hundred quatrains we have the whole gist of the philosophy of materialism set forth with a clearness and precision which might put to the blush Mr. Huxley or Mr. Tyndall, and lighted up by touches of true poetic thought and feeling, that but serve to bring out more strongly the dreariness of the poet's creed. Here are a few verses by way of specimen of Omar Khayyam's mode of unravelling the "master knot of human fate."

Oh, threats of hell and hopes of paradise,
One thing at least is certain, this life flies;
One thing is certain and the rest is lies;
The flower that once has blown for ever dies.

The revelations of devout and learn'd
Who rose before us, and as prophets burn'd,
Are all but stories, which, awoke from sleep,
They told their fellows, and to sleep return'd.

I sent my soul through the Invisible
Some letter of that after-life to spell:
And, by-and-by my soul return'd to me,
And answer'd, "I myself am heav'n and hell!"

Heaven but the vision of fulfil'd desire,
And hell the shadow of a soul on fire,
Cast on the darkness into which ourselves
So late emerg'd from shall so soon expire.

And this is his practical conclusion:—

Ah, make the most of what we yet may spend,
Before we too into the dust descend,
Dust into dust, and under dust to lie,
Sans wine, sans song, sans singer, and—sans end,

Alike for those who for to-day prepare,
And those that after some to-morrow stare,
A muezzin from the Tower of Darkness cries
Fools! your reward is neither here nor there.

Thus did mediæval Persia anticipate the Gospel of the modern apostles and evangelists of matter.

Wrecked and Saved. By Mrs. PARSONS, &c. Burns & Oates. 1878.

MRS. PARSONS has given us, as usual, a story full of faith, good feeling, and common sense. The boy, Peter Sands, runs his persistent course by the help of prayer and the Sacraments, while another boy, Frederick Drake, who yields to temptation, narrowly escapes involving Peter in misfortune. In spite of his excellent life and character, Peter is put on his trial for murder, the circumstances of which, and the conclusion of the trial, are well told. "*Wrecked and Saved*" is an excellent book for schools and lending-libraries.

Erleston Glen. A Lancashire Story of the Sixteenth Century. By ALICE O'HANLON. Burns & Oates. 1878.

THOUGH not very much as a story, this is an excellent book, giving a faithful and lifelike transcript of the "troubles" of our forefathers. We welcome the even thrice-told tales of Lancashire or North country faith and persistence, and the homely annals of the Kidcote and Little Ease. The historical names, too, such as Anderton, Ashworth, and the like, are well preserved in this story, for they should always be held up to honour. Henry Anderton's interrupted marriage with Helen Rutherford, the hiding of the Jesuit priest, F. Christopher, and the breaking of the sacred image and emblems of the chapel by the sheriff's posse, are told in the clearest and most forcible manner, with unexaggerated truth. The death of Henry Anderton, also, and his mother's subsequent derangement, are thoroughly true to nature and full of pathos. The falling away of Walter Willoughby is also an incident of the times which it was well to bring prominently forward, though his love and lovemaking are the one unnecessary blot upon the book. One admirable feature in "*Erleston Glen*" is the prominence given to the pressure of persecution upon the lower middle classes, and the cruelty wrought upon the really pious and faithful yeomen, farmers, and labouring poor by giving them the single alternative of ruin or the renunciation of their faith. We have been accustomed to give all honour to the Stourtons, and Towneleys, and Vavasours of the North, and the long line of priestly martyrs and confessors to the faith; but we have scarcely sufficiently recognized the undercurrent of the yeoman and labouring population of Lancashire and Yorkshire, who, without the fiery enthusiasm and chivalrous esprit de corps, spiced with the hatred of the conquering race of the Irish, have clung persistently to the old faith. For deepening our sense of this fact, among other things, we are thankful to "*Erleston Glen*."

The Three Tabernacles : a Golden Treatise, by THOMAS À KEMPIS. Edited by the Rev. M. COMERFORD. Dublin : M. H. Gill & Son. 1877.

IN the year 1722 there was printed by S. Ballard, at the "Blue Bull," in Little Britain, a volume dedicated "to the unhappy sufferers by the Great National Calamity of the South Sea." It was the work of Dr. Willymott, of King's College, Cambridge, and comprised an English translation of the "Imitation of Christ," and also of this work now republished under the title of "*The Three Tabernacles*." The translation of Dr. Willymott is here retained, because of the beauty of its style, except in those passages where, in comparing it with the original, it was found that the sense had been altered or portions suppressed. The three tabernacles treated of in the colloquy between Christ and the disciple are humility, patience, and poverty. The plan of the treatise is shown in the second chapter, where the words of Peter on the Mount are quoted, and the desirable tabernacles are explained to be the virtues which specially characterized the three who appeared there in the Transfiguration. "Considering, therefore, the foresaid virtues in thyself, O Lord, and in certain of Thy servants, I find Thee of all things the most humble, Thy servant Moses exceeding meek, and Elias extremely poor." The subsequent chapters, carrying out this plan of the little treatise, form excellent subjects for meditation, and can have no stronger recommendation than the title-page, which bears the name of À Kempis. It is time that we should at length have been given, in modern and authorized form, these pages, advocating what he calls "three militant virtues."

The Unknown Eros and other Odes. Odes I.—XXXI. George Bell.

SOME months ago a few very striking poems appeared in the "Pall Mall Gazette," signed "C. P." We thought we could not be in error in judging these initials to denote Mr. Coventry Patmore, and yet we hesitated; for, although there were about the verses touches which recalled the "Angel in the House," they struck far other and stronger chords than are found there. The volume before us clears up the doubt. Here are our old favourites of the "Pall Mall," with much else of not lower merit or inferior interest; and although Mr. Patmore's name does not appear upon the title-page, the fact of his authorship is an open secret. The lines which, under the title of "Proem," usher in the rest, give the keynote of the book. His Mentor admonishes him :—

Say wherefore thou,
As under bondage of some bitter vow,
Warblest no word,
When all the rest are shouting to be heard?
Why leave the fervid running just when Fame
'Gan whispering of thy name,
Amongst the hard-pleased Judges of the Course?

And he replies:—

O season strange for song !
 And yet some timely Power persuades my lips.
 Is it England's parting soul that nerves my tongue,
 As other kingdoms, nearing their eclipse
 Have, in their latest bards, uplifted strong
 The voice that was their voice in earlier days ?
 Is it her sudden loud and piercing cry,
 The note which those that seem too weak to sign
 Will sometimes utter first before they die ?

This is, indeed, the keynote of the present volume, in which he gives to
 "hasty times and hard"—

Chants as of a lonely thrush's throat
 At latest eve,
 That does in each calm note
 Both joy and grieve,
 Notes few and strong and fine,
 Gilt with sweet day's decline,
 And sad with promise of a different sun.

But all the Odes are not in this strain. Take, for example, the following poem, one of those which appeared originally in the "*Pall Mall Gazette*." Singularly beautiful and touching it is ; perhaps the most beautiful of all. At all events it is one of the shortest, and so may be presented here in its entirety:—

IF I WERE DEAD.

"If I were dead," you'd sometimes say, "Poor Child!"
 The dear lips quivered as they spoke,
 And the tears broke
 From eyes which not to grieve me brightly smiled.
 Poor Child, poor Child !
 I seem to hear your laugh, your talk, your song.
 It is not true that Love will do no wrong.
 Poor Child !
 And did you think when you so cried and smiled,
 How I, in lonely nights should lie awake,
 And of those words your full avengers make ?
 Poor Child, poor Child !
 And now, unless it be
 That sweet amends thrice told are come to thee,
 O, God, have Thou no mercy upon me ?
 Poor Child!

Literary Primers. Edited by JOHN RICHARD GREEN, M.A.—*English Literature.* By the Rev. STOPFORD BROOKE, M.A. London: Macmillan.

A Guide to English Literature. By MATTHEW ARNOLD, in the *Nineteenth Century* for December, 1877. C. Kegan Paul.

MR. STOPFORD BROOKE has been fortunate. His "*Primer of English Literature*" has formed the subject of an article in the "*Nineteenth Century*," by one of the most competent and popular of living critics ; and the judgment has been in a high degree favourable. Mr. Matthew

Arnold's review is not, indeed, unmixed eulogy. He points out imperfections, suggests alterations, nay, occasionally begs the author "to make a clean sweep of all this." Nevertheless, he holds that Mr. Brooke possesses "all the qualifications of a good guide to English literature." He pronounces him to be "clear, short, interesting, observant of proportion, free from exaggeration, and free from arbitrariness." And in another place he says, "Freedom of touch, a treatment always the opposite of a pedantic treatment of things, make the great charm of Mr. Stopford Brooke's book." On the whole, we assent to Mr. Arnold's verdict. This little book is certainly a long way the best of its kind in our language; but the changes Mr. Arnold suggests would make it better still. There are, indeed, blemishes in it which Mr. Arnold has not noticed, and could hardly have been expected to notice,—blemishes, it is fair to add, which are very natural in an author who writes from Mr. Stopford Brooke's point of view. Thus the comparison of Wiclif to Wesley (p. 29) is certainly false and misleading, as well as very unfair to the founder of Methodism. Again, the proposition insinuated in the same page that the religious revolt in England which was consummated under Henry VIII. was the result of "strong cries for Truth and Purity in Life and in the Church," is a quite exploded superstition, and we wonder how Mr. Green, the editor of the series in which this Primer finds a place, could have allowed it to pass; for Mr. Green, at all events, knows something of English history.

Voltaire. By Col. HAMLEY. (Foreign Classics for English Readers, edited by Mrs. Oliphant.)

THE author of "Lady Lee's Widowhood" here gives us, in some two hundred pages, a sketch of the life and work of the most conspicuous of the "philosophes." We need hardly say that the standpoint from which Col. Hamley regards Voltaire is very different from that which we should choose, and that the view of him presented in this little volume is not such as we can adopt as it stands. With a few exceptions indeed, we do not know that we should be disposed to object very strongly to anything Col. Hamley asserts about the patriarch of Ferney. As a specimen of such exceptions we may instance the proposition that "the morality of the New Testament was altogether in unison with his creed" (p. 190), a proposition which it is difficult to understand, except upon the hypothesis that Col. Hamley's acquaintance with the morality of the New Testament is by no means intimate. But our complaint would rather be that much which ought to be said, in order to a correct appreciation of the cause and results of Voltaire's influence, is left unsaid, and that the general impression produced is therefore misleading. Here, however, first principles come in. Where, indeed, do they not come in? Our way of telling Voltaire's story and of judging of his relation to his times and ours, would differ widely from Col. Hamley's, because we apply to history and to the biographies of which history is made up, quite

another philosophy. As a mere bit of literary workmanship, this book is entitled to very high praise. The style is always clear, easy, and flowing, and is occasionally lighted up by happy little epigrammatic touches. Thus Voltaire's niece, Madame Denis, is described as "a short, fat woman, vulgar, unfeeling, extravagant, and fond of gaiety, who seems to have devoted herself generally to promote his unhappiness" (p. 199). And in an earlier page we read of "the laced suit and perruque, which called themselves Louis XV. and which resemble nothing so much as Feathertop, who was put together, clothed, and inspired with a kind of vitality by the old witch in Hawthorne's tale" (p. 147). On the other hand, we here and there meet with literary judgments which seem hardly sufficiently considered; as where we are told that Goethe "may perhaps alone contest Voltaire's pre-eminence in the field of letters" (p. 185). Col. Hamley's translations of Voltaire's verses are invariably good, and sometimes reach a very high degree of merit.

The Battle of Connemara. By KATHLEEN O'MEARA, Author of "Iza's Story," "Life of Thomas Grant, First Bishop of Southwark," &c. London: R. Washbourne. 1878.

THIS is the story of the conversion of an English lady, who, having married an Irishman, Colonel Blake, is thus led to live in "the wilds of Connemara," and who embraces the ancient faith at last, because of her experience of its practical working among the people there; and also because of her acquaintance with an English priest visiting Ireland, who, at first much to her dissatisfaction, had become her husband's guest. There is no controversy, and it is more a story of Irish life than anything else; the peasantry of that rough, storm-washed bit of Atlantic coast having their native brightness set off by a foil in the shape of glimpses of life in Paris during Lady Margaret's stay there at the end of the Franco-Prussian war. Everything else is but a sketch compared with the Irish scenes, which are written *con amore*, and though not very highly coloured, are faithful to life. Perhaps the best chapter is the description of the morning at the little roadside chapel, when Mr. Ringwood, the priest, whom chance has led into that remote district, goes to say Mass, the people who have crowded in praying in their own tongue, and those who knew his language coming beforehand to confess to him in English. There are not wanting humorous touches even about this solemn though simple picture. First, it is on Colonel Blake's fat cob that the priest makes his way to the chapel, the roads being deep with mire, and Burke remarking to him, "What did that matter so long as it was fine and dhry overhead?" The chapel itself—thatched, whitewashed, earthen-floored, more like a barn—is well described; and the peasants kneeling "before the poverty-stricken shrine, praying as he had never seen people pray before." "Young Ruin" is to act as sacristan and serve Mass; and the loquacious Dan explains, "We have vestments of our own; but it's

Young Ruin that keeps them." . . . "As Dan opened the sacristy door . . . a tall, portly man, on the shady side of fifty came in, carrying a long flat box under his arm. 'Here he is himself, yer Riverence! It's Young Ruin,' cried Dan. Some of these Connemara pages are so good that it is to be regretted that the rest of the book is not better, and free from certain flaws. There is sometimes an incorrect use of words, and in other cases a certain want of clearness, or perhaps we might say correctness, of ideas. For instance, it is said of Lady Margaret during the Siege of Paris, "She did not mind starving, one got used to it; but the *perishing* was *awful*." And certain passages, regarding the ocean, the horizon, and the next world, should have shown their correctness by more distinct expression, if it was possible to show it. After her husband's death, Lady Margaret spends much of her time sitting on the cliffs looking out over the Atlantic waves.

"It seemed as if gazing and gazing at that far-away horizon drew her nearer to it—to the mystic brink it symbolized. The blue-green line where sky and ocean kissed, was like a bridge to that spirit world where the loved ones gone before were dwelling. Would her patient watch remain always unrewarded? Would the moment never come when that silvery sapphire veil would lift and let her snatch a glimpse of the mysterious world behind it? . . . Wonderful unquiet-hearted ocean! Symbol of human life and of man's unresting spirit, ever the same and ever changing; now lashed by passionate stormwinds, and filling the earth with 'the tumult of thy mighty harmonies'; now lifted up in shouts of victory and exultation; to-day sighing in *soft sphere-music*; to-morrow shrieking in wild lament; never at rest, never satisfied, *eternally journeying on to that unseen shore where the going and the coming streams meet and lose themselves in the ocean of eternity.*"

There are also some slight mistakes as regards Paris and the war. How was Mr. Ringwood setting out for the frontier as a French army chaplain, when the Prussians were close upon Paris? This short story has many good points, but at the end it leaves the impression that the pen that wrote it is not so well fitted to write fiction as to record the facts of good and great lives, as we have gratefully seen it record those of Dr. Grant and Frederic Ozanam.

The Catholic Hymn-Book. Compiled by the Rev. LANGTON GEORGE VERR. London: R. Washbourne. 1877.

FOR a long time, our hymns have been scattered, some in one manual, some in another. At last, a much-needed work has been done by the publication of a very large and admirably-chosen collection, at the price of a few pence—a merely nominal price, which ought to spread these popular songs of faith still wider in churches and schools and homes. Amongst these two hundred and nine hymns are to be found all the old favourites, and many original ones now first published and addressed to the English Saints. To show the variety of the collection, we may

instance that F. Faber's immortal verses appear in it. F. Newman's sublime anthem from the "Dream of Gerontius," "Praise to the Holiest in the height"; a hymn to the English Saints, extracted by permission from a work of the late F. Caswall, and many new stanzas headed by Saxon names, held in special veneration in different English dioceses. The compiler has supplied a long-existing want by putting thus within the reach of all, such a store of those verses which may be ranked among our riches, because they become known to the masses, and have a teaching power at once over head and heart, imparting the truth, not only of doctrine but of religious feeling.

Réglement Ecclésiastique de Pierre le Grand. Traduit en Français sur le Russe, avec Introduction et Notes par le R. P. C. TONDINI, Barnabite. Édition accompagnée par la traduction latine, imprimée à St. Pétersbourg en 1785, par les soins du Prince Grégoire Potemkin, du texte Russe original; et de l'instruction du procureur suprême du synode. Paris, London, Bruxelles. 1874.

Anglicanism, Old Catholicism, and the Union of the Christian Episcopal Churches. An Essay on the Religious Question of Russia, by the Rev. CÆSARIUS TONDINI, Barnabite. London: Pickering. 1875.

The Future of the Russian Church. By the Rev. Father CÆSARIUS TONDINI. New York: Catholic Publication Society. London: Pickering. 1876.

F. TONDINI has made the subject of the Russian Church his own by the perseverance and intelligence with which he has studied its history, its constitution, and its action, and the zeal he has devoted to the apostolate of prayer for its reunion with the Holy See, an apostolate bequeathed to him by his friend and brother in religion, F. Schouvaloff, himself a convert from the Russian schism. Of the three works before us the first is the most important. It contains the Russian text, with a Latin and French version of the fundamental statutes of the Czar-made Church of Russia. The version is accompanied by notes taken, for the most part, from Russian sources, and displaying a wide range of reading in a language that is all but unknown to most students and writers in the West. This makes the book invaluable, and a necessity for all who wish to understand clearly what the Russian Church is. The "Réglement" enters into every detail of the organization and the life of the national Church, which Peter the Great succeeded in converting into a submissive department of the State. His father, Alexis Nikhailovitch, had prepared the way for his work by his victorious conflict with Nikon, the last free Patriarch of Moscow. "What is more iniquitous," said Nikon, "than for the Czar to judge bishops, taking to himself a power which has not

been given him by God? Where is now obedience to the Word of the Gospel, and the observance of His holy commandments? That is an apostasy from God." Nikon's protest was in vain. In 1666-67 he was abandoned and condemned by his own brethren of the Episcopate, the Czar triumphed over the Church, and in the year 1700 Peter the Great bound it in fetters to the throne by abolishing the Patriarchate of Moscow and establishing the Supreme Synod. For the future government of the enslaved Church he had the "Ecclesiastical Regulations" drawn up and published. Their actual author, whose remarkable career is sketched in F. Tondini's Introduction, was Theophanes Prokopovitch, a courtly ecclesiastic, who attracted Peter's attention by a sermon on the victory of Pultowa, and by unhesitating subservience to the Czar, advanced from dignity to dignity, till he died Archbishop of Novgorod and Vice-President of the Synod. Prokopovitch wrote the statutes contained in the "Regulation," but Peter made them his own by retouching and correcting them, and finally confirmed them by a Ukase in 1721. We trust that now that political events are attracting general attention to the affairs of the Russian Church, F. Tondini's scholarly edition of its fundamental laws will have a wide circulation amongst Catholic readers.

The second work before us is a pamphlet called forth by certain assertions of Mr. Gladstone's in his now half-forgotten onslaught on "Vaticanism." It proves most conclusively that Mr. Gladstone was in error when he supposed that "popular election and control" of the episcopate "still subsisted in the Christian East," and it exposes the absurdity of the plan so much in favour in certain English High Church circles for uniting the Anglican and the Eastern Church, and finding a link for this purpose in the Old Catholic schism.

The interesting pamphlet on "The Future of the Russian Church" is a reprint of a series of articles which we remember having read about two years ago in the "Catholic World," of New York. In order to obtain a basis for any forecast of the future, F. Tondini deals at great length with the present condition of the Russian Church, and in his pages is to be found much information, that, at least in a popular and easily accessible form, is to be met with nowhere else. The facts he brings forward from sources in the main friendly to Russia, reveal a growing disorganization in the National Church. F. Tondini expresses a hope that the changes in progress will eventually tend towards Catholic unity, and gives certain grounds for his belief. Making allowance here and there for a certain vagueness of statement, we have nothing but praise for the pamphlet. We may, perhaps, be able later on to review it and the "Réglement" at greater length. The two works taken together give a very complete view of the Russian Church.

Shall we seek Reconciliation with the Roman Bishop? A Question for High Churchmen. London: Burns & Oates. 1877.

THE title and the phraseology adopted in this little pamphlet would lead one to believe that the author was himself a High Churchman, were it not that a note to the reader, printed immediately after the title-page, informs us that "where the words *us* and *we* are retained, it is solely with the view of entering more plainly into the difficulties and miseries of those who still remain outside the household of Faith. From these difficulties and miseries the writer is, by the mercy of God, now happily free." This effort to speak from another man's position gives at times a kind of constraint to the style. It has certain advantages, of course, in the way of making it easier to state a difficulty in the way in which one hopes to bring the reader to face it; but it has also many dangers, and we must congratulate the writer before us on a certain amount of daring in having thus put himself in his adversaries' place, in order to convince them that their position is untenable.

The writer does not hesitate to use plain words, and to call a sham a sham; he ranges over a wide field, shows much reading, and succeeds in making many home-thrusts. We might quote page after page of clear exposition of truth, or clever satire upon error. Take, for instance, the following account of the attitude of the bishops of the Church of England:—

"That Church has no moral or religious cohesion or unity whatever; but it has a visible iron bond and worldly unity in the civil power. The State refuses to 'turn out' one party to please another; hence, whether they will or not, churchmen are handcuffed and kept together. The bishops do not exactly know whether they are the ministers of God or Cæsar. They are constantly endeavouring to cut the mean between these two extremes, God and Cæsar. This mean they call '*comprehensiveness*.' Neither as individuals nor as a corporate body have they the slightest hold upon the religious feelings of the people, but they are highly respected as peers of the realm. Their position as peers will, of course, terminate with the Establishment. Attacks upon the Establishment are to the bishops worse than heresy. The mission of an Anglican bishop is so to temper and dilute the Christian verity that none but fanatical sticklers for obsolete truths can complain of the Church of England. . . . The Ritualists speak of the episcopate as having supernatural powers, which the bewildered old bishops have always been taught, and have taught others, are mere Popish pretensions. The most amusing part of an Anglican bishop is his sublime ignorance of his functions, according to the Ritualistic idea of a bishop's functions. . . . The attempt to thrust a false character on these venerable and highly-respected officials of the Establishment is evident, as they can never be brought to *believe* in the things High Churchmen would fain credit them with."

Again he says:—

"A short time ago there was an assemblage of German schismatics, individuals belonging to Oriental sects, some tourist clergymen, a self-deputed bishop of the Church of England, and sundry others, at Bonn, for the purpose of trying to come to some amicable conclusion about

the Christian religion. They began with a '*readjustment of the Trinity*,' and something like a confusion of tongues fell upon them.

"Probably the first thing Churchmen will have to do when they come to settle the terms of their belief as an independent religious society, will be to decide upon the same question.

"Given a fair representative assemblage of Anglican bishops, clergy and laity, and put the propriety of retaining the three creeds to the vote—tableau.

"Comprehensiveness is very good, when enforced by an iron authority perfectly indifferent as to the truth or error of the various whims and aberrations of the 'Christian mind'; but comprehensiveness put to the vote!"

Our author is very happy in his brief telling treatment of the Syllabus and the Vatican Council. One of the chapters contains a concise exposition of the question of Anglican orders, in which the argument loses nothing of its force by being condensed. Throughout, the main question of reunion with the Holy See is kept steadily in sight. The reasoning is close and to the point, and if there is some hard hitting, there is throughout an undercurrent of good-humour and good-will. The little book is, we think, calculated to do good work among Anglicans. It tells them frankly some startling truths. If they would face them for a single hour, they could not stand still where they are.

Correspondence.

"THE PARADISE OF THE CHRISTIAN SOUL."

To the Editor of the "DUBLIN REVIEW."

DEAR SIR,—In your notice of "The Paradise of the Christian Soul" in the DUBLIN REVIEW for October last, you have stated that "this edition (of 1877) is a new and complete translation." As this is so far from being the fact, that it is only a reprint of the "new and complete translation" in the original edition of 1850, of which I was the Editor, I beg that you will have the goodness to correct that statement in your next number. Some of my co-contributors to that work are still living, but some also are deceased; and to say that what they wrote in or before 1850 was not written till 1877, is to ascribe to others the fruits of their labours, and do them a serious injury.

I am, dear Sir, yours faithfully,

H. W. LLOYD.

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, KENSINGTON.

Dec. 31, 1877.

THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

APRIL, 1878.

ART. I.—PIUS THE NINTH.

Pius The Ninth. By JOHN FRANCIS MAGUIRE, M.P. New edition, revised and brought down to the Accession of Pope Leo XIII. By the Right Rev. Monsignor Patterson, President of S. Edmund's College, Ware. With two portraits. London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1878.

IT is not easy to write on so great a theme as that which heads this article. Pius IX. was too grand a figure in this century of littleness, and we are still too near him, for us to form a just estimate of his influence on this age, and on those which are yet to come. Yet we feel that the nature of our work as reviewers of matters of supreme interest to Catholics makes it imperative that we should not publish for the first time since our great and dearly-loved Chief Pastor has been taken from us without some attempt at least to express what we believe all intelligent people, whether Catholics or not, cannot fail to feel as so heavy a loss to the whole civilized world.

The work, of which the new edition whose title stands at the head of these remarks has just appeared, was written by its late author at a time when Pius IX. had been restored to his temporal sovereignty by the arms of the noble French nation, and it is significant to find recorded that Napoleon III., then a member of the National Assembly, not content with voting against the French expedition to Rome in 1849, made a speech, very respectful and moderate in form, in which he declared his opinion that this mode of restoration was not calculated to be durable, nor likely to produce the ends for which it was designed by its promoters. Mr. Maguire's book, in its original form, was mainly directed to give trustworthy testimony to the fact, that the civil rule of the Pope was such as to merit the name of good government; and though, as the preface to the present edition tells us, it has been thought now expedient to omit in great measure this vindication, because that government has been violently destroyed, and is unlikely

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to return in the precise form which it then presented, it would seem to us that for our present purpose—viz., that of putting forward some data for an immediate appreciation of the greatness of the late Pope's character and career—we cannot pass over a subject matter which must ever form a great, nay a chief, element in every adequate attempt to estimate these duly and at their proper worth. No doubt the great personal qualities of Pius IX., and the extraordinary power and wide range of his activity in the essential sphere of his high office as Vicar of Christ on earth and Head of the Universal Church will always remain in the mind of the Church and in the page of history, as hitherto unrivalled, and probably so to remain; but next to these mainsprings of his moral grandeur, the part which he played in regard to the temporal Principality of the Roman See will necessarily occupy the attention, and we believe command the reverence, of men of thought in every age. We purpose, therefore, briefly to touch on our subject under the triple form thus indicated, and to say as briefly as we can what we believe to be the unvarnished truth concerning this great Pope, his work and being, during his thirty-two years of Pontificate.

The character and personal qualities of Pius IX. seem to us to have been capable of description by one word, and only one word. He was papal. By which we mean not merely that he filled the papal see with an astonishing fitness and completeness, which was so manifest, that no one, we believe, ever approached him without being struck and attracted by this quality, whether they could define it or not, but that his whole being was built and contrived, if one may be allowed the term, by the Author of nature and of grace, for this end in a special sense. To make our meaning clear, we will illustrate it thus: Amidst the practically infinite variety of character with which we come in contact in the course of life, it seems to most of us, we suppose, that those whom we see filling certain positions are more or less, and more or less palpably, wanting in certain qualities of mind, of soul, and of body, which those positions require for their adequate or ideal fulfilment. From those initial and most intimate relations of the family and the household, to which all mankind are called with life itself, upwards or outwards, to the most extended or the most influential positions in human society which man can occupy, we see that the whole success and happiness of life depends on the more or less of fitness which the individual possesses for the relations in which he finds himself or herself with his fellow-creatures. No qualities, no endowments, no culture, no graces, which do not include this fitness, can be sufficient to take its place. We

have various names by which we designate this fitness in the individual, and it suffices to predicate of any one that they possess it or possess it not, to give a judgment or verdict on them which conveys either the highest praise or, it may be, the most extreme blame. Thus of the sexes, if we give to a woman all the praise of virtue and intelligence, of culture, of tact, and knowledge of the world, but deny her that of being feminine, we condemn her with a condemnation which only augments in proportion to the degree in which her other qualities are praised. A woman's highest praise is that she is womanly, as a man's is that he is manly; a mother's that she is motherly; a child's that he is filial; and similarly in all the relations of life the scale of perfection lies in the fulfilment by each of that ideal of his relations to others, which is laid up in the minds of all because it lies, first and in unapproachable adequacy, in the mind of God Himself. Now what is the ideal of the Pope? It may perhaps be best conceived by a cumulation of the ideals of those essential characters which go to make up the Pope. The Pope is, 1st, a baptized Christian; 2nd, an ecclesiastic; 3rd, an ordained and consecrated Priest and Bishop; 4th, the one supreme representative of the Incarnate Word, Whose is all power upon this earth. In him, therefore, there must be the ineffable and mysterious but most definite and sensible aroma of the Christian character; that indelible mark put upon the soul in holy baptism, of which the Apostle speaks as the "good odour of Christ" (2 Cor. ii. 15), a sweet all-pervading savour, which makes the Catholic Christian something distinct from anything which the world has ever produced, always and under all circumstances true and consistent with himself, Christ-like not only in the faith whereby he overcomes the world, and in the sublimity of a code of morals to which that faith alone can give birth, but in his whole being and spirit, because the life which is in him is not his own, but the life of Christ, through the indwelling of a Divine Person, His Holy Spirit, in each of the true members of His Body. To this we must add, that special grace of vocation to the service of God in His sanctuary, which "no man taketh to himself but he that is called as was Aaron": a grace of the keenest perception and relish for the mind of the Church on every subject, to the exclusion of all adverse, and the subjection and subordination of all other, minds, such as the national, the caste, the hereditary and every other point of view or departure; a grace of zeal for God and for the glory of His house, that is, for His Church in all its divine fulness of organization, in all its historic manifestation of divine life and power, in all its inheritance of beauty and high dominion over every development of man's intelligence; a grace of life-

long never-swerving detachment from the objects of sense and ever-increasing love for the supernatural order, and all that holds of it. And then, further, he must have in its fulness the priestly spirit, the tender father's heart, which yearns over the souls of men with a love more than a mother's for her first-born, so that he can say, with the Apostle, that "he wished himself anathema for his brethren's sake" (Rom. ix. 3), and the daily immolation of himself as a holocaust, consumed and eaten up by the fire of the love of Christ's Sacred Heart, to which He is united in the sacraments and sacrifice of the altar; and to this again we must add the plenitude of the paternal spirit, which is the special gift of Episcopal consecration, as it were the instinctive and spontaneous outpouring of the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, of which he is at once the result and the depository. To these characters the Pope adds that which is his own singular gift, the direct personal representation of his Lord, as in a kind of living sacrament; for nothing on earth save the Divine Sacrament of the Eucharist, which is Christ Himself, and the holy elements by which the other Sacraments convey the Holy Ghost to the souls of men, is so sacred or so mighty in spiritual power as the Person of Christ's Vicar upon earth. And to this character he adds the special hereditary likeness of the Prince of the Apostles, Peter, to whom alone and to *his* successors, and not to those of the other Apostles, is given the paternity of the whole flock of Christ. He alone of all mankind had the faith of Christ revealed to him for this paternity, not by flesh and blood, not by the Son of God made man, but by the Eternal Father (Mat. xvi. 17), from whom all paternity is named (Eph. iii. 15) "in heaven and on earth," and that the excellence of this transcendent gift and of its uses may be the more manifestly divine, Peter, before all the rest, is allowed to fall most deeply, that he may learn by experience the inexhaustible treasures of that ministry of reconciliation through the Blood of Christ, of which he in his successors is to be the custodian and free dispenser to the end of time, so that in compunction and humility as the servant of the servants of God he may reign securely in the House of God. What Christ is by essence and nature (Isaiah xxii. 22; xxvi. 16; Luke xxii. 32, &c.), key-bearer of the House of David, opening and no man shuts, shutting and no man opens, Rock of Ages, Good Shepherd, in His faith neither deceiving nor to be deceived, but confirming even His inspired brethren, to whom *all* power is given in Heaven and on earth, that the successor of Peter is by the express word and commission of his Lord and Master by communication and participation of those self-same gifts through Him by the Spirit.

To be all this in thought and conviction, in word and in deed, to be so at all times, under all circumstances in every relation of life, never to take any interest in any human thing or person but from this point of view is to be papal. Now this is precisely the *gratia status* which God bestows on His Vicars, as their history testifies to any one who cares to know it; and this was in an eminent degree the grace of Pius IX. His whole being was by nature wonderfully prepared to receive it, as it were, *ex condigno*. Most of us have had occasion to remark in others, not always, but yet not unfrequently, the peculiar fitness which they show for their state or calling, so that when we first have opportunity to see them exercise the functions of their vocation, we say that they look, or speak, or act "as if they were born to it," or "as if they had done so all their lives," or some such phrase. This was precisely what one saw eminently in the late Pope. It seemed as if he had come into the world such as he was in all exterior and interior qualities as completely fitted for that high office as man could be. It seemed to him, as people say, to come naturally to be in all things papal. Shakspeare talks of the "majesty" which "doth hedge a king," and in Pius IX. this royal bearing was manifest to such a degree that no one could see him without feeling its effects, but withal tempered and informed with such a sweetness of fatherly love that the little children stretched out their arms, and, if they could, ran to him to be caressed or noticed. It seemed as if he had never lost the sound of those words which are addressed to the new Pope by the Cardinal first Deacon of the Roman Church when he places the triple crown upon his head:—"Scias te Esse patrem principum et regum, rectorem orbis, in terrâ Vicarium Salvatoris Jesu Christi, cui est honor et gloria in sæcula sæculorum. Amen." "Know that Thou art the father of princes and of kings, the ruler of the world, Vicar on earth of our Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom be honour and glory for ever and ever. Amen." This was his special praise, that he was papal, and that in an extraordinary degree, by which we mean that he was eminently Catholic, eminently ecclesiastical, priestly, and Episcopal, and, more than all, eminently the type and ideal of Christ's Vicegerent and Peter's successor. By this description, however, we must not be supposed to mean that he was constrained or artificial. No truly Catholic man, much less a Catholic ecclesiastic can be this, but Pius IX. was the very reverse of it. No one put shy or reserved people more at their ease than he did. He was, in fact, thoroughly genial and unconstrained, and the reverse of what University men call "donnish," yet never did this simplicity degenerate into a freedom which could tempt others to forget

his dignity or take any liberty which they should not in his presence. The largeness of heart and mind, which are the exclusive property of Catholics, and which are beyond all doubt one of the most marked characteristics of the Roman Church, as indeed it would be strange if they were not, shone with extraordinary brilliancy in the Pope. No man could utter more truly Terence's "*humani nihil a me alienum puto*," for neither creed, nor race, nor nation, nor tongue, nor class, nor calling, ever stayed the flow of his loving kindly interest in all mankind. Few men, few princes, or even few Popes, were more cruelly betrayed, more bitterly reviled, more heartlessly mocked, or more persistently calumniated and misrepresented than Pius IX., and yet no shadow of bitterness or sourness fell on his mind to the very last. He was wonderfully outspoken, and yet never offended the law of charity. As Monsignor Patterson says ("*Pius the Ninth*," p. 369):—

The late Pope's freedom of speech about things and persons never degenerated into uncharitable censure. While others were wounded and made bitter by the astounding hypocrisy of the Italian Government, the Pope never said anything of individuals (as apart from their policy, which he unfailingly denounced as it deserved) stronger than '*pover uomo*' (poor man), or such like phrases. The great characteristic which age and misfortune brought out more and more distinctly was an unshaken and unbounded confidence in God. It was the habit of his whole life to live in, and borrow all his phraseology and modes of expression and illustration from Holy Scripture, and to listen to him was usually to listen to a string of allusions to Scripture, and especially to the Psalms. It is obvious how the habit of continual trustful reference of all things to God, to His Holy Will, His providence, His loving care for His own, and His unfailing though often long retarded judgments on the wicked, both found an adequate expression in the inspired Word of God, and made that Word ever more and more a light and guide to his ways. The Pope remarked to the present writer, now nearly twenty-five years ago, that whereas the flood of revolution in France had broken and interrupted the old traditions of Catholic life, in Italy that deluge had never arrived at such a pitch, and no one could help seeing in the Pope himself a striking illustration of this truth. Those who know Italy, not the Italy of tourists and English and French clubs, of valets de place, newspaper writers and hotel-keepers, but the real Italy of the Italians, will have remarked how the whole of its intimate life, domestic and social, its colloquial and literary language, and the habits of thought of the millions, especially in the Papal States, are imbued with the faith and what flows from it. In all the churches frequented by the people, there are year by year courses of catechetical instruction and instructions on Holy Scripture, so that the talk of the people is perpetually interlarded with Christian and Scriptural doctrine and allusion. Their very jests and proverbs, nay, even

their oaths and objurations, have a substratum of theology without which they are not intelligible.

Pope Pius IX. was the most Italian of Italians, as in deeper things, so also in the ready jest which had some base of Christian and Catholic meaning on which it turned. Thus last year, when in the spring several of the Cardinals died in a short space of time, and Monsignor Macchi, alluding to it, said, "It seems as if the beads were coming off the rosary," the Holy Father, playfully touching his own breast, said, "Yes, sir, but the Our Father keeps firm."* This play of humour, which is the exact opposite to the grim and ungenial tone which characterizes non-Catholic piety, was so marked in the Pope that even the gravest and most austere used to put off some of their wonted severity of look when they drew near him, and to his Court he was always the centre of cheerfulness and content.

There was in him so great a fund of cheerfulness that all who were about him felt that, if they were depressed by the atmosphere of anxiety and fear which surrounded them, the very sight of the Pope was enough to raise their spirits. It was not insensibility to the reasons for anxiety which surrounded him, but the constant repose upon the objects of faith and hope in God, which shed this serenity over his whole being; the changeful colour, and the eyes suffused with tears, often and often told of the sorrows which were in his heart, and yet through all he was held up, sometimes it seemed almost visibly to others, by the hand of God, and many would bear witness that when in prayer, as we looked steadfastly on his face, it seemed in some sort transfigured, like that of the first Martyr, by a light not its own. The immediate Court circle of Pius IX. was in some degree a reflection of his own piety and simplicity; the much maligned Cardinal, Secretary of State, Antonelli, though undoubtedly a statesman of no mean capacity, was a man of the most simple habits of life, and if his health did not permit him to use austerity, it certainly obliged him to a constant self-denial, which he accepted with the best grace possible, and was always accessible, affable, and courteous in a remarkable degree to all who came to his audience. A very early riser, a most laborious minister, a pious frequenter of the Sacraments, we are convinced that the real clue to the abominable attacks made since his death upon Cardinal Antonelli is the reflection simply of that hatred which his political adversaries felt towards him, as the faithful servant and trusted minister of the Holy See for more than a quarter of a century. The private chamberlains and great officers of the Court were one and all men of the most unaffected piety and of apostolic zeal and life. Cardinals Berroneo and Pacca, Monsignori Talbot, de Merode, Pieri, (Maggior-domo of Leo XIII., and for so many years attached in high offices to the late Pope), Macchi, Negretto, di Bisogno, Casali, Delle Volpe, and so many more venerable men whose chief qualities were the virtues of devoted ministers of God, and active benefactors to their fellow creatures. But if any proof were needed that such

* 'Si, Signore, ma non si sfilà il Paternoster.'

is their true character, it may be found in the consoling fact that nearly all of those who thus shared in the fortunes of their august master for good and for ill, during his long pontificate, have been and are still made the marks for abuse and calumny by the worst newspapers at home and abroad.

Our own tongue and nation have been represented at Rome in the court by Monsignor Talbot, Monsignor Stonor, and the present Cardinal Howard—men whose characters stand deservedly high in their own and in every other country where they are known. The rest of the Court, however, are similarly unblemished, and it follows that the thousand and one malicious stories of mutual jealousies, divisions, intrigues, and the rest, with which the newspapers abound, are entirely unfounded. The truth is, that not even the malice of all his enemies could find a spot in the character of Pius IX. on which to fasten any but the most futile accusations, and hence they are reduced to abusing and maligning his servants. There is nothing whatever either in the mental or moral character of Pius IX. to make it possible that he should have surrounded himself with persons of no integrity or virtue, and these attacks therefore only afford another instance of that which we see so often repeated, viz., that false witnesses never can give give to their statements those characters of consistency and probability which belong only to the truth. The fact is that, as the Pope was himself the very type of manly, truthful, outspoken sincerity, he had a dislike for the dark, silent, designing type of men which, in the popular jargon of this country, is called the "Jesuitical" or "sacerdotal" character. Accordingly, the Vatican Court was singularly free from the elements of intrigue and secret conspiracy with which it was so glibly credited. The hardest thing the Pope ever said in our hearing of an English statesman (now like so many others broken on the stone of Peter and discredited even among his own party) was that he was "*bottonato*," that is, *buttoned up* in himself, and yet this statesman grossly ridiculed and attacked the Pope in a quarterly review a year or two ago. An atmosphere of mystery, ambiguities of language, and still more of conduct, were his special abhorrence, and he sought and found in his personal attendants and friends those who were the freest from those vices. Cardinal Antonelli once said to the present writer that the diplomacy of the Holy See was, in fact, the simplest of all diplomacies, for it consists in always saying what you mean and never saying what you do not mean. Never was this saying truer than when Pius IX. reigned. What promise did he ever hold out that he did not fulfil, what engagements that he did not meet, even to his own manifest loss and detriment: and which of his adversaries can say as much?

In accordance with this character of frank and genial loyalty was the great trait of generosity and forgiveness to friend and foe, which so became him as the Vicar of Christ. Like his Divine Master, he had no harsh words or acts, except for hypocrites in their hypocrisy. Against such he warned his flock to the end with a wonderful mental and moral energy, which arose not from love of reproving or invective, as has been so un-

worthily and foolishly maintained by the statesman just alluded to, but by zeal for God's glory and for the good of souls. That the "Vatican" (that is the Pope) should have been generally proclaimed a home of dark, designing conspirators, and the official head of the Italian Kingdom commonly called an "honest man," will always remain, in the eyes of the few who care to inquire and think for themselves, one of those unconscious pieces of irony in which an age sometimes writes its own character with a justice as complete as it is severe.

Among the other calumnious exaggerations which have been circulated as to the late Pope, it is stated that he was not an intellectual man. On the contrary the Pope was distinctly a man of intellect. Though, as he was wont to say, not a learned man, he had more than average ability, and had his health been good in youth he would probably have shone in the schools which he passed through with facility and with praise. What is true is, that in him the qualities of the heart and will were even more remarkable than those of his intellect. This, which was a marked characteristic in Pius IX., is, indeed, habitually to be noticed in the clergy and Episcopate, and eminently in the Popes, in whom even the greatest intellectual gifts have been outweighed by moral qualities, especially by strength of will. This is a topic of which a certain school of writers and "thinkers," as they delight in calling themselves, have always made capital. S. Paul declares it to be a characteristic of the true Church (1 Cor. i. 26); but were this not so, it would seem to stand to reason that in the stewards of God's treasures integrity should take precedence of wit, and the rarest of senses, common sense, of intellectual power. But it is time to pass from these traits of personal character to some attempt at estimating the greatness of the Pope's action in the Church during the longest Pontificate ever known up to the present time. As we have attempted to indicate, his character was such as to have led one to expect from him a marked and an extraordinary papal career. It was not ordinary that a Cardinal who, like Cardinal Giovanni Maria Mastai Ferretti, was very little known in Rome, and had not occupied any office of note in the Roman Curia, should be at once elected to the vacant throne of Peter. Mgr. Patterson mentions, as illustrative of his modest and retiring character and of the way in which he adhered sedulously to his duties, whether as head of the great orphanage of S. Michele in Rome or afterwards as Bishop of Spoleto and of Imola, that Pius IX. never saw a Papal High Mass until he sang it himself, so little of a courtier or a frequenter of great people was he; and yet at the fourth scrutiny, and on the second day of the Conclave, he was raised

to the throne of Peter by a great majority on the 16th of June, 1846. The same night he wrote his first letter as Pope to his three brothers:—"The blessed God, who humbles and exalts, has been pleased to raise me from obscurity to the most sublime of earthly dignities. May His most holy will be ever done. I am moved when I think of the vast extent of this weighty charge, and I feel the great, not to say the total, incapacity of my own strength. There is the greater cause for me to pray for aid, and for the same reason you, my dear brothers, must also pray for me." "I embrace you with all my heart in Jesus Christ, and do you, far from exulting, take pity on your brother, who sends you the Apostolical Benediction." From that hour his whole career was of a piece with the piety, simplicity, and confidence in God which breathe in these lines, till that final moment when he joined in the Church's last prayer for him, and himself bade his pure soul go forth from its frail tenement to meet his God. The political circumstances in which he found himself were most difficult, and on that day month, July 16, 1846, he grappled with them by the act of amnesty in a manner worthy of his great heart; but of this we are to speak later. What is remarkable and most characteristic is that the Pope at once rose to the level of his great office, and one cannot but notice that if it were true in any degree that his intellectual powers were not great, in that same degree the wideness and depth of his plans as head of the whole Church, and the immediate steps he took to carry them out, become more supernatural and approach the miraculous. If he had been, as we are so often told, a narrow-minded Italian noble and priest, it is surely astounding to find him dealing with his political position in a manner so trenchant, and from the first treating it as not the first nor the most important consideration, but as it were waiving it aside with a magnanimous provision, of which we have yet to see in the future (perhaps no distant one) the full fruits, and addressing himself to the vast interests of his spiritual reign with a versatile largeness which recalls to us the astonishing powers of Napoleon. To attempt anything like a complete enumeration of the many spheres, not to say one word of the instances, of his papal activity, would be to write a book. We can but touch *currente calamo* on some few of the vast conceptions and the energetic strivings of this great Pontiff. What the arch-conspirator Mazzini said of him in the political order—"he will proceed to reforms from principle and from necessity," was most true in the higher and wider sphere of his spiritual monarchy. The Pope was a *reformer* in the true sense of the word; he destroyed nothing, but he *formed again*, and with wonderful perseverance,

that which had been deformed or degraded, or even destroyed. His career may be summed up in the words in which the Church prays for the newly-consecrated Bishop in her ritual, imploring for him constancy in faith, purity in charity, sincerity in peace, the beauty of the gospel of peace, the ministry of reconciliation in word and in deed, and in the power of signs and wonders, in his speech and preaching not the persuasive words of human wisdom but the manifestation of the spirit and of strength, the use of the keys of the kingdom of heaven not for vainglory, nor unto destruction, but unto edification. The relations of the Holy See to the various governments both in Europe and elsewhere had been, as they still are, regulated by concordats. This form of treaty between the ecclesiastical and civil power is, technically speaking, of comparatively recent origin; but whether we reckon (as we well may) the "Calixtine transaction," as it is called, which was in fact a concordat between Calixtus II. and the Emperor Henry V., as the first of these treaties, or take that between Pope Nicholas V. and the Emperor Ferdinand III. as more properly the type of a concordat, they all have the same character. They are, in fact, a solemnly agreed and ratified covenant or treaty between the Church on the one hand and the civil power of any state on the other, of which the subject-matter is such as has the twofold aspect of ecclesiastical and civil interests. They, generally speaking, were given rise to by some discord or conflict between the two powers. In order to secure the great good of peace and to prevent greater evils, such as open conflict between the laws of the Church and those of the State or the schism of whole nations, the Church accepted, very often under reserves and protests, certain conditions from the sovereign or government of a country. The provisions of these concordats, therefore, it should be well remembered, form anything but a positive code of the Church's laws in matters disciplinary. They are rather to be taken in that sense which our Blessed Lord assigned as the true meaning of the Mosaic dispensation of separation of husband and wife.* They never, of course, waive or abrogate the essential rights of the Church, which are also the rights of the Christian conscience, but they often set down the very lowest tolerable conditions under which it is possible for the Church still to exist. They constantly sacrifice the *less* important results of principles without surrendering the principles themselves for the better securing of the *more* important results. Nothing, therefore, can be unfairer than to

* "Moses, by reason of the hardness of your hearts, permitted you to put away your wives; but it was not so from the beginning." Matt. xix. 8.

cite the provisions of one or other of these concordats wrung from the Holy See by the threats—sometimes filched by the fraud—of a civil power, as imposing on the Church the obligation to use similar condescensions at other times and under other circumstances. Yet this has become the habitual line of argument taken by governments and by the non-Catholic press. As we have said, the Pope was no reckless innovator, but he beheld at a glance the evils which had grown up from the practice of statesmen with regard to these concordats, and he determined to remedy them. The process whereby they often became positive evils was twofold. Firstly, it was the process of interpretation, whereby the one party, the civil power, arrogated to itself the exclusive right to apply the provisions of the concordat according to its own appreciation of what they meant or could be supposed to mean. By this process the subject-matter of concordats, which is usually disciplinary (regarding, for instance, the right of holding property, of nominating to bishoprics and benefices, the mode of investiture, the privileges of the courts of ecclesiastical law), was, and is, often so pared down and restricted that the articles agreed on by the two powers become virtually merely so many fresh aggressions of the civil on the ecclesiastical power. While those which are favourable to the Church remain without practical result, those that make for the State's good (as statesmen deem it) are rigorously carried into execution, and strained far beyond their legitimate meaning. The other process is more summary still. The civil power simply recedes from all its engagements, and tears up the treaty to which it pledged itself, whenever and wherever it chooses. While, therefore, the Pope did not repudiate any existing concordat, and entered on several new ones, notably on that with Austria in 1855 (which was as favourable to liberty of conscience as the previous state of the Church in Austria under the Josephine laws was the reverse), he yet regarded them with but little confidence, and was always on the look out for securing Catholics against a legal tyranny, whose ultimate logical expression can be nothing short of State supremacy over the consciences of men. It sounds almost fabulous, but it is a simple fact that the energy and discernment of Pius IX. has given to the Catholic Church no less than 213 new episcopal sees, exclusive of those for which he signed the decree only a few days before his death and which now form the Scottish Hierarchy erected by his successor on the 28th of March, 1878. Of these, nearly 200 new bishoprics are erected without any concordat or other concert with the civil power, and thus it may be said that a new æra has been created for the relation of Church and State, more especially in

those lands to which mankind is looking as the seed-plots of human energy and the advanced guard of the great human army in its onward career towards the occupation and control of the whole globe. To us, as Englishmen, it is of special interest to note that of these seas more than a hundred are occupied by subjects of our Sovereign, and nearly two hundred by those who speak our tongue as their vernacular. This great increment of the organic structure of the Catholic Church, therefore, represents in the main the rise of a new order of things. While the "liberal" press has been prating and drivelling of the retrograde tendencies of the Pope, and complaining that he will not "reconcile himself to accomplished facts," he has been for more than thirty years building up in all lands a "free Church in free states"; and in none more than in our own land and in its world-wide dependencies. The progress to which they allude, and would have the Pope adhere, is the organized breach of law, the tearing up of treaties, the success of robbery, the erection of vast military empires, whose existence is a standing menace to the peace of the world and contains in its very being the causes of its own inevitable decay, the vamping up of sham principles, such as those of universal suffrage, accomplished facts, non-intervention and State supremacy over conscience, one and all of which are destined to go their way into the limbo of human follies and failures. The progress which the Pope has achieved is the advance of God's kingdom in His own way, and he has so completely, if one may be allowed the expression, "taken the wind out of their sails," that the more intelligent writers of the advanced democracy in Germany and elsewhere have tacitly dropped their formula, and are now invoking the strong arm of despotism, or the violence of mobs, to control and put down the Church which has so thriven on freedom as to baffle all their calculations and plans for her destruction.

The sphere of doctrine, again, is one in which the activity of Pius IX. has been such as to astonish both friends and foes. It seems, to us elders, but yesterday that the approaching definition of the doctrine of Mary's Immaculate Conception began to be a matter of public discussion. The Church's own consciousness that such was her belief was so complete that except as a subject for infinite spiritual joy and the most glad adhesion its definition was scarcely noticed in Catholic countries. We remember how as we were leaving S. Peter's on the 8th of December, 1854, almost worn out with the solemn emotions of that great day, one of the clerks of the Chapter almost scandalized us by characterizing the great exercise of a divine prerogative we had just heard from the Pope's own lips, as "una

bella funzione!" and in the south of France and Spain, in South America and our colonies, the popular feeling was that the definition was not necessary, because all had always believed it with divine faith to be part of the depositum. But with those without and with many of those within the Church who had been sophisticated by the atmosphere of semi-Protestantism in which we northern dwellers among heretics are brought up, the case was different. To the former the very name of the doctrine defined was barely known, or, if known, misunderstood. The newspapers, having to write on the definition and not knowing what its matter was, took ordinarily to abusing the Pope as being a safe course, while a few who were anxious to appear better informed suddenly became zealous for the rights of Catholics to control him, and quoted S. Bernard's letter to the Canons of Lyons* (Acts xx. 28), and such other texts as they could collect to show that they knew better what the Church had believed than she did herself. The teaching Church, that is the Hierarchy, not being what the Governments of modern states are, the mere reflexions of popular ideas and delegates of the popular will, but a real authority placed by the Holy Ghost to teach and govern the flock, and only secondarily the witnesses of the faith of the people, the Pope, by his encyclical "*Ubi primum nullis certe*," of February 2, 1849, declared his belief that the time was come when the doctrine which all held might be defined, asked all the Bishops of the Church to communicate their own belief and that of their clergy and flocks to him and to ask for public prayers that the will of God should be manifested more clearly. It was characteristic that this act was accomplished and the encyclical dated from Gaeta. The revolution had banished him from Rome and erected one of its ephemeral republics, stained with so many crimes and follies, on the ruins of the Pope's temporal throne, and with all the calm and conscious power of his inalienable office the Vicar of Christ in exile exercises his high prerogative and unites by the authority of his voice the whole Episcopate in the immediate preparation for the declaration of revealed truth as it in this particular had never yet been so declared. It reminds us of those words of S. Leo the Great (in his second sermon on

* In this letter two things are evident. 1st. From his argument about the doctrine itself, S. Bernard evidently speaks of the active conception and not of the infusion of the soul (which is what the Church has defined to be immaculate) of the Blessed Virgin. 2nd. He expressly defers his judgment to that of Rome ("*Romanæ præsertim Ecclesiæ auctoritati quæ dixi reservo*") and places his whole gravamen against the Canons of Lyons for that which he believed to be an intrusion on the Roman Church's exclusive prerogative of defining doctrine, viz., their celebration of the feast under this title without a previous reference to the Apostolic See.

the anniversary of his elevation to the apostolic throne), "*manet ergo dispositio veritatis, et Beatus Petrus in acceptâ fortitudine petræ perseverans suscepta Ecclesiæ gubernacula non reliquit.*" ("The disposition of truth therefore continues, and Blessed Peter persevering in the strength of the rock which he received, deserts not the rudder of the Church which he has grasped.") In five years' time the sense of the whole Church was ascertained, and on the 8th of December, 1854, the Pope, surrounded by the Sacred College and by some 150 Bishops from all parts of the world, defined "*supremo suo atque infallibili oraculo*" (by his supreme and infallible utterance), that "the doctrine which teaches that the most Blessed Virgin Mary was in the first moment of her conception by a singular privilege of God preserved free from all taint of original sin," "by virtue of the merit of Christ's passion anticipated." One of the immediate results of this definition was to reveal the extent to which the heresy which it implicitly condemned had eaten into the belief and affected the conduct of men. This heresy is what we may call *naturalism*; by which is meant the belief that there is no supernatural order, no need of belief in supernatural truth, no need of grace, but on the contrary, that man has in himself by his mere natural being the means sufficient for his perfection. The advance of physical science, and more especially the skill with which it is applied to the development and application of knowledge, to the material well-being and comfort of society, had been, as it still is, fruitful in convincing people that it was quite possible, nay a bounden duty of all, to attain to a temporal beatitude which left nothing to be desired; that for purposes of government and police a conventional social morality, based on no higher sanctions than the natural advantages to be gained from its sedulous practice, was sufficient, and, therefore, that Almighty God and our Divine Redeemer were decidedly out of place in the great drama of man's progressive development, and might be safely left to entertain elderly ladies and young children till they should utterly vanish into the page of exploded myths. The great statesman who presided at that time over our Foreign Office summed up this heresy in a sentence, when he said amidst the applause of the House of Commons, "Immaculate Conception, why we are all born immaculate," and proceeded to show that moral excellence or the reverse of it was a mere matter of education and the proper direction of our unaided natural powers. If a shell or a torpedo had exploded in the middle of one of those great exhibitions, which were the product and the boast of man's unaided natural virtue and self-sufficiency, it would have presented but a faint image of the wrath and the contempt with which the world received the

decree of Dec. 8th, 1854. The hand of the Great Physician had touched and sounded the deep and mortal gangrene of the age, and the patient, protesting all the while that his "withers were unwrung," shrieked defiance and denounced vengeance on the man who alone could heal him. Ten years later, Dec. 8th, 1864, when the ill-disguised uneasiness of society at the rude shock administered to it by the Papal definition had seemed to subside, the wound which had been thus probed was cauterized and sounded to its very depths by the Encyclical *Quantâ Curâ*, and by the Syllabus or list of the Holy See's condemnation and repudiation of deadly errors, false maxims, sham principles, and vicious usurpations on which for well-nigh a century all the might, and all the intelligence, and all the special diabolic aids and inspirations of the revolutionary world have been, and are, vainly striving to build a sufficient tower to reach to heaven, or rather (to be more apposite to their ideas in our simile) to make this earth into a sufficient abiding paradise, and dispense with any other whatsoever. Here, as in one huge missile hurled from those gigantic engines of war which we hear of nowadays, are collected all the most important teachings and warnings of the Holy See for many years past on the subject of what are called "modern ideas"; though, in fact, they are very old, being truly the legitimate outcome of that teaching which we read of in the 3rd Chapter of Genesis, in the mouth of one whom our great lexicographer used to declare was "the first Whig." Every kind of political, social, and ethical disorder is here dissected, labelled, defined, and held up to be condemned and avoided by all good Catholic people. The doctrine of force instead of right, of the governed governing, of doing wrong and making it right by sticking to it, of an imaginary social contract, of substituting legal concubinage for the indissoluble tie of the sacrament of marriage and civil registration for Christian baptism, of the State's right to teach all everything, and hundreds of other such doctrines on which the modern world tries to build an edifice which is to supersede God and His Church for ever, are here denounced and put to shame. And this heavy blow, again, was dealt by the Pope at the very time when the Convention of September 1864 was produced, with all the pomp of hypocrisy, as the proximate means for depriving the Vicar of Christ of his remaining dominions under colour of securing them to him more firmly by new and solemn contract. From the height of a mind and soul stayed on God and His eternal justice the Pope, occupied in the healing of the nations, seemed scarcely more to heed the jargon of Napoleon's and Cavour's diplomacy, than one may suppose his Divine Master to have noted the wrangling and gambling

of the soldiery who divided and cast lots for His seamless coat and garments at the foot of the Cross.

A few more years, and, in 1867, on the occasion of the eighteenth centenary of Peter's Martyrdom, once more, as previously in 1860 and 1862, for the Canonization of Saints, the Pope gathered round him a great number of Bishops, and for the first time, publicly and solemnly, that which had been whispered in the Palace for some time past was proclaimed to the world. Not easily shall we forget that day, when, in the great gallery over the main entrance to St. Peter's (the only hall, even in the mighty Vatican, large enough to contain them), the Holy Father declared to the Sacred College and hundreds of Bishops his intention of shortly summoning an Œcumenical Council. The words seemed to most who heard them like the echo of a great past which we had dreamt of and reached back to, as gone, if not for ever, yet in our time at least not to live again. From Nicæa to Trent for a thousand years the Church had assembled, at long intervals for the most part, in these great assizes, and compared its faith, to be corrected and to be confirmed by that of Peter, with the Roman rule and the living oracles of the Chief Bishop; but in the nineteen centuries which have well-nigh elapsed since God was first manifest in the flesh, and gave Peter his supreme charge over all His flock, but nineteen times, or an average of once in a century, had the Church met in her great parliament in obedience to Peter's writ. As he concluded the magnificent allocution in which Pius IX. announced his will that once more Peter would rise up in the midst of his brethren (Acts xv. 7) to hear their mind and to give his sentence on all that they should declare, the bells of Rome rang out the noonday angelus, and as the sweet and powerful voice of Pius IX. called us to unite with him in that prevailing prayer wherein we professed the faith revealed to Peter, not one but must have felt, like God's people of old, that once more (Luke vii. 16) "a great prophet was risen up among us, and that God had visited His people."

Nor did the event in any way fall short of the expectation. If the world and some half-hearted brethren had been enraged by the Papal utterances in 1854 and in 1864, and indeed on almost every occasion on which his voice was heard for so many years, this was not merely, nor even so much, because of the subject-matter of his teaching, as because of his claim to speak with authority and not as their teachers of doubt and disorder. It had not escaped them, though they affected to disregard it, that the definition of the Immaculate Conception involved the explicit doctrine of the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff. For if the doctrine of Mary's exemption from all stain of sin had

hitherto not been an explicit article of the Catholic faith, and had then and there become one when the Pope declared it such, and if in so defining he had expressly invoked his authority as the Supreme Teacher and Pastor of the whole Church, and had declared that by consequence henceforth any one denying this doctrine would fall *eo ipso* from the faith and unity of the Church, it was clear that this authority to be adequate must also be infallible. It was true that the consultation of all the Bishops and the presence of so large a representation of them made the definition more weighty in the eyes of the world; but, on the other hand, whatever their authority was worth, it was evidently a witness not only to the truth of the doctrine, but even more to the competency of him who could thus unchallenged lay it down as a part of the original deposit of "the faith once delivered" to the Church.

It suited, however, those who led the assault on the Council to ignore all this, and to come forward with the attitude and profession of extreme surprise at what they affected to regard as a new and unheard-of doctrine when the fact became known that the Œcumenical Council of 1870 was likely to define the infallibility of the Pope as an article of the Faith. There were some Bishops and other divines who doubted whether the doctrine was susceptible of definition. Some argued that the Church had never defined her own infallibility, and that by parity it could not be necessary to define that of the Pope; but whether they opposed the definition on this ground or on that of the time not being opportune for such an act, those of whom we speak, almost to a man, proclaimed loudly that they believed the doctrine itself, and often—as in the case of the three most active supporters of the theory of inopportuneness, Archbishop Darboy of Paris, Monsignor Dupanloup and Monsignor Strossmayer, Bishops of Orleans and of Bosnia—cited their own published writings in support of it. The opponents of the doctrine itself were not Fathers of the Council, but may be divided into two classes. There were a certain number of learned German professors and their disciples, who had long entertained peculiar and not at all Catholic notions on the teaching office of the Church; ideas which have been familiar to us in this country, because they form the basis of the theory of high church Anglicanism. They may be briefly described as follows:—In this theory the Church, which began in a spotless and unwrinkled purity and beauty, after the lapse of a period which some would measure by decades, others by centuries, lost these attributes, and, like other institutions, required to be set right, not only in matters of discipline and ceremonial, but in doctrine. Especially she ceased to have a true consciousness of

her own mind in times past, and by some kind of lapse of memory suffered herself to be more and more withdrawn from her primitive meaning, so that it only remained for the learning and critical acumen of erudite men to correct her aberrations by giving to the existing hierarchy a lucid historic view of the Church and a critical apparatus whereby the Pope and Council should be enabled to detect their own errors and revert to a better mind. The other class of opponents to the Council and its definitions was that of statesmen and officials who, whether by policy or in ignorance of the true interests of civil governments, lent themselves willingly to the councils and insinuations of the other class, because it suited the traditions of their training and the "modern ideas" of their governments to look upon and represent the Church and its head as at once a stupid, a retrograde, and an insidiously aggressive power. On the 8th of December (once more), 1869, the Pope, surrounded by 722 Fathers, Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, heads of Orders, and others, solemnly opened the Ecumenical Council of the Vatican in St. Peter's. Who that witnessed that august spectacle can ever forget it! The visible union of the whole Church under Peter had surely never been so sublimely set forth since he himself presided at that first Council in Jerusalem; for if the First Council of Lateran numbered more Fathers, there were not so many Bishops, nor by far representing such world-wide spiritual sway as those who thenceforth for eight months assembled almost daily to deliberate on "the things relating to the greater Glory of God, the integrity of the faith, the honour of divine worship, the eternal salvation of souls, the discipline of the clergy, both regular and secular, the education of youth, and the peace of the world." (From the Bull of Indiction of the Council, issued on SS. Peter and Paul's Day, 1868.) Four solemn and public sessions were held, and at that of July 18th, 1870, the doctrine of the Apostolic primacy and infallibility was defined an article of the Catholic faith. It is most noteworthy that the words of the definition, while they are so plain that no one can mistake their meaning, are also so moderate, that they give the lie to the misrepresentations of all who would have people believe that the doctrine of the Pope's infallibility is a monstrous figment, which no intelligent person can sincerely accept. We were told by some who certainly ought to have known better, that this decree made a kind of "Grand Lama" of the Pope—that is, a sort of incarnation of the Most High, and one pseudo-Bishop of a sect near home actually refused to allow himself to be corrected in this astounding calumny. Others, who were less credulous affected, to be scandalised, because they said it ascribed to the Pope the

divine attribute of omniscience, and others that of "impeccability," while a great number spoke of it as involving "inspiration." The words of the decree dispose of all these ridiculous calumnies; they simply assert that "by virtue of the Divine promise to Peter," his successors, the Roman Pontiffs, when in the exercise of their office as supreme teachers of the whole Church they define any doctrine of faith or morals *ex cathedrâ*, are endowed with that infallibility with which the Divine Redeemer willed His Church to be endowed in defining doctrines of faith and morals; and hence "that such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are of themselves alone, and not by consent of the Church, irreformable." Naturally to those who do not believe that there is a Church, or that it ever had or could have any such gift from God, this doctrine is simply absurd; but to those who believe the reverse, this declaration of a bare protection from error under such conditions and restrictions of the subject-matter and mode of teaching it must certainly appear the very least which the express words of our Lord to Peter can mean. (Mat. xvi. 17, 18, 19; Luke xxii. 32; John xxi. 15, 16, 17.) But here again it was not merely the doctrine which was defined which made the world and bad Catholics, already on the verge of heresy and schism, so furious. What these last felt was, that the two great pleas and means of evading the authority of the Church behind which they had sheltered themselves were thus cut from under their feet. These were the appeal from the Pope to the Council, and from the Church of the present to the Church according to themselves and their own reading of history. The Pope's *ex cathedrâ* decisions on faith and morals final and irreformable, "by themselves alone," and not "by virtue of the consent of the Church," which would, of course, mean Professor So-and-so and his friends and disciples, left no loophole, and accordingly they declared themselves openly what they had long been in mind and affection—schismatics and heretics. Of course they denied the œcumenicity of the Council, its freedom, the authority of its decrees, and so forth. But what astounded them, and many more who had some kind and degree of sympathy with them, was, that no one went with them, and neither "all the king's horses nor all the king's men," from Rhine to Vistula *et ultra*, have been able to rescue them from the ignominy of a ridiculous failure. The dogma of the Pope's infallibility thus received a wonderful confirmation in the order of facts, for we believe we are strictly within the truth in saying that no previous definition of a General Council had either been more unanimously proclaimed or followed by less untoward results than this, which is at once the highest expression and the most efficient cause of the Church's unity.

We had been told for years by many and many of those whom their friends call men of weight and their enemies *wise-aces*, that the days of General Councils were gone for ever. The reasons for this view were twofold. The Popes were becoming more and more autocratic, and they would not dare to raise so formidable a power as a General Council; and next (not very consistently) we were assured that the "will and consentment of princes" would afford such an insuperable obstacle that all the efforts of Rome to assemble such a Council would be baffled. Pope Pius IX. answered these objections by that which his adversaries so often appealed to to confirm their successful iniquities, the "logic of facts." The sum, then, of the dogmatic activity of this great Pope is not merely such and such dogmas defined, such and such teachings, so many hundreds of Decrees, Bills, Briefs, Allocutions launched against the errors of this century—it is the triumph of the principle of authority over the most insidious, specious, and multifarious assertion of lawlessness in both the natural and supernatural orders. When we say this, our adversaries are wont to reply that "no one" knows or cares what the Pope says or does. Of course we do not suppose that the mere enunciation of truth will convert all who are in error. The incarnate Wisdom of God did not produce this result when He walked this earth and redeemed it. What He achieved, and what His Vicar has done once more, and will continue to do, is so to make manifest truth and unveil error as that those who were in comparative darkness become more inexcusable if they reject, and have a far greater facility in receiving, the revelation of God in Christ and in His Church. As the least nautical on board some gallant ship cannot fail to see that there must be danger on the deep when the captain himself warns and stimulates the watchfulness of all his officers and crew, so every simple Catholic cannot fail to discern in the utterances of an unerring Chief Pastor the voice of that Great Shepherd and Bishop of their souls, whose word is truth, bidding them to walk securely in the way that they should go. So long as it was competent to Catholics, without overt heresy to borrow the phraseology and thought of non-Catholics, and believe that the teaching office of the Church was exclusively exercised by General Councils assembled at intervals of centuries, and that the adhesion of others to Papal utterances was necessary as the ultimate reason whereby they became binding on the interior assent of the faithful, there was the possibility of latent heresy remaining undetected within the Church in large portions of its vast extent, and for long periods of time. This possibility, we now know, had become a fact. Learned men, and even good men, and not only

laymen but Priests, and even some Bishops, had unconsciously drifted with the tide of modern culture into a tacit acceptance of first principles, of which the logical consequence is incompatible with the "*obedience of the faith*." Humanly speaking, the lapse of another generation or so would have formed a great part of Catholic Germany, semi-Protestantized and ripe, at the first tightening of the reins of authority on the part of the Holy See, to pass off into a national schism. That this was the anticipation of so acute a statesman as Prince Bismarck is proved by the State paper which he communicated to all the non-Catholic Courts of Europe (and some still held to be Catholic), in 1871, and is no slight evidence of the momentous issues which, as we now perceive, were present to the mind of the Pope throughout his long Pontificate. Frederic II. wrote to Voltaire, that in due time "the idea of the easy conquest of the Papal States will crop up. Then the Pontifical power will be ours, and the old play will be played out. No ruler in Europe will be ready to acknowledge a Vicar of Christ who is the subject of another sovereign. Each king will set up his own Patriarch for his own States, and as occasion serves will withdraw from the unity of the Church, so that, eventually, as each country has its own tongue, so each will have its own religion." Whether Prince Bismarck had these amiable plans and anticipations of the Great Frederic before his eyes or not, it is certain that the policy of the modern Prussian legislation with regard to religion is based upon such ideas as these. And but for one circumstance, which seems constantly to escape the notice of "modern" statesmen, the results here indicated would certainly long since have justified their wisdom. That circumstance is that there is a God, and that the Catholic Church is His kingdom.

These reflections lead us to our concluding topic, viz., the policy and action of Pius IX. with regard to his temporal power.

We believe the keynote to this policy is to be found in a very simple doctrine, which nevertheless has been so clouded and obscured by heresy and "modern ideas" that it is ignored by a great number of people who are certainly not heretics, and often only unconsciously fautors of those ideas. This doctrine is, that man is a complex being, made up of spirit and matter, body and soul. In the widest sense of the word every baptized person is a part or parcel of the Pope's "temporal" power. He is actually a subject of the Pope's (that is of Christ's) Kingdom, and at any moment as a Catholic he may have to testify that he is so, even at the expense of his life, in defiance of any and every other temporal sovereign and his commands. The

modern idea is that religion is an affair (not primarily or in cause, as we hold,) but altogether and exclusively of the spirit of man. We think it was Sir George Bowyer who put this doctrine wittily in the House of Commons, when some honourable member laid down as an incontrovertible principle, that provided a man held to what he believed to be religious truth in his interior, he need not manifest it exteriorly at all by word or sign. Sir George remarked, that it was a great pity that Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego had not had the advantage of knowing this, for in that case they certainly need not have gone through the trial of the furnace heated seven times. And the same may be said of all who, in any age, have in any degree suffered for their religion, from Abel and Zacharias down to the martyrs in China of the present time. Sects whose origin is of yesterday, and who found the Christianity which they have depraved or perverted in existence, never enquire how that Christianity came into existence; they overlook and ignore the fact that if it had been what their religions are—a sentiment or a philosophy hidden in the soul, and not a polity, visible and notorious as a corporation, with its laws and its officers requiring obedience at the expense of every human interest, nay of life itself [Luke xiv., 26], it would never have existed at all, or would have expired with its Divine Founder and His disciples. Not so the Catholic Church, whose children alone at this moment, as at the first, continue to lay down their very lives, and are imprisoned, fined, exiled for the testimony of Jesus. The truth is that the moment a man really and earnestly accepts a religious belief and principle he must and does manifest it in some outward and visible way. "With the heart man believes unto justice, *but* with the mouth confession is made unto salvation" (Rom. x. 10) says S. Paul, and it is this necessary "*but*" which renders the Catholic religion a power in the world—in other words, a temporal power, visible, tangible, coercive, sovereign, like other temporal powers, but superior to all because of its origin, whereby it is "*not of this world,*" though it is *in* this world, and because of its excellence, inasmuch as it binds the very thoughts and conscience in a way and in a degree that no other power can. Next to this wide and primary sense in which the Pope, as Visible Head of Christ's visible Kingdom, has temporal power as his Master had, there is the more precise sense in which the Pope has a temporal power, inasmuch as he is the Father of Kings and Princes just as much as of the lowest of their subjects: and when the Church, in the act of crowning him, bids him remember this, it is to be noted that she clearly, by the words "*rectorem orbis*" (ruler of the earth) indicates a paternal sway over them, not as this or that person, who is a

king, for in that sense he is not more or less their Father than he is of any private Christian, but as Kings and Princes; that is, he has a real though a fatherly sway over their political morals, as rulers of their people. Whether we take the opinion of the older schools, and believe that this power is a direct authority over politics, or the later view of Bellarmine and others, who consider it an indirect one, matters not: in principle it is the same and a part of that universal power of which our Lord says, "*All power is given to Me in heaven and on earth,*" and, as a consequence, "*going therefore teach all nations.*"

Thirdly—the expression "*Temporal Power of the Pope*" is used to signify his actual civil sway over the States and people over which he is the only lawful civil governor in the trust and for the uses of the Apostolic See. Of these three kinds of temporal power "*modern ideas*" are in logic and consistency equally intolerant. But as logic and consistency seldom act in the region of politics (that "*warm atmosphere in which thunder is made,*" as Clarendon says of the Long Parliament), it is not strange to find that those who opposed, or oppose, one kind are not always so hostile, or are even favourable, to one or other of the other kinds. The Pope, however, was logical and consistent, and made no distinction *in principle* where none exists. The extreme sect of red-Revolutionists in Italy and France gave him the testimony of their unmixed hatred for all that he is and represents. Disciples of Voltaire and of Frederic, they aimed their blows at the civil sway of the Pope only as an instalment and step towards the destruction of his temporal and spiritual power in the wider senses. A further step in this direction is represented by the hypocritical formula of the "*free Church in the free State*": let the Church pray and bless, and sit solitary on the ruins of a past never to return, as the ribald About wrote, and we will tolerate her senile imbecility till she vanishes from the world. The atmosphere of the "*free state*" will choke her. So they began to prevent the appearance of religion in the streets and places. Confine religion in the walls of churches and you have a first step towards making it a purely internal matter. Soon you will be able to make the individual do that which you now force on the community, that is suppress the evidences of the faith that is in him, and you well know that when you have persuaded or persecuted people till they no longer venture to make the sign of the cross on forehead, or on mouth, or breast, you have gone far to take it out of the heart and out of the conscience also.

The Pope's temporal principality was the last expression of the mind of Christian Society. It took ages to grow that stately tree from the grain of mustard-seed planted by the

allwise Husbandman at His coming in the hearts of men. Through the family by slow degrees Christendom was built up, and where the last hand was put to the building of the Perfect City, there the work of destruction was to begin: as when a house has to be pulled down men begin with the roof, where they end in building it. But besides being the symbol and crown of Christian Society, the temporal sovereignty of the states of the Church is the fulcrum, the *ποῦ στῶ* of the Pope's spiritual authority, that by means of which he is enabled to grapple with the powers of this world and freely to dispense what he has freely received—the truth of God for the healing of the nations. For this the Pope gladly suffered. Pius IX.'s thirty-two years' Pontificate, if it had no other praise than this, will have earned a deathless fame, as having, alone of all the powers that are in the world, never for one moment, by word or act, done homage to the cowardly and lying false principle of "accomplished facts." We have seen the most powerful sovereigns bend the knee to successful wickedness, and we do not forget on the other hand that a prince of our own Sovereign's House, King George V. of Hanover, wanders despoiled and an exile from home and throne because he would not be accomplice in his own unjust deposition. But the Pope alone is the martyr of political and social right and order as well as of the dominion and freedom of religion and of conscience, because in his one and only person centres the necessary condition whereby human society can be sanctified and saved. The nobility and spotless beauty of this great Pontiff's character and life were such, that, if he had found the Holy See already deprived of its temporal principality, the consent of all good men would have pointed to him, as one who was in every way fit to have this crown added to the far superior ones which his virtues and spiritual authority decreed to him; and it is to our mind one of the most admirable traits of Divine wisdom that (as twice before within a century), on the contrary, he should have been singled out to witness its temporary loss. Nor do we scruple to record our most complete conviction that by his virtues and by the exceeding magnanimity of his resistance to this spoliation Pius IX. has really gained the victory and laid the secure foundation for the regaining of the temporal power. The Italian peninsula remains as heterogeneous under the form of unity which now prevails there as it was before. Nay, the jealousies between the several parts are more acute than ever. The following remarks are to the point:—"We are convinced that institutions imported from other countries, and the fruit of causes congenial (more or less) to them but not to *us*, will not take root and flourish in that soil. A strongly *characteristic*

bureaucratic system, crushing into an inarticulate characterless mass all the elements of national life, aping the most extreme and nefarious forms of that overgrown militaryism and Cæsarism quackery, whose modern apostles have been and are the scourges of Europe, and especially of their own unfortunate countries—this is now what reigns or attempts to reign, in Rome or Italy. Local autonomy, especially in the municipal form; variety, nay contrast, in the institutions of the different parts of the peninsula, the result of its past history and local needs; and above all the Papacy, its glory and its praise, the source of all that is noblest and most worldwide in its history and influence—these are the true expressions of the national mind, and the true elements of the national greatness. No system which ignores or tries to quench them can ever abide, or ever make Italy great. In the words of Alberto Mario (the ultra-Republican) ‘Italy was made to be federal,’ and those who would make it great must federalise, not centralise, it.” (“Pius the Ninth,” p. 361.) Compare with this statement and with the ministerial corruption and criminality which has just broken up the government of Signor Crispi, the avowal of a most unwilling witness, the notorious *Times* correspondent in Rome, Signor Gallenga, and it is pretty clear which way the tide is sure to flow in the long run. In the *Times* of Dec. 31, 1877,* we read:—

Trifles light as air are sufficient to show the peculiarities of the situation. You pass hundreds of print-shops in Rome, and you do not find one which does not exhibit the same endless variety of photographs of the Pope—the Pope seated, the Pope standing, the Pope resting his chin on the three fingers of his right hand, tired of blessing, the Pope in his white robes, the Pope in his scarlet cloak and shovel hat, the Pope in his gorgeous State costume with the tiara on his head. Everywhere the same face in all postures and attitudes. Of the bluff, bristling Victor Emmanuel not the poorest *carte-de-visite*, nor of his sons, nor of his lovely long-ringed daughter-in-law. The Pope and nothing but the Pope. The phenomenon is perfectly natural, for printsellers are merchants, and they hang out such wares as they know there is a demand for, and at this season they see nobody about the streets but foreign priests and pilgrims: this is the carnival in which Papal masks are sold. Everything tends to point out the false position into which Italian Royalty and the Italian nation put themselves, not by coming to Rome, but by coming in a half-hearted and hesitating way. The Pope has the King at advantage in a thousand different ways. The Vatican keeps up a connection with the backstairs of the Quirinal. The King’s private marriage with Rosina, Countess of Miraflore, which was only celebrated by a priest at San Rossore, near Pisa, in

* Cited in “Pius the Ninth,” p. 315.

1867, but which was never legalised by the indispensable civil contract and ceremony, is acknowledged and proclaimed as valid by the Pope, who instructs the lady's confessor to address Rosina as her Majesty, a title to which the recent ministers of the crown, with the ultra-Radical Baron Nicotera at their head, lately showed a ready disposition to treat her to her heart's content.

The Italians said seven years ago by their King's word of mouth, "*A Roma ci siamo e ci resteremo.*" And it would be here high treason to doubt either of the stability of the Italian Kingdom or of any chance of a revival of the temporal authority of the Pope-king in the holy city. Indeed, if the Italians at any time lose even an inch of the ground which heaven and earth almost miraculously combined to bestow upon them, it can only be by their own fault. So long as electors and deputies are faithful to the discharge of their duties, so long as the law is sacred in the people's eyes, and the rulers of the country—ministers, prefects, magistrates, and the whole administration—are wise and laborious, and, above all things, upright, clean-handed men, the country will have a chance of keeping together, and the gates of ultramontanism shall not prevail against it. But the word "never" should never be admitted into the Italian dictionary, and should be left to the Rouhers of French Imperialism; the Turkish "*bakaloom,*" or "*we shall see,*" far better suiting a people who know that nothing has ever been done that is not liable to be undone, and who have not forgotten that Popes have been put down, have been driven out of Rome and Italy, and Popes have come back and been set up again more than once before. It is in the meanwhile very sad and almost ominous to see how little has been done, even in the space of seven years, either to make Rome Italian or to bring Italy to Rome. I knew of no natives of the country, especially of the Northern Provinces, if I except the Deputies Broglio and Bonghi, who have either bought or built for themselves—a mansion, a villa, or *villino*—a permanent residence in this place. I know no public servant, from the King to the meanest porter at the House of Deputies, who will consent to stay here one minute longer than the inexorable duty of his office compels him. The Italians are almost the only people in the world who do not like Rome. They cried for it as for the moon; they knew that it was only by its occupation that the quarrel between the Church and State could be decided either for their own or for other people's benefit; they proclaimed Rome as their capital; they attempted its conquest by the rash ventures of Aspromonte and Mentana; they toiled for it, pined for it, raved about "*Rome or death,*" and now they have it; but the conviction that the Italians will for ever keep Rome has not yet sunk sufficiently deep into the heads and hearts of the Romans. How can it be so long as they see the world's pilgrims and their gold laid at the feet of the Pope, while their King's superscription only appears in front of their depreciated paper; so long as they see Catholic and even Protestant Europe hanging with such breathless interest on the chances of the next Conclave, and the election of that

"Servant of servants," who assumes the authority of the "King of kings"? How can it be so long as the Romans see their Princes and nobles keep aloof from King and Cabinet, and none of the aristocracy of the north or south show any disposition to bring here some of that splendour and luxury, some of that social animation, which in all other countries distinguishes the seat of government and fixes the centre of national life?

"Rome," says Mr. Gallenga, "was not made in a day, and could not be changed in seven years. The Italians are only lodged here. Their king is still an unwilling and an indifferently-accommodated guest at the Quirinal. Between the Piazza del Popolo and the Piazza di Venezia you look in vain for the disappearance of a single feature of the old Pope's city. The population, we are told, has risen from 170,000 to 250,000, but the new-comers are merely the *employés* (4,000 for the Ministry of Finance alone), very few of whom have brought their families along with them, while even a smaller number have been able to make themselves at home; they live as much on the railway as they can manage, and their haunts are not in Rome, but in a new city which they have built or are building for themselves on the Esquiline, away from Roman sounds, sights, and smells, in sight of the Alban Hills,—a new town in straight lines and at right angles, with a peculiar look and character. To this the natives have given the name of Buzzurropolis."

The attitude of Pius IX. was dictated, we believe, not only by a lofty and far-seeing policy, but by a profound and intimate knowledge of Italian character. He was eminently national in the good sense of the word: that is, he knew and weighed in the just balance of the sanctuary the good qualities, the splendid mental endowments, and the shrewd practical common-sense; and on the other hand the weaknesses, the critical, speculative, interested, self-seeking spirit of his countrymen, and with this knowledge he judged that no kind or degree of compromise was likely to succeed in saving the high interests committed to his custody. Our conviction is that he was right, and that the Italian Government know he was right. No one in their position would be likely to own this, and we by no means expect the acknowledgment, but we anticipate that they will "adhere to accomplished facts," as the jargon of modern diplomacy has it, and that in the wake of those untold "contingencies" by which the wisdom of the Most High works out His ends will come a current of events from which will emerge one great result—the renewed existence of the civil principality of the Apostolic See. *How and when* this will be, under what circumstances, by what degrees and instalments, with what conditions and differences—all this no man can venture to predict. But that this result will some day come to pass, and that the Pope's will once more be the

only sovereignty in the "old Pope's City," will, under God, have been owing to the virtues, the wisdom, and the courage of the great Pontiff whose loss we mourn. This is what we do not doubt ourselves, nor do we think posterity will deny it. But now our space bids us hasten to conclude this slender attempt at a sketch of his deeds and sufferings for the Church of God.

It is a satisfaction to be able to think that the Holy Father did not suffer in health from his confinement to the precincts of the Vatican. Monsignor Patterson says (p. 375) he believes that the risks of bronchial attacks from exposure to draughts at and after the Pontifical High Masses were very great, and from these, at least, he was saved by the cessation of the great public solemnities of the Church. Still the rheumatic and sciatic pains from which he suffered increased with his great age, and those who were nearest to him saw that, though his mental vigour remained unimpaired, his strength was failing.

During the summer of 1877 the Holy Father had some comparative respite from the great fatigue of the whole period to which the love and gratitude of his faithful children of all lands had extended their commemoration of his Episcopal Jubilee. It was on the 3rd of June, 1827, that he had been consecrated Archbishop of Spoleto in the Church of S. Peter ad Vincula (the Eudoxian Basilica) by Cardinal Castiglione, afterwards Pope Pius VIII., but for many weeks before and after the fiftieth anniversary, June 3, 1877, the Catholic world sent its deputations by hundreds and by thousands, laden with gold and silver, and every kind of rich and appropriate gift, to the Vatican. The extent to which these reached may be judged by a single fact: The present writer, early in May, counted the number of chalices, which, with the other gifts of church jewels and furniture, were laid out, by the Pope's command, in one of the largest galleries of the Vatican, and already, at that time, nearly a month before the actual anniversary, they numbered more than 500. The reception of so many thousands and the labour of addressing them day after day, and often three or four times in a day, was a great fatigue; but never once did his strength, or the vigour of his mind, seem to fail him. Still those around him were glad when this great tax on his strength was happily past, and they marked with pleasure that no serious results ensued. In the autumn, however, a severe cold, and the return of the rheumatic pains, obliged him to interrupt his audiences for a time, and finally the doctors advised him to keep his bed, which he did from the 20th of November for about three weeks. In consequence of this the press generally went to the trouble and expense of keeping up almost hourly alarms as to his imminent death. All the old tales about fainting fits, mortification of the extremities, &c., were renewed, and for those who preferred the "lie circumstantial," there were detailed scientific descriptions of his malady in the medical papers, so precise as to make even those who knew better occasionally give way to alarm in spite

of themselves. These ardent wishes for the Pope's death had long ceased to have any effect upon him except that of amusement. In September a German ecclesiastic had asked him what issue he anticipated from the Turkish and Russian war. He said it was obscure enough, but perhaps the best result would be that it would occupy the attention of the Powers, and prevent them from interfering with the Conclave—certainly a remarkable foreshadowing of what actually took place in the following February. The awfully sudden sickness and death in the desecrated palace of the Quirinal of King Victor Emmanuel, on the 9th of January, the sixth anniversary of the death of his sometime accomplice Napoleon III., had given occasion to the Pope to exercise a great and generous act of forgiveness. No sooner had the worthy ecclesiastic (who, out of priestly zeal for the unhappy king's soul, had continued to act as his chaplain with faculties duly obtained from the vicegerent of Rome) applied for the necessary powers to remove from him the censures and excommunication incurred by him, than the Pope at once accepted his overtures for forgiveness, and sent the Bishop of Porphyria and other prelates to do all that was needful for his reconciliation to God and the Church. "*Usate tutta misericordia*"—use all the mercy possible—was his injunction, and accordingly the dying king received the last sacraments and rites of the Church before he went to his account at the hands of the very Pontiff whom he had so cruelly outraged and injured. In December and January the health of the Holy Father manifestly improved. Those who saw him were struck by the appearance of renewed vigour and brightness in the expression of the face and eyes, and though still keeping to his couch, it was rather as a measure of precaution than from necessity. He daily transacted business with the Cardinals, Heads of Congregations, and with other Prelates; and on Saturday, the 2nd of February, he received the usual offerings of candles for the Feast of the Purification, and made an animated address, seated on his throne, without appearing at all fatigued by the effort. On Wednesday, the 6th, the Pope seemed more than usually bright, and received several persons at audience in the large private library of his apartments, and also walked a short distance without even the aid of a stick. It would seem that the library was rather colder than usual, and that though not aware of it at the time, the Holy Father received a slight chill, to which he was very subject. Be that as it may, he woke after a disturbed night with the symptoms of a cold and feverish attack. About two o'clock these were slightly relieved, but by five o'clock they had returned with more accentuation. The pulse was weak and greatly accelerated, and the breathing laboured. Towards eight o'clock the Holy Father, who had sent for Monsignor Marinelli, Bishop of Porphyria and Sacristan of the Apostolic Palace, desired to be anointed, and soon after, also at his own request, he received for the last time the Divine Eucharist by way of viaticum. Meanwhile the news of his alarming state had been sent to the Cardinal Vicar, and by him to the clergy of Rome, with the injunction to expose the Blessed Sacrament in all the churches, that the faithful might pray for their beloved Father and Prince. The members of

the Sacred College were all summoned, and by eleven o'clock they and the Court thronged the anterooms and the Pope's own room.

The churches were crowded with a devout multitude, and the very streets of the city seemed deserted and mournful as the day wore on. About noon, the Holy Father, who was assisted by Cardinals Bilio, Grand Penitentiary, and Martinelli, on either hand, expressed by broken words and by signs his regret that he could not speak to the Sacred College; the mind remained perfectly clear and serene, but the tongue refused its office. It was there that the Cardinal Penitentiary besought him once more to bless the Sacred College; and raising himself on one arm, the Pope took from under his pillow his crucifix, the witness of so many hours of prayer and of suffering, and, lifting it aloft, solemnly blessed the Cardinals for the last time. As the afternoon wore on, the Holy Father's breathing became more and more impeded, and the supreme agony of that great soul commenced. The Cardinals ceased not to suggest pious prayers and ejaculations, to which he remained fully sensible. When the prayers for the departing soul were read and the Cardinal came to the words, "*Proficiscere, anima christiana*", the Pope said audibly, "*Si, proficiscere*" ("Yes, go forth!"), and when the act of contrition was reiterated he joined in it, with his dying breath saying the words, "*Col vostro santo ajuto*"—that is, "With the assistance of Thy Holy Grace." One of the last whom he recognised was our own Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, to whom he said, "*Addio, carissimo!*" Towards sunset the eyes became clouded, and the death-rattle became painfully audible. The Cardinal Penitentiary, who was saying aloud, with all present, the sorrowful mysteries of the Rosary of our Blessed Lady, rose up, approached the pillow of the dying Pontiff, and, as the clock chimed the third quarter past five o'clock, and the Angelus bell rang out from the hundred towers of Rome's churches, the soul of Pope Pius IX. winged its way to the Presence of that God whom he had so long and so faithfully served, to receive its unfading crown of glory and reward.

No words can adequately describe the solemnity of that moment. In the midst of a breathless silence the Cardinal Penitentiary, in tones broken by emotion, pronounces the words, "Eternal rest give to him, O Lord, and may light perpetual shine upon him!" which convey the fatal truth to all, and then there rises up one long-suppressed wailing sob, and Cardinals and Prelates, nobles, guards, servants struggle and crowd on each other, to press once more forehead and lips upon those sacred hands of God's Vicar which will never more be raised to bless them. All the love and veneration, which for thirty-two years have been poured out on that beloved head, seem to be concentrated in the chamber of death; and the lament which begins there finds its echoes throughout the whole inhabited world, in the hearts of his faithful children, of every land and of every race.

The solemnities of the Holy Father's funeral rites which occupy nine days were so amply described in the newspapers that it would be useless to dwell upon them here, but there were one or two moments of special interest which we cannot pass over. On the day succeeding the death of the Pope,

an eye-witness describes the scene that presented itself in the room where he breathed his last.

"Within the Vatican, the venerable figure lay upon a small bed covered with crimson damask. The whole form was visible, dressed in a white cassock, with a crimson mozzetta trimmed with white fur, and the hood, also crimson, drawn up round the head. The features were singularly unaltered, and the lips bore that placid and benevolent smile so familiar to all who have approached the person of the Holy Father. His aged hands, white as marble, were crossed on his breast, and held the crucifix which remained in his grasp during his last moments. The feet were uncovered save by a crimson slipper, and the faithful devoutly kissed them as they knelt before the bed. Of course all the members of the Papal Court were admitted, and also the members of the Embassies accredited to the Holy See, as well as the aristocracy of Rome. Ladies knelt, sobbing and praying, before that placid form, never more to be moved by smiles or tears. But the most striking and pathetic sight of all was, to behold aged Priests and Prelates, men who would seem to have outlived emotion, bursting into loud sobs when they came within view of the body. Two noble guards stood motionless as statues, with reversed arms, at the foot of the bed, and save for the sound of weeping, the chamber was as still as death." (From the *Standard*, Feb. 10, 1878.)

On the 14th of February, at seven in the evening, the sacred remains of our Holy Father were solemnly entombed. The custom for some centuries has been that the body of the deceased Pope, after being embalmed, and the præcordia in-urned (either in the parish church of SS. Vincent and Anastasius, if he should die in the Quirinal Palace, or in the vaults of St. Peter's if he dies at the Vatican), is temporarily placed in a vaulted niche in one of the walls, of vast thickness, of St. Peter's, until the death of the next Pope, on whose decease the remains of his predecessor are removed to their final resting-place. The Sacred College, and the Court, with the guards, and other attendants having assembled in the Hall of the Consistory, preceded by the Papal Cross, descended into the Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament, in which the body had been exposed in state, vested in the full Pontifical Vestments, as if to sing mass. The choir chanting the "Miserere" in solemn tones, the vast temple lit fitfully by the torches carried on either hand by the canons and clergy, the wailing sound of the mourners, as the body was carried up the nave, paused for a moment before the statue of St. Peter and the Tomb of the Apostles, and making a circuit past the Chapel of St. Gregory the Great, passed into the Canon's choir, near which is its temporary resting place, formed a spectacle of wonderful and impressive solemnity never to be forgotten. When the body had been reverently placed within the triple coffin, it was the last sad office of Monsignor Ricci, his Holiness' most faithful and attached Maggiordomo (Lord Steward of the Household), to cover the beloved features with a white, gold-fringed, silken veil. "Never," says a bystander, "did I see man moved as poor Sig. Ricci was moved at that sad moment: twice he approached to fulfil his

office, and twice sunk to the payment in the anguish of his soul." Such was the affection that this great Pontiff inspired in all who were nearest to him.

The cynic La Rochefoucauld has said that "No man is a hero to his valet de chambre;" and a greater has declared that "No one is a prophet in his own country"; but Pius IX. was loved and revered by those who lived nearest to him.

On the three following days, High Mass is sung, and absolutions are given by five Cardinals with greater solemnity at the Cenotaph, which is erected for the purpose in the nave of St. Peter's. On that which succeeded the entombment, as soon as the absolutions were ended, the great mass of people who crowded the church, as by one common impulse, rose from their knees, and pressing in a dense crowd towards the tomb, knelt around it in silent tearful prayer. These, and not the hired profanities of street manifestations, are the impulses of the real Roman people, and they were shared in, let it be said to their honour, by great numbers of the new comers, officials, and employés of the new Government and others. In truth, all seemed to feel that if they had lost the beloved presence of a Venerable Father and majestic Prince, it was to regain him as a patron and an intercessor with his Lord in the heavenly Court. ("Pius the Ninth," pp. 376-383.)

It is our sincere conviction that no more majestic or more lovely figure appears in the long and sacred line of his predecessors than that of Pius IX., the Pontiff of the Immaculate Conception, of the Papal Infallibility and of the Œcumenical Vatican Council. Great and holy in his life, he was greater and holier in his death.

ART. II.—MR. FROUDE AND S. THOMAS OF CANTERBURY.

Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Edited by J. C. ROBERTSON, Canon of Canterbury. Published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. London : Longmans. 1876.

Life and Times of Thomas Becket. By J. A. FROUDE. The "Nineteenth Century," June–November, 1877.

TWO books of such opposite character as the above seldom come together before a reviewer. The first is authentic history; the second is historical fiction. In the first Mr. Robertson gives us contemporary records, through strict fidelity to which historic truth can alone be attained. In the second, Mr. Froude avails himself to the fullest extent of the privilege accorded to the writer of fiction, to falsify, distort, and colour historical facts at his will. But, unhappily, he presents himself to us as a historian, and professes to write from Mr. Robertson's authentic materials. We have, therefore, reason to complain when he falsifies the testimony of these and other historical records to suit the exigencies of his fiction. His work, too, falls strangely short of its title. He tells us nothing about the great questions which then agitated Europe, nor about the most prominent persons and events connected with them, nor even about the general state of society in England, just then emerging from the civil war with its seething "chaos of pillage and bloodshed,"* all of which belong to the times of Becket.

It is obviously impossible for us to supply Mr. Froude's omissions, or to correct all his misstatements within the narrow limits of a review. We must content ourselves with comparing his misrepresentations of the most important events in S. Thomas's life with contemporary biographies and letters. We shall purposely treat the questions which arise on their historical side alone.

Mr. Froude begins by misstating his subject. He says, "If it be true that the clergy are possessed in any real sense of supernatural powers . . . then Becket was right." This misrepresents the case. The supernatural powers of the clergy were no part of the dispute. Becket was right, because he defended the laws and constitution of England. He was doubly

* Green, "Short History," p. 98.

right, because he contended for liberty, humanity, and social order. He was equally right, whether the clergy were or were not possessed of supernatural powers.

Mr. Froude proceeds "to reproduce the mental spirit of the times in which Becket lived." His first "characteristic incident" is the death-bed of Henry, son of Henry II., which he describes as "most real superstition." Here, as in many other cases, the attack on superstition is aimed, as Cicero says, "not only at superstition, in which is the foolish fear" of God, "but also at religion, in which the pious worship" of God "is contained."* Henry's confession, absolution, and prayer to our Lord "of His own ineffable mercy" to have pity on his soul, were not superstition; for they bespoke not "silly fear" of God, but were ordinary "pious" acts of Christian "worship," based on deep contrition and loving confidence in One who had the power and the will to have mercy on his soul. In putting on a hair-shirt, tying round his neck the rope by which he gave himself, "a guilty and unworthy sinner," to the bishops, and ordering them to drag him to the bed of ashes on which he died, he was merely giving fuller expression to his feelings by symbolic acts, such as were commonly used in early stages of society. Yet, to our amazement, Mr. Froude tells us that it was "belief in the truth of religion which bound the rope about young Henry's neck, and dragged him from his bed to die upon the ashes"! Is there a schoolboy who has not read of twelve burgesses of Calais coming to their conqueror with ropes about their necks as symbols of their confession of guilt? And does not our popular language, which is an infallible historiographer, tell us, by expressing deep sorrow and humiliation under the type of sackcloth and ashes, that the traditional practice of the Jews was once a living symbolic custom in England?

Mr. Froude's next "characteristic incident" is more happily chosen. It is the history of some German heretics, whom Henry II. condemned to be branded, whipped, and thrust out in the winter; and it being forbidden under terrible penalties to receive or help them, they died of cold. Cruel as their treatment seems to us, Mr. Stubbs says it "was not severe, if it be compared with the rigour of the criminal law, or even of the forest jurisdiction. There is no burning, no mutilation,"† Henry's courts, and it vindicates S. Thomas's opposition to the extension of their jurisdiction.

* "*De Natura Deorum*," lib. i. 42.

† Hoveden, ii. Pref., p. 56; ed. Stubbs.

The incidents about Roger of York and the Abbot of S. Augustine's are strikingly characteristic of the results of the violation of the Church's freedom of election, which was one of the customs against which S. Thomas contended.

The next incident is characteristic, not of the twelfth century, but of the way in which Mr. Froude misleads his readers. He says, quoting John of Salisbury as his authority, "As to the inferior clergy it might be enough to quote the language used about them at the conference at Montmiraux, in 1169, where their general character was said to be atrocious, a great number of them being church robbers, adulterers, highwaymen, thieves, ravishers of virgins, incendiaries, and murderers."

But he omits to mention, that John of Salisbury is not stating his own opinion or the common report, but is only repeating the random words of Henry when he was in a rage. This sweeping falsehood may be excused in a man mad with anger, but it is inexcusable when it is palmed off on us as an historical fact. It is the more unpardonable, because this was a period of religious revival, of which Mr. Froude gives us not the faintest hint.

This revival is attested by both Catholic and non-Catholic writers.* S. Aelred, S. William of York, S. Robert, S. Gilbert, S. Godric, and crowds of holy monks and nuns, are its witnesses. Its monuments are the splendid Abbeys of Rievaulx, Fountains, Newminster, the houses of the Cistercians and Gilbertines spread over the land, and the churches in London, which changed the very aspect of the city. The satires of Nigellus, which Mr. Froude quotes, are also a proof of it. Don Quixote would not have excited even a smile had Cervantes written when chivalry was a living reality. So the satires of Nigellus would not have won their great popularity had not a large majority of the clergy, who were the only reading public, been free from the vices which they caricatured, and thus in a position to sympathize with his indignation against vice, or to laugh at the expense of their weaker brethren. In fact, as Mr. Green remarks, "we see the strength of the new movement in the new class of ecclesiastics that it forces on the stage; men like Anselm, or John of Salisbury. . . . Theobald and Thomas, derived whatever might they possessed from sheer holiness of life or unselfishness of aim."†

We now turn to S. Thomas. Mr. Froude tells us that "the description by Nigellus, of the generation of a bishop,"—i.e., by money, patronage, or servility and intrigue—"might have been

* Alzog, Ch. Hist. Period II., Epoch II., cc. 2, 4; Green, p. 91.

† "Short History," p. 92.

copied line for line from Becket's history." This is the exact opposite to the truth. S. Thomas had neither money nor patron, and of servility and intrigue his contemporary biographers give not the least hint. They all ascribe his rise to his talents, his virtues, and his fine moral qualities. They describe him as surpassing even eminent and learned men in penetration and acuteness of intellect; as prudent and faithful in council; energetic in action; chaste, humble, gentle, generous, overflowing with charity to the poor and oppressed, and free from envy of his companions.* His mental and moral qualities soon became known to Theobald, who henceforth often consulted him, and entrusted important affairs to him;† declaring "that he had never before found in any one such perfect integrity and fidelity."‡

S. Thomas's first appearances in public life were when Theobald sent him to Rome to resist the pretensions of Roger of York to the primacy, and later, to prevent the coronation of Stephen's son, Eustace. Mr. Froude tells us, that S. Thomas was "intimately connected" "with all these intricate negotiations," which resulted in the compromise by which Henry succeeded Stephen, and "by his remarkable talents especially recommended himself to the new king." This is incorrect. S. Thomas's only connection with the whole affair was his obtaining in 1148 the Pope's prohibition to crown Eustace. The compromise was effected five years later by Henry himself, through the mediation of Theobald and Henry of Winchester, after a career of victory.§ Nor did S. Thomas recommend himself to the new king. He was recommended by Theobald and Henry of Winchester, as being industrious, high-minded, and experienced.¶ Theobald had a further reason for the recommendation. He was full of anxiety on account of the king's youth and the bad men who surrounded him; and "knowing S. Thomas's prudence and magnanimity, his zeal for God, and his devotion to the Church's liberty,"** he selected him as the person best fitted to "check the king's impetuosity and prevent his laying violent hands on the Church, to temper the malice of his advisers, and to repress the audacity of those who conspired, with the support of the State and under pretence of law, to rob both the Church and the people of their property."††

* Vitæ S. Thomæ, i.; Grim, p. 9; Roger of Pontigny, pp. 95, 99; Fitz-Stephen, p. 185; John of Salisbury, p. 320; William of Canterbury, ii. p. 2; Herbert of Bosham, vii. pp. 12, 17. Ed. Giles.

† Rog. Pont., p. 99.

‡ Grim, p. 9.

§ Hoveden, i. pp. 211-213. Ed. Stubbs.

¶ Fitz-St., p. 186.

** Rog. Pont., p. 101.

†† Jo. Sar., p. 321.

S. Thomas soon gained influence over Henry by joining in his sports, by his magnificent style of living and brilliant military exploits, and by skilfully managing that whatever honour he won, should redound to the king's glory.* At the same time he gratified his higher aspirations as a sovereign by energetic measures, which raised the country to an extraordinary degree of prosperity.† He used his influence for the benefit of the Church. Vacant bishoprics, abbeys, and parish churches were suitably filled; and English clergy and monks of repute for either learning or piety, who were living abroad, were invited to return and given preferment.‡

It was not easy to control Henry. His courtiers were constantly urging him to increase his royal dignity at the Church's expense,§ and any direct opposition to his will exasperated him to fury. S. Thomas was often obliged to allow despotic measures to pass without sanctioning them;|| though, on other occasions, he could by skilful management frustrate the evil intention,¶ or even turn the king from his purpose.** So trying was his position, that "he would often tell his friends and the Archbishop," whose affection and confidence he never lost, "that he was tired of life, and after the desire of salvation there was nothing he so longed for as to disentangle himself without disgrace from the snares of the court." For though the world seemed to flatter and applaud him, he did not forget his state or its duties; and thus he was obliged on the one hand to strive for the safety and honour of the king, and on the other for the needs of the Church and the nation against both the king and his own enemies.††

All the biographers tell us of his piety, chastity, temperance, charity to the poor, and carefulness to listen to the complaints of the oppressed and obtain justice for them. His virtues and signal services won him the love alike of the king, the clergy, the soldiers, and the people.‡‡ Such was the Becket of history. The Becket of Mr. Froude's fiction was "violent, overbearing, ambitious, and unscrupulous";§§ and was "known to the world only as an unscrupulous and tyrannical minister."|||

In a former number¶¶ we pointed out how, by mistranslating Latin and misapplying common English words, Mr. Froude makes Grim accuse S. Thomas of habitual "cruelty and ferocity," of "murder and rapine." But besides this he perverts the meaning of the entire passage, and directly falsifies the

* Grim, p. 11. † Fitz-St., p. 187. ‡ Ibid., pp. 187, 188, 191.

§ Ep. Jo. Sar., i. p. 81. Ed. Giles. || Ibid., p. 224.

¶ Rog. Pont., p. 102.

** Fitz-St., p. 198.

†† Jo. Sar., p. 321.

‡‡ Fitz-St., p. 191.

§§ Vol. i. p. 842.

||| Ibid., p. 562.

¶¶ October, 1878, p. 517.

writer's testimony. Grim is describing only the snares of S. Thomas's life at court, amid which, he tells us, the devil had placed him in order to ruin his innocence; and he winds up thus: "But throughout he was chaste in body, humble in heart. . . . no one was more discreet, more munificent, or more prudent than he: and his charity to the poor was unlimited. But he hid his gifts of grace under an exterior of magnificence, so that no one, even when he was archbishop, thought he aimed at aught else than the pomp of the world."* Yet Mr. Froude tells us, "the only virtue which Grim allowed him to have preserved unsullied was his chastity"!†

Mr. Froude next charges S. Thomas with deliberate insincerity or versatility, because he had never as chancellor "expressed views unfavourable to the king's intentions," and "it is certain that he did not," before becoming archbishop, warn his master of the change in his opinions. "The ecclesiastical conscience had not wholly destroyed the human conscience." He felt "some scruples." He asked the advice of Cardinal Henry of Pisa, and "his difficulties were set aside by the casuistries of a Roman legate." All this belongs to Mr. Froude's historical fiction. History, on the contrary, tells us that S. Thomas *did* inform the king, both when his elevation to the primacy was proposed and previously, that he held views unfavourable to his intentions; that he *did* warn the king of his future opposition to him; and that Cardinal Henry did nothing more than exhort and persuade him to accept the archbishopric. When S. Thomas was told by the king that he was to be Archbishop of Canterbury, he answered, "I am certain that if by God's disposal it were thus to come about, the love and favour you now bear me, would quickly turn to the bitterest hatred. I know that you would require many things of me, as you even now do, in Church matters, which I could not bear quietly; and thus the envious would find occasion to provoke perpetual strife between us."‡ Thus the ecclesiastical conscience, S. Thomas's scruples, and the casuistries of a Roman legate, all vanish.

The regular forms of election were observed, though doubtless the knowledge of the king's wishes influenced it. The king had written to his son Henry, who was in England, that he would grant and confirm whatever was done in his presence. Accordingly, after the election, at the demand of Henry of Winchester that S. Thomas should be given to the Church free from all claims which he might have incurred during his chan-

* Grim, p. 13.

† Vol. i. p. 561.

‡ Herb., vii. p. 26; Rog. Pont., p. 108; Fitz-St., 193; Jo. Sar., p. 322.

cellorship, both the prince and the king's ministers declared him, in the name of the king, free from all accusation and demand now and for ever.* Again, at his consecration some weeks later, young Henry, and Richard de Luci and other noblemen who represented the king, gave him to the Church free from every secular demand.†

Before we enter on the critical period of S. Thomas's life, we must make a few remarks on the subject of dispute. It should be borne in mind that at that time, and for nearly four centuries later, the maintenance of the Church's liberty and rights was the fundamental principle of the English constitution. It was declared by the laws of Edward the Confessor, as published by William the Conqueror, that a king who did not defend the Church forfeited his title.‡ The defence of the Church was the first article of Magna Charta, and of the Provisions of Oxford; and its rights were exempted from the repeal of those Provisions by two successive Popes. Each king swore at his coronation to defend it; but all the Conqueror's successors down to this time had broken this oath by illegal customs. These customs, however, never acquired a prescriptive right, because a constant protest was made against them, and each successive king abjured them by his coronation oath. Henry's object now was to convert these illegal customs into laws, and thus to revolutionize the constitution of the realm.

The first point which he attacked was the jurisdiction and code of the ecclesiastical courts. They had been specially guaranteed by the Conqueror,§ who had had the wisdom to perceive that the immunities of the clergy as to person and property, and the practice of their courts, were the principal means by which the Church was teaching the barbarians the value of human life, the rights of property, and the principles of justice and humanity. We are averse from all class privileges. But Mr. Freeman ably points out that the spirit of the twelfth century favoured them;|| and we can form a just estimate of events connected with them only by judging them according to the opinions and needs of the twelfth century, and not by those of the nineteenth. Henry's outrageous cruelty on several occasions during this dispute, and the barbarous punishments inflicted by his laws, obviously prove that he had not yet learned the lessons which the Church and the Conqueror intended to inculcate. The pretence on which he based his attack was the

* Grim, p. 15; Rog. Pont., p. 108.

† Fitz-St., p. 202.

‡ Wilkins, "Leg. Anglo-Sax., Leges Edwardi Regis," art. 17. Ap. Hergenrother, i. p. 259.

§ Stubbs, "Constit. Hist.," i. c. 9, p. 283.

|| "Historical Essays." 1st series. Essay IV., p. 108. 3rd edition.

low state of morality among the clergy. But this was attributable, not to the code by which they were judged, but to the disorders of the civil war and the intrusion of unsuitable persons into benefices. The vigour of S. Thomas's secular reforms, his own purity, and his conduct during the short period of his residence in his see, leave no doubt that, had Henry given him time, he would have revived discipline. Those who assert that the ecclesiastical code was inadequate to deal with the clerical vices of the time, fail to notice that its punishments were the same as are now awarded by our own courts, with the exception that instead of the penalty of death, which is now so rare among us, there was the temporary social outlawry by excommunication, and the terrible penalty of degradation, which deprived the culprit of his means of subsistence, turned him adrift as an outcast throughout Christendom, and subjected him for the future to the cruel royal and baronial courts, which, if he were a confirmed criminal, would soon give him his full deserts.

The mass of the nation had a strong interest in the inviolability of the ecclesiastical courts, not only because the greater part of the clergy was drawn from it, but also because their jurisdiction extended to the care of widows and orphans, to all questions of marriages, wills, contracts by oath or promise, and to many other matters which called for an educated judicial spirit, or in which the defence of the poor and helpless was involved.

But Henry did not confine his attack to the ecclesiastical courts. The Constitutions of Clarendon gave him the revenues of bishoprics and abbeys during vacancies, thus making it his interest to prolong these vacancies, during which discipline was relaxed, and the works of charity and public utility, which were then carried on chiefly by the clergy, were suspended. They also empowered him to force his own nominees on the clergy and monks at elections, which perpetuated the existing abuses. They forbade the excommunication of the king's tenants without his consent, which was a usurpation of the power of the keys; and the ordination of a villain without the permission of his lord, which closed to the poor the only road to advancement open to them. They also prohibited all subjects of the realm to quit the kingdom without the king's leave. In fact, they would have given a fatal blow to personal liberty, security of property, and freedom of action, and would have placed the nation at the mercy of the king's will. This was the opinion of the time with regard to Henry's despotic policy. At Northampton, Henry of Winchester objected to S. Thomas's resignation of his see, on the ground that if he did so at a prince's command, not only the Church, but every other branch of

society would fall into confusion and license, and priest and people would suffer alike.*

The people, too, felt that their interests were identical with his. The French peasants expressed their sympathy as he passed along; and the love of the English nation burst forth in the unparalleled reception with which they greeted him on his return home.

Adequate justice has not been done to S. Thomas as one who has a claim on the gratitude of Englishmen. Though we now have no direct interest in the special points for which he contended, yet the principles of free and just government are always the same. Nor should it be forgotten that these very points, to which indifference is now expressed, formed the substance of the first article of the great charters of which we are justly proud as the foundation of our national liberty. S. Thomas's struggle was, in fact, for law and order, against the arbitrary will of a despot. Had he shrunk from the contest, the Church would have become so powerful a tool of State tyranny, that Langton and Magna Charta, Grosseteste and Simon de Montfort, would have been impossible, the free Teutonic spirit of the nation would have been crushed out, and England's future history would have been reversed. A warmer debt of gratitude, perhaps, is due to him than to these other national heroes, because he struggled single-handed, while Langton was supported by the barons, and De Montfort was backed by both barons and commons. He is at least entitled to honour as a link in that chain of noble primates, through whom the liberties of the Saxon bondman were handed down to his Norman conquerors, and became the heritage of both Saxon and Norman welded into the great modern English nation.

A few words about the Pope's position are necessary. The Church had just begun her hundred years' struggle with the Hohenstaufen. Frederic Barbarossa aspired to be "lord of the world," as he styled himself, and to make the Pope the passive instrument of his will. With this view he created an anti-Pope, and drove Alexander III. into exile in France. His aims were on a large scale, the same as Henry's were on a small one. Under these circumstances Alexander was careful not to irritate Henry needlessly. He tried to conciliate him so far as was possible without sacrificing the honour and liberty of the Church; but beyond this he never took a single step. His letters to Henry and his whole policy, breathe the affection and forbearance of a father, united with the calm resolution and

* Alan, p. 343.

dignity of one who can afford to wait patiently, because he works not for time but for eternity, and who knows that in the end his cause must triumph.

Mr. Froude tells us that towards the end of 1163 Alexander had long known Becket, and had no liking for him. This is untrue. Alexander had never seen S. Thomas till a few months before at the Council of Tours, when he received him with extraordinary honour.* The following year he was said to regard him with great favour on account of his firmness at Clarendon;† and ever after he treated him with marked respect, consideration, and affection. Mr. Froude represents Alexander as mercenary and timeserving, weak and vacillating. In order to make good his first charge, he in one place applies to him John of Salisbury's complaint against the Romans and the Roman Church, though John expressly distinguishes the Pope from them;‡ and in another he omits from a quotation from John of Salisbury the words, "The Pope is a holy and just man."§ Alexander prevented the customs being permanently imposed on England, he compelled Henry to do penance at Avranches, and he brought the great Frederic Barbarossa to his feet.|| If Mr. Froude really believes that the man who did all this by mere moral force, was contemptibly mercenary, time-serving, weak, and vacillating, he must believe him to have possessed much more supernatural power than even Catholics give him credit for.

Mr. Froude's assertion that S. Thomas's resignation of the chancellorship was an intimation of his intention "as archbishop, in the name of the Church, to be head both of State and king," is contrary to common sense. Had he had any such ambition, he would have followed the example of Reginald, Archbishop of Cologne, the Emperor's archbishop-chancellor, and held both offices together. Mr. Froude tells us how he "placed the great seal in the hands of the Chief Justice, the young prince, and the Barons of the Exchequer, demanding and receiving from them a hurried discharge of his responsibilities." But all this is pure fiction. So, too, is his picture of S. Thomas's "assumed airs of sanctity," which, though so "startling," were non-existent. S. Thomas's austerities and pious practices were studiously concealed.¶ His general demeanour was only what ordinary propriety demanded from a primate. He wore his worldly dress till the monks gave him

* Herb., vii. p. 89.

† Ep. Jo. Sar., i. p. 191.

‡ Ibid., p. 190.

§ Ibid., p. 308.

|| Von Reumont, "*Geschichte der Stadt Rom*," ii. l. 3, c. 3, p. 457.

¶ Rog. Pont., p. 110; Grim., p. 16; Fitz-St., p. 204; Jo. Sar., p. 324; William of Canterbury, ii. p. 5.

a strong hint to change it; and then he assumed, not the "habit of a monk," but the common black cappa of the secular clergy. In fact, "his outward appearance seemed to the multitude to be unchanged, while inwardly all was changed."*

Henry no doubt was disappointed at S. Thomas's resignation of the chancellorship. His courtiers tried to make mischief between them. But he concealed his feelings, being unwilling "gratuitously to consider as an enemy one who had hitherto never opposed him in anything."† On his return to England before Christmas, 1162, he received S. Thomas with his usual affection;‡ and afterwards, as often as occasion offered, he treated him with honour and reverence.§ Their relations continued unchanged till July, 1163, when S. Thomas refused to absolve, at the king's command, William of Eynsford, whom he had excommunicated without the king's leave. This touched the royal customs, and Henry declared, "Now he no longer has my favour."||

The defence of national rights soon after caused another collision. Two shillings on every hide of land used to be paid to the sheriffs on condition of protection from the exactions of their subordinates. Henry ordered this money to be paid into his treasury. S. Thomas explained that it was a voluntary gift to the sheriffs, and was paid only so long as they did their duty. Henry persisted. But S. Thomas held his ground; and by his firmness the country was saved from this illegal extortion.¶

The case of Philip de Broi, a canon of Bedford, brought matters to a crisis. The facts, as told by five contemporary writers, are as follow** :—A long-forgotten calumny was raked up against Philip. He was accused of having killed a man, and was tried according to law in the Bishop of Lincoln's court. His accusers failed to prove their case, the family freed him from the charge, he attested his innocence by a solemn oath, and was acquitted. Simon Fitz-Peter, one of the king's justices, attempted to try him a second time on the same charge, which was as illegal then as it would be now; and Philip, in defending his rights, insulted Simon. Simon complained to the king in the presence of S. Thomas. Henry insisted that Philip should be tried again before a lay court. S. Thomas protested, and took Philip under the protection of his own court and church, that he might answer his accusers. Henry

* Fitz-St., p. 203.

† Rog. Pont., p. 112.

‡ Herb., vii. p. 87.

§ Rog. Pont., p. 112.

|| Fitz-St., p. 209.

¶ Grim, p. 21; Rog. Pont., p. 113.

** Grim, p. 22; Rog. Pont., p. 114; Fitz-St., p. 214; Herb., vii. p. 101; Diceto, p. 537.

then sent to Canterbury some bishops and nobles who tried Philip for the homicide. Philip denied the fact and pleaded his former acquittal, but he confessed the insult to the sheriff; whereupon he was sentenced to the sequestration of his benefice for two years and to be whipped, if the sheriff wished.

This Mr. Froude calls "a specially gross case of clerical offence." In order to verify his words he falsifies all the leading facts and many of the minor ones. He says, that Philip had killed a man; that this was not denied; that "he paid the usual fees and perhaps a small fine," and was acquitted. On the contrary, he had *not* killed a man; it *was* denied by himself, the family of the dead man, the judge, and public opinion, which had cast the old forgotten calumny into oblivion*, and his payment of either fees or fine is not mentioned. Mr. Froude says he was cross-questioned in Becket's presence, when it was not denied that he had killed a man. All this is a pure invention. Then he tells us that "public justice" was not satisfied; that "the king, always moderate," "condemned the judgment of the Bishop of Lincoln's court," insisted on a "real trial," and appointed a mixed commission of bishops and laymen, who tried him again for the murder, and sentenced him as above. Mr. Froude protests against "so weak a judgment," which "showed Henry the real value of Becket's theory," that clergy must be tried in ecclesiastical courts and punished according to canon law. He forgets that this was not "Becket's theory," but the law of the realm. He winds up with a high-sounding sentence, that "the king insisted that a sacred profession should not be used as a screen for the protection of felony."

But the real question stands quite apart from special pleading based on a fiction. Does Mr. Froude seriously think that "public justice" is secured by a violation of the laws of the land and the jurisdiction of regular courts; by the trial a second time, on the same charge, of an innocent man; by the king's setting aside the formal sentence of a judge, and instituting an illegal commission of his own sole will? If Mr. Froude really thinks this "public justice," he may be quite certain that not a single Englishman agrees with him.

The king next demanded at a council of bishops at Westminster, that clergy guilty of crimes should be degraded, and then given to the secular power for punishment. S. Thomas answered, that it was not just to condemn a man twice for the same offence. Henry then required the bishops to promise to observe his royal customs. After consultation, S. Thomas

* "*Olim consopita calumnia.*"—Grim, p. 22.

answered that they would do so, "saving their order." The king was enraged: S. Thomas pleaded that he had taken the oath of fealty in this form, which was universal throughout Christendom. The king broke up the council in anger.

Arnulf of Lisieux, a time-serving prelate, now crossed the Channel no less than six times in three months, to gain the favour of the Pope and cardinals*; but all he could obtain was, that the Pope sent the Abbot of Aumône, a man of great weight, with letters to S. Thomas, exhorting him "to obey the laws of the realm"† (which he had always done), "and to be humble and flexible to the king's will on account of the evil times."‡ The Pope did not "command" S. Thomas to accept the customs unconditionally, as Mr. Froude says. S. Thomas did so because the Abbot, the Earl of Vendôme, and the Bishop of Hereford, assured him that the king had declared to them, on the "word of truth," that he would never require anything of him contrary to his order or his will; and that he insisted so pertinaciously in this matter only because he deemed it derogatory to his dignity that the archbishop should refuse him even "*verbal*" honour. They, therefore, besought S. Thomas to go with them and make the promise without the reservation; after which, they said, all mention of the customs would be for ever abolished.§ On the strength of this assurance from persons of such repute and position, he went with them to Woodstock and made the promise unreservedly. But no sooner had he done so than the king insisted that it should be repeated before all the bishops and barons, who were summoned to meet at Clarendon on the 29th January, 1164.

S. Thomas had little doubt that he had been deceived, and silently resolved not to repeat the unconditional promise at Clarendon. But Henry, anticipating opposition, filled the council-chamber with armed men, in order to carry his point by intimidation or force. Then S. Thomas, fearing for the Bishops of Salisbury and Worcester whose lives were threatened, and depending on the personal security of two Templars of high position, that if he would "verbally" satisfy the king's dignity, nothing contrary to his order would be required of him, || repeated the unconditional promise, and the bishops followed his example. Hereupon, Henry ordered the customs to be written down and signed. This changed the whole aspect of the dispute. Not only did it remove all doubt that S. Thomas had been entrapped, but it revealed Henry's purpose

* Diceto, p. 536.

† Hoveden, i. p. 221.

‡ Rog. Pont., p. 121.

§ Ibid., p. 122.

|| Ibid., p. 125. Gervase, "*Anglicanæ Hist. Script.*" p. 1,385.

to convert the customs into laws and impose a tyrannical yoke on the nation. As the customs, drawn up in sixteen clauses,* and henceforth known as the Constitutions of Clarendon, were read out, S. Thomas stated the legal and constitutional objections to each; and when he was called on to sign and seal them, he instantly answered, "By the Lord Almighty, during my life-time seal of mine shall never touch them."†

Mr. Froude travesties these proceedings so as to make it appear that it was the king, and not S. Thomas, who was standing up for the laws of the realm. Of the promise he says:—

It was a promise given dishonestly—given with a conscious intention of not observing it. He had been tempted, he afterwards said, by an intimation that, if he would but seem to yield, the king would be satisfied. Becket was a lawyer. He could not really have been under any such illusion. In real truth, he did not mean to be bound by the language of the Constitutions at all, but only by his own language, from which it would be easy to escape. There was no entrapping if his promise had been honestly given. The use of the word is a frank confession that he had meant to deceive Henry by words, and that he was being caught in his own snare.

We appeal to any unprejudiced reader to decide on which side the dishonesty lay. Five persons of the highest character and position attested, that Henry had promised solemnly that if S. Thomas would make the *verbal* submission demanded, nothing prejudicial to his order would be required of him. He was fully justified in believing them. He gave the *verbal* promise that alone was demanded, on the conditions that Henry himself had laid down; and when these conditions were not fulfilled, he was thereby freed from it. There is not a court of equity which would decide otherwise. He was entrapped, not "in his own snare," but in an unscrupulous stratagem characteristic of Henry.

Mr. Froude tries to persuade us that the Pope was on the king's side. The Pope's letters tell us the exact contrary. He did not "hesitate" to confirm the Constitutions, but declared positively that he would never do so.‡ In three letters written at this time, while he advises S. Thomas to try to recover the king's favour, he orders him to make always a reservation of the rights and liberties of the Church, especially of the Roman Church, and should he have promised anything to the contrary, not to observe his promise, but to recall it as being unlawful.§

Henry now asked for legatine powers for the Archbishop of

* Herb., viii. p. 201.

† Grim, pp. 24-31; Reg. Pont., pp. 121-7; Fitz-St., pp. 209-18.

‡ Ep. S. Tho., ii. p. 2.

§ Ibid., pp. 2, 6, 10.

York. The Pope granted them, because Henry's envoys declared that otherwise S. Thomas would be beheaded;* but he made them swear that they would never be given to the Archbishop of York without S. Thomas's consent.† Being useless, Henry returned them, and asked for more absolute letters; but these he could never obtain.‡

Mr. Froude here makes two false assertions. He says that the legatine powers were sent to the king himself, which is disproved by the Pope's letters.§ He adds that the king acted upon them by carrying out the Constitutions against the clergy. As if legatine powers could possibly authorize the violation of the laws of the Church and the realm!

Here we have the most audacious of Mr. Froude's falsifications. He gives us the following quotation from the "*Materials*," vol. ii. p. 385:—

Then was seen the mournful spectacle of priests and deacons, who had committed murder, manslaughter, theft, robbery, and other crimes, carried in carts before the king's commissioners and punished as if they had been ordinary men.

But when we turn to the place indicated, the passage is not there! We read only that—

Priests, deacons, and lower clergy were seen to be dragged before the Council, where, contrary to the holy canons, they were condemned by laymen to death, or to the shame of dismemberment, or to be miserably thrown into the king's prison.

Henry insisted that S. Thomas should degrade all the clergy still in custody, and afterwards give them up to "the torturers." But S. Thomas positively refused to punish them except as the laws allowed. This savage and illegal outrage shows us how S. Thomas contended, not only in defence of law and personal liberty, but also of common humanity and civilization.

S. Thomas now made two attempts to leave the country. Hereupon Mr. Froude accuses him of "constructive treason." But how could this be treason when it was not contrary to the laws? Henry, at least, was not aware that it was treason; for when, shortly after, S. Thomas visited him at Woodstock, he treated it as a joke.|| He was, however, alarmed at the possibility of S. Thomas laying his cause in person before the Pope, and he issued an illegal decree, at which the barons murmured, that no one was to leave the country without a passport from himself.¶

* Grim, p. 33.

† Ep. S. Tho., ii. p. 240.

‡ Herb., vii. p. 132.

† Ep. S. Tho., ii. p. 3.

§ Ibid., pp. 2, 3.

¶ Rog. Pont., p. 131.

The next event was the council at Northampton in the second week of October, 1164. The customs were now dropped, and a new ground of attack was taken. Though Henry's intentions are not positively known, yet the recent decree, the proceedings at Northampton, and his letter just after to Louis of France, leave scarcely a doubt that he proposed to seize S. Thomas for debt, compel him to resign his see, and, by imprisoning him, cut him off from access to the Pope, and thus keep the game in his own hands.

The first charge against S. Thomas at Northampton was for "contempt," in having failed to appear in the king's court on a previous summons to answer the appeal of one John Marshall from his own court. S. Thomas represented that illness had prevented his appearing, but he had sent four knights to make his excuses and point out that the appeal was irregular and invalid, because John Marshall had refused to support it by a solemn oath. Notwithstanding, Henry insisted on his being sentenced to the forfeiture of all his movable property, or five hundred pounds of silver, though the legal amount of the fine for contempt was only forty shillings.* S. Thomas appealed to the Pope, who annulled the sentence because it had been contrary to law, and also because S. Thomas had no movable property except what belonged to the Church.†

The next demand was for three hundred pounds, which S. Thomas had received during his chancellorship from the Castelry of Eye and Berkhamstead. He answered, that he had not been summoned on this account; but that he had spent this money, and very much more, in repairing these castles and the Tower of London. The Earl of Gloucester, William of Eynsford, and another of S. Thomas's retainers, stood bail for him.

The next demand was for five hundred marks lent him by the king during his chancellorship. S. Thomas, in amazement, said it had been a gift, and reminded the king of his services. Henry insisted on repayment. In spite of the risk of offending him, five men were found to stand surety for the sum.‡

Next came the demand for an account of the revenues of the vacant bishoprics and abbeys during his chancellorship, valued at 30,000 marks. Henry of Winchester, supported by the bishops and many others who had been present at S. Thomas's election, reminded the king how his son, by his authority, had given S. Thomas free to the Church. The king repudiated his

* Grim, p. 40 ; Rog. Pont., p. 131 ; Fitz-St., p. 230.

† Ep. S. Tho., ii. p. 7.

‡ Herb., vii. p. 136 ; Gervase, p. 1,389.

own act, and that of his son and his ministers, and insisted on repayment.* It is needless to comment on an act of such gross dishonesty. It was the more unpardonable, because there was nothing peculiar in the transaction, it being the universal custom that if a secular were made abbot, or a monk of one abbey was elected abbot of another, he was not received by the vacant abbey till he had been freed from all previous obligations.†

The next two days were spent in consultation. Some of the bishops pressed S. Thomas to resign. But Henry of Winchester said, that if an archbishop were to set an example of giving up his spiritual charge at the command of a prince, not only the Church, but every other branch of society would fall into confusion and license, and priest and people would suffer alike.‡ The Bishop of Chichester, on the other hand, pressed the resignation; for Henry had declared that the kingdom should not contain him as king, and Thomas as archbishop.§

The next day S. Thomas was too ill to go out. But on the following morning, after saying the Mass of S. Stephen he put on his black cappa—not “a black stole and cap”—and went to the castle. As he dismounted, he took his cross in his hand. The Bishop of Hereford offered to bear it; but he answered, it was right that he should himself bear that, under the protection of which he would be safe. The Bishop of London remonstrated, that the king, seeing him thus armed, might draw his sword. He answered, “We commit that to God.” The bishop replied, “You have always been a fool, and from this folly I see you will not draw back.”|| Mr. Froude says that S. Thomas silenced the Archbishop of York “by a violent answer.” But the Archbishop did not arrive till later.¶ Then, in answer to his remonstrance, S. Thomas said in a humble tone (*humili usus affatu*), “I know that the king’s sword cuts only the flesh, but the cross pierces the soul and transfixes the spiritual powers. Far be it from me to carry a sword against my lord the king, as you suppose. The cross bears not a sword but peace, and makes peace between all things in heaven and in earth. I wish for peace, and therefore I will not lay down my cross.”** This is what Mr. Froude calls a violent answer! Surely the violent answer was not S. Thomas’s?

All through the live-long day S. Thomas sat, calm and dignified, in the council-hall, Herbert and Fitz-Stephen encouraging him by words and signs, Planeta and Diceto, Archdeacon of

* Ibid., p. 138; Gervase, p. 1389.

† Alan, p. 343; Gervase, p. 1390.

‡ Alan, p. 346.

** Grim, p. 43; Rog. Pont., p. 137.

† Fitz-St., p. 223.

§ Fitz-St., p. 223.

¶ Fitz-St., p. 226.

London, standing by in tears. The Archbishop of York, in defiance of the Pope and S. Thomas, passed through the hall with his cross borne before him. Reports came from the inner room that the Bishops of Norwich and Salisbury were to be mutilated for resisting the king. Insolent barons threatened violence. The bishops went in and out of the inner room, or sat around weeping, or knelt at S. Thomas's feet, beseeching him to have pity on himself. At last the Archbishop of York passed back, calling to his clerics, "Let us go. We ought not to see what will soon be done with my Lord of Canterbury." But one of them answered, "I will not go till I see what God wills for him. If he should strive unto blood for God and for justice, he could not have a better end."

Early in the day several barons had come to ask S. Thomas whether he would abide by the sentence of the court about his accounts. He replied, that he was not bound to answer for his chancellorship; because he had been summoned only for the cause of John Marshall, and also because, before his consecration he had been freed from all his secular claims.

As evening was drawing in the Earls of Leicester and Cornwall brought him the sentence of the council. He stopped them by a speech of such truth and force, that neither dared pronounce the sentence. Then, solemnly appealing to the Pope, "guarded by the authority of the Catholic Church and the Holy See," he rose to go away. Such a torrent of insults assailed him as he passed down the hall, that the king, being reminded of the undying infamy he would incur were the primate killed in his court,* issued a proclamation to protect him.

During the day friendly barons had brought reports of intended violence either by the king or his retainers.† After supper S. Thomas sent three bishops to the king to ask leave to go away the next day, and a safe-conduct to visit the Pope. Henry referred the answer to the council on the morrow. This foreboded danger,‡ and consequently S. Thomas fled during the night.

Mr. Froude has omitted these important details. For this scene, so grand in its simplicity, he has substituted a mock heroic farrago, made up of misplaced or fictitious facts, intermixed with conjectures, insinuations, and sneers. Our limits permit us to notice only the astounding assertions with which he winds up.

Becket had broken his promise to accept the Constitutions, and had so

* Grim, p. 48.

† Rog. Pont., p. 135 ; Jo. Sar., p. 329.

‡ Herb., vii. p. 150.

broken it as to show that the promise had been given in conscious bad faith. He was a defaulting public officer. He had been unjust as a judge. He had defied the Crown and the estates of the realm. He had refused to answer for his conduct, and had denied his responsibilities. He had deserted his post, and had fled from the realm, although the king's proclamation had left him without the excuse that he was in fear of personal violence.

All this is absolutely false. S. Thomas had not broken his promise. He had made only a conditional promise, and when the condition was violated the promise was annulled. The promise was illegal, and therefore in itself null and void. Moreover, it had been cancelled by the supreme judge, whose jurisdiction both he and Henry acknowledged. He was not a defaulting public officer, because he had been freed from all demands. For a similar reason, he denied only non-existent responsibilities, and refused only an illegal summons to answer for his conduct. He had not been unjust as a judge, since even the appellant refused to take a solemn oath to that effect. He had not defied the Crown and the estates of the realm, but had only appealed as the laws of the realm permitted. He had not deserted his post, since the duties of that post called him to the Pope. As to the king's proclamation removing the fear of personal violence, the greatest fear of violence was from the king himself. Mr. Froude assures us "the king had not intended to arrest him, but he could not know it." Mr. Froude does not tell us how he happens to know it. Common sense, then, bids us prefer the opinions of friends and foes alike in the council-hall, and of the confidential advisers who deemed longer stay in England unsafe. Henry's letter to Louis, in which he calls him "Thomas, the late Archbishop of Canterbury," leaves no doubt as to at least one part of his intention. Louis asked who had deposed the archbishop? Getting no answer, he said, "I am as much a king as the King of England, yet I could not depose the very least of the clerics of my kingdom."*

With the flight of S. Thomas the first part of the struggle ends. The simple facts prove that he was the champion of the laws and constitution of the realm, which, within fifty years, were the basis of Magna Charta, and still are the foundation of our national liberty.

The negotiations, which now occupied nearly six years, though intricate, will be easily followed if the line of action of S. Thomas, the Pope, and Henry respectively, be borne in mind. S. Thomas spent this time in the abbeys of Pontigny and of S. Columba, near Sens. His part was no longer one of

* Gervase, p. 1394.

action, but of suffering, and of simple obedience to the Pope. The Pope, as has been already said, tried to conciliate Henry; but he was immovable as to the liberties of the Church, and waited patiently to secure them. He also openly supported S. Thomas. Henry's policy was to get the cause tried under circumstances which would enable him to influence both judges and witnesses; and failing that, to delay the decision till the Pope's death should give him the opportunity of extorting the ratification of the Constitutions from his successor, as the indispensable condition of his acknowledging him.*

The first move was made by Henry, who despatched envoys to the Pope at Sens, requesting him to send S. Thomas back to England, and also cardinals with full powers to decide the matter finally on the spot. The Pope refused both requests, and reserved the final decision to himself. He urged the envoys to wait a few days to meet S. Thomas. But they refused, and hurried away. Mr. Froude says, "Becket ought to have met them there." We, on the contrary, think that the envoys *ought* to have waited to meet him there.

Henry soon after proposed a meeting with the Pope from which S. Thomas was to be excluded. But the Pope rejected this restriction as a personal affront. S. Thomas represented to him "that the apostolic religion might easily be circumvented by the variations in the king's words, unless some careful interpreter were present to elicit his intentions from the hidden depths of his soul; and if he should discover his Holiness's weak points, he would place stumbling-blocks in his way."† Mr. Froude thinks this caution "not very complimentary to the Holy Father's understanding"; but the Pope seems to have thought otherwise.

Mr. Froude says that S. Thomas "was received with no great warmth by the Pope" at Sens. This is untrue. The Pope gave an immediate audience to S. Thomas's messenger, Herbert, while he was still keeping Henry's envoys waiting, and he expressed deep sympathy with his master, even styling him a martyr. S. Thomas himself he received with the greatest affection and honour. He restored him without any hesitation to his see, which he had resigned. Even his censure for having promised to observe the customs was accompanied by warm praise of his subsequent conduct, and sympathy in his sufferings. He thanked, as for a personal favour, those who had been kind to him;‡ and the following year when he returned to Italy, he took him with him as far as Bourges. In August, 1165, he

* Ep. S. Tho., ii. p. 211.

† Alan, i. p. 364.

‡ Ep. S. Tho., ii. pp. 112, 109, 52.

appointed him legate over all England except the diocese of York. He wrote to the English bishops in strong praise of him;* and later he reproved them, because, while appeals were pending, they failed to treat him with due respect.†

Mr. Froude thinks it incredible that the Pope should not have seen the Constitutions before S. Thomas showed them to him at Sens, because "John of Salisbury had said that the proceedings at Clarendon were better known on the Continent than in England." As usual, Mr. Froude falsifies his quotation. What John of Salisbury really said was, that he heard there (on the Continent) many things done at the Councils of London and Winchester, which he had never heard in England; and many, indeed, greater and worse than the truth were repeated.‡ Mr. Froude thinks it is no less incredible that the Pope should have blamed Becket for having consented to the Constitutions. It would be infinitely more incredible had he not done so, for he had already condemned them in general terms.§ It was impossible that he should give up to Henry the liberty of the Church, for the defence of which against Barbarossa he was now in exile.

But notwithstanding the Pope's open support of S. Thomas, he was true to the line of action he had laid down for himself, and ordered him to bear patiently with Henry, and not to issue any sentence against him and his realm till Easter, 1166.|| Meanwhile he and S. Thomas wrote to Henry affectionate letters of warning, well calculated to touch his heart.

This interval Henry employed in a characteristic way. He confiscated all S. Thomas's property, ejected all whom he had appointed to benefices, and banished all his relatives, household, and friends, and the relatives of all of them, including delicate females, women with babes unborn, and children at the breast or in the cradle, to the number of four hundred, binding them by an oath to go to S. Thomas. At a council at Chinon he reproached his knights as traitors, because they had not zeal or courage enough to rid him from the molestation of one man. For these ominous words the Archbishop of Rheims rebuked him severely.¶ Moreover, he wrote to Reginald, the Emperor's archbishop-chancellor, offering to join the anti-Pope, with fifty bishops, and invited him to England.** This was a mere despicable bravado, and a mean artifice to take advantage of the Pope's misfortunes. Henry was far too clever to think seriously of helping the Emperor who aspired to be his lord

* Ibid., p. 80.

† Ibid., p. 40.

‡ Ep. Jo. Sar., i. p. 188.

§ Ep. S. Tho., ii. p. 2.

|| Ibid., p. 6.

¶ Ep. Jo. Sar., i. p. 226.

** Ep. S. Tho., ii. p. 264; Herb., viii. p. 267; Ep. Gilb. Fol., ii. p. 279.

paramount, or of risking his own crown ; for the loyalty of the English nation to Alexander was plainly declared by the refusal of the kiss of peace to Reginald, and the demolition of the altars at which he had said mass.

When Easter 1166 arrived, the Pope ordered S. Thomas to excommunicate all holders of the property of his Church, and promised to uphold his sentence ; but he left him free to act as he chose with respect to the king.*

Accordingly, at Vezelay on the feast of Pentecost, S. Thomas excommunicated many of the king's followers, suspended Joceline, Bishop of Salisbury, and with tears and the deepest emotion warned Henry by name of the sentence hanging over him. All the sentenced persons appealed to the Pope. But, contrary to Mr. Froude's expectations, the "air-bubble" did not collapse into a "drop of dirty water." The Pope confirmed the sentences at Vezelay ;† John of Salisbury applauded S. Thomas's zeal, and the severity and discretion of his censures ;‡ and the English bishops were so impressed, that they either wrote to S. Thomas, or prepared to go to him.§

Mr. Froude expends much sarcasm on S. Thomas's sentences of excommunication. He forgets the maxim of the scientific historian which he formerly laid down, that the chief duty of the student of history is to keep before him, as the key to what he reads, the differences of "motives, which in one age are languid and even unintelligible," and yet "have been in another alive and all-powerful."|| Society in the twelfth century was founded on Christianity, and public opinion expressed itself in accordance with Christian principles. Exclusion from Christian sacraments consequently entailed social outlawry ; somewhat as in the present day an offender against the social code, is expelled from his club, cut by his county, or dismissed the public service. But, in the twelfth century the outlawry was far wider and more complete than it is now ; for the whole of Europe and all classes, both high and low, united to carry it out. It would be absurd to think that a man who, like Henry, habitually defied the laws of both God and man, should have feared excommunication in its religious aspect. But he dreaded this social outlawry, this loud outcry of public opinion. Ridicule cast on so tremendous a weapon of social order, is senseless, and recoils on him who utters it, thereby betraying his ignorance or his malice.

These excommunications again drew out Henry's characteristic spirit. He threatened to seize all the property of the Cister-

* Ep. S. Tho., ii. p. 12.
§ Ep. S. Tho., ii. p. 208.

† Ibid., pp. 11-13.

‡ Jo. Sar., ii. p. 1.
|| Vol. i. 549.

cians in his dominions unless S. Thomas was expelled from Pontigny. But S. Thomas, to spare his hosts, voluntarily retired, and became for the rest of his exile the guest of Louis at the royal Abbey of S. Columba, near Sens.

Henry also sent to Rome John of Oxford, one of the excommunicates, who, for his indifference to perjury, was nicknamed "the swearer." After obtaining absolution by an oath, which his contemporaries thought to be false, John produced letters from Henry, saying that he was to be believed as if he were the king himself. Thus accredited, he submitted the whole case to the Pope's judgment, and took a solemn oath that peace would be concluded on whatever terms he should dictate. His Holiness accordingly promised to send legates to negotiate a peace.* But on his return to England John published, that a legate empowered to decide all questions absolutely, had been granted to the king; and he forbade the bishops, in the names of the Pope and the king, to obey S. Thomas. He also produced letters, on seeing which the Bishop of London exclaimed exultingly, "Then Thomas shall be no more archbishop of mine."†

Strong remonstrances were forthwith addressed to the Pope by John of Salisbury and Humbert, Archdeacon of Bourges, and later Pope Urban III., representing that the Church was being sacrificed, and that Henry was acting in bad faith, hoping to evade S. Thomas's authority till the Pope's death should enable him to make terms with his successor.‡ S. Thomas seconded their remonstrances. But he had also personal grounds of complaint. He protested against entering Henry's territories as a litigant, and being tried by his enemies, especially Cardinal William of Pavia, one of the legates, to whom he understood his See had been promised in case he should rid the king of him. He also told mournfully how, since John of Oxford's return, the nobles and bishops of France were sending away his exiled friends whom they had hitherto supported, some of whom had already died of cold and hunger, and a like fate awaited the rest.§ It is scarcely necessary to say, that as soon as the Pope discovered John of Oxford's perfidy, he stopped the legates.

When the foregoing negotiations began the Pope had secretly ordered S. Thomas to defer sentences against the king or his followers, promising that if Henry did not make peace on the terms required, he should then be at liberty to exercise his office.|| As soon as the legates were stopped S. Thomas supposed the whole matter was at end, and on Palm Sunday, 1167,

* Ep. Jo. Sar., ii. p. 43.

† Ep. S. Tho., i. p. 215.

‡ Ep. Jo. Sar., ii. p. 25; Ep. S. Tho., ii. p. 208.

§ Ep. S. Tho., i. p. 217.

|| Ibid., ii. p. 8.

he excommunicated the Bishop of London. The Pope was disconcerted by this step, because he was about to renew the commission to the legates. He wrote, therefore, to S. Thomas, expressing his feelings, but at the same time complimenting him on his usual foresight and discretion; and being unwilling to throw discredit on him by revoking the sentence, he suggested that S. Thomas should suspend it till it was seen how the king would act.* This S. Thomas did after the arrival of the legates, as if at their request.

Late in the year 1167 the Cardinal Legates, William of Pavia and Otho, arrived in France. Mr. Froude says that S. Thomas wrote "a violent letter" to William of Pavia, "of which he sent a copy to John of Salisbury, but despatched before his friend could stop him." This is not true. S. Thomas sent copies of two letters consecutively to John, who disapproved of both, and suggested a third, which S. Thomas seems to have adopted.†

His relations with both legates were friendly. He obtained leave from Louis for them to pass through France.‡ They made their first visit to him to thank him, and also because the Pope had told them that their first duty was to console S. Thomas.§ They then went to Caen to see Henry, with whom they staid for some time. At length they summoned S. Thomas to a conference on the borders of France, which took place November 18th, 1167. They told him that Henry was very angry, because they had not the absolute powers which John of Oxford had led him to expect. They reproached him for having instigated the existing war between Henry and Louis. But he assured them that he had avoided seeing Louis, except when he went to ask for their safe-conduct; and the next day Louis affirmed on oath that he had always counselled peace. The only proposals they could offer were: first, that S. Thomas should promise in general terms to observe the customs which his predecessors had observed under former kings; secondly, that he should resign his see; thirdly, that he should submit all questions and disputes to their arbitration. These proposals he rejected on the following grounds: first, that his predecessors had never been bound to observe these customs; secondly, that to resign, would be setting a bad example, which would ruin the Church and the Faith; thirdly, that he had not the means to carry on a suit, and that he had no instructions on the subject from the Pope. Finally, S. Thomas asked for their advice, that if in anything he had gone too far, he might rectify his future

* Ep. S. Tho., i. p. 22.

† Ibid., i. pp. 149, 150; Ep. Jo. Sar., ii. pp. 72, 74, 97.

‡ Ibid., p. 145.

§ Ep. Gilb. Fol., ii. p. 54.

conduct. They praised his zeal, expressed their sympathy, and recommended no change.* They then returned to Henry, with whom they remained a long time. At length they were recalled by the Pope, and departed "penitent and ashamed," mourning that they should have preferred the king's will to the cause of the Church. Before they went, each separately warned the king, that unless he changed his course and acted more gently to the Church of God, a stricter and speedier account than he dreamt of, would be required of him by God and His Church.†

Mr. Froude travesties these proceedings. He gives us to understand that "with great difficulty Becket was brought to consent to see the cardinals"; that he "gathered no comfort" from them; that he then "cursed the Bishop of London"; that he refused—in opposition to the Pope, it is implied—to plead before them or submit to their arbitration; that "to his entire confusion, he learned that the king held a letter from the Pope, declaring that his curses would be so much wasted breath"; that "the Pope tried to soothe him, and wished to frighten him into submission"; that he was satisfied only when, after many months, the cardinals "let out" that their powers were limited; and that finally they suspended him. All this is fiction. Contemporary evidence shows us that he protested against the mission of the cardinals only so long as he believed John of Oxford's lies to be truth. He made no difficulties about seeing them; he knew the extent of their powers from the first; his relations with them were most amicable; instead of "cursing" the Bishop of London, he suspended his former sentence. The cardinals did not suspend him, but only prohibited his disregarding the appeal of some of the English bishops until the Pope had been consulted;‡ and finally, the Pope ordered them to replace S. Thomas's sentences on certain excommunicates who had got absolution by fraud;§ but they declared that they dared not do it while they were in Henry's dominions, for fear of personal violence.||

Both parties now sent messengers to Rome. Herbert says—

The threshold of the Apostles was worn by our messengers and by our adversaries. . . . Here were a poor archbishop and his ragged and wretched fellow-exiles, showing a brave resistance to citizens and kings, to cardinals and persons of wealth; and I then at least learned that gold and silver cannot be brought into comparison with a man of learning and energy, let him be poor as he may.¶

* Ep. S. Tho., i. p. 16; Ep. Jo. Sar., i. p. 85.

† Ep. Jo. Sar., ii. p. 165.

‡ Ep. Gilb. Fol., ii. p. 148.

§ Ibid., p. 56.

|| Ep. S. Theo., i. p. 218.

¶ Herb., vii. p. 254.

John of Salisbury also writes :—

Both parties were courteously received, but the king's envoys, as their cause was worse, so their pomp and ostentation were greater; and when they found they could not move his lordship the Pope by flattery and promises, they had recourse to threats. . . . But the man of God could not be shaken by terror any more than seduced by flattery.*

This independent testimony of two persons, belonging to the class who would have suffered most under a mercenary and time-serving Pope, is a striking refutation of Mr. Froude's accusations of Alexander.

The Pope now changed his tactics, not under any influence such as Mr. Froude finds it "hard" to discover, but simply in pursuance of his predetermined policy. Henry had made many promises; and now the Pope, appealing to his magnanimity to remember that it was "more glorious to be conquered than to conquer," called upon him to fulfil them. To conciliate him, he told him that he had forbidden S. Thomas to issue any sentence against him, his land, or his nobles, until he took him back into his favour; but he gave him leave to publish this letter only "if the archbishop should aggrieve him."† Magnanimity and honour, however, were alike unknown to Henry. He instantly published the letter as widely as he could, boasting which of the cardinals had received his gold, who were the agents of his bribery, that he had the Pope and all the cardinals in his purse, and was at last "Apostolic legate, patriarch, emperor, and whatever else he chose."‡

This was, as may be supposed, a dreadful trial to S. Thomas, notwithstanding that on May 19th, 1168, the Pope wrote to him with his usual affection, and promised that if peace were not arranged before the beginning of Lent, 1169, his powers, which he now suspended, would be restored to him. The selfishness of aim which Mr. Green justly ascribes to S. Thomas, appears strikingly in the touching letter which he now wrote to the Pope, from which we can give only the following extract :—

But your Holiness counsels me to bear with patience *meanwhile*. And do you not observe, O Father, what this *meanwhile* may bring about? . . . *Meanwhile* he applies to his own purposes the revenues of the vacant abbeys and bishoprics,§ and will not suffer pastors to be ordained there. *Meanwhile* he riots in uncontrolled insolence against the parishes, churches,

* Ep. Jo. Sar., ii. p. 134.

† Ep. S. Tho., ii. p. 129.

‡ Ep. Jo. Sar., ii. p. 114.

§ In a letter to Humbald, Bishop of Ostia, and afterwards Pope Lucius III., he mentioned that, besides his own archbishopric, there were no less than six bishoprics in England kept vacant, one of which, Bangor, had been without a bishop for ten years (Ep. S. Tho., i. p. 121).

holy places, and the whole sacred order. *Meanwhile* he and the other persecutors of the Church make their will their law. *Meanwhile* who is to take charge of the sheep of Christ, and save them from the jaws of wolves, who no longer prowl around, but have entered the fold, and devour, and tear, and slay, with none to resist them? For what pastor have you not silenced, and what bishop have you not suspended, in suspending me? *

When Lent was approaching without Henry's having attempted reconciliation, the Pope sent three monks with letters warning him of the sentence hanging over him. Mr. Froude makes the false assertion that they were sent to guide S. Thomas. It happened that just at that time peace was about to be concluded between the kings of France and England, at a meeting near Montmirail on the Epiphany, 1169. Mr. Froude says, "the central disturber"—i.e. S. Thomas, whom he before accused of instigating the war, was to be included in the peace. This is contradicted by the fact that S. Thomas did not appear till peace had been concluded. S. Thomas, approaching Henry, threw himself on his knees before him, and as the king raised him, he said, "Have mercy on me, O my lord, for I throw myself on God and your majesty, for God's honour and yours." Henry broke out into insulting language and reproaches, declaring that he asked for nothing from the archbishop, except to keep those customs which his five immediate predecessors had observed, and to which he himself had assented. He spoke so plausibly, that all who were present took his part. In vain S. Thomas reminded him that his oath of fidelity contained the clause, "saving my order." He withdrew in great anger. But the envoys, according to their orders, followed him to deliver the Pope's letters warning him that S. Thomas's powers were about to be restored. He reverted to the old snare, promising them that if they could induce S. Thomas to swear to the customs, he would afterwards correct anything that might be intolerable in them. They returned to S. Thomas and besought him to omit the offensive clause. He answered, that the blessed Anselm was the only one of his predecessors who had been urged to profess the customs, and he had gone into exile rather than do so. At length the kings, the envoys, and all the nobles went away in great indignation at S. Thomas's "obstinacy." But as S. Thomas and his dejected followers returned to Sens, the people said as he passed, "That is the archbishop who would not deny God or neglect His honour for the sake of the kings."

Henry's triumph was of short duration. Before the week was over every one saw through him. Louis threw himself at

* Ep. S. Tho., i. p. 52.

S. Thomas's feet to ask his pardon, and was henceforth a truer friend than ever. Bernard de Corilo, one of the envoys, said to Herbert, "I would rather have my foot cut off than that your lord should have made peace at that conference, as I and all the others advised."*

Mr. Froude tells us, "The archbishop was required to do nothing beyond what had been done by Anselm." This is exactly opposite to the truth; for Anselm went into exile rather than do it. Again he says, Henry embarrassed the Pope "by placing the Constitutions unreservedly in his hands, and binding himself to adopt any change which the Pope might suggest." There could have been nothing embarrassing in this offer, for he had already long ago made it through John of Oxford, but had not fulfilled his pledge. Mr. Froude doubts "whether the Pope had recalled the safeguards which he had given to the king." But he omits to mention that this was the very purport of the Pope's last letters. He gives his readers a picture of "the unfortunate Alexander," drifting "on as he best could," seeming "hopelessly false," but really weak; and much more in the same style. All this is pure fiction. The Pope firmly followed out his usual policy, and S. Thomas seconded him.

S. Thomas's powers were now restored. He used them on Palm Sunday to replace his former sentences on the Bishop of London and several of the excommunicates who had been irregularly absolved, and to extend them to a few other persons. But with the same forbearance which he had shown at Vezelay, he took no action against Henry personally.

Henry was now really alarmed. He sent messengers to the Pope, offered bribes, and sought for powerful intercession on all sides. But the Pope was immovable; he could only be induced to send envoys once more as mediators. These envoys were Gratian, Notary of the Holy See, and Vivian, Archdeacon of Orvieto, and advocate in the Roman Court. On August 23rd, 1169, they met Henry. During the next fortnight they had numerous audiences, generally of a stormy character. On one occasion Henry defied the Pope. But Gratian answered mildly, "Threaten not, my lord. We fear not threats; for we come from a court which is accustomed to dictate to emperors and kings." He reported that Henry was false, always trying by twistings, and turnings, and nice subtleties, to gain some secret advantage.† In utter disgust Gratian and the Archbishop of Sens went to Rome. But Vivian, who

* Ep. Jo. Sar., ii. p. 196; Herb., vii. p. 257; Alan, p. 365; Ep. S. Tho., i. p. 43; ii. pp. 175, 177.

† Herb., vii. p. 283.

seemed to have better hopes of Henry, lingered behind. The failure of this attempt at mediation, led S. Thomas to believe that stronger measures must be tried. He therefore ordered the English bishops to publish, that an interdict would be laid on England unless peace were made before the feast of the Purification, 1170. Vivian took advantage of the impression created by this step to bring about another meeting.

Henry made a pilgrimage to the shrine of S. Denis at Montmartre, and Louis and S. Thomas met him on the 18th of November, 1169. A great point was now gained. All mention of the customs was dropped, and S. Thomas closed his petition to the king by promising only "to do whatever was due by an archbishop to his prince and king, saving the honour of God and his order."* In this petition S. Thomas asked to be received back into the king's favour, and for peace and security, and the restoration of all his property and that of his church and followers, in such moderate terms, "that it was obvious he would refuse no conditions of peace which were not absolutely intolerable for the Church." Vivian had already induced Henry to sign and seal a promise to that effect. Notwithstanding, Henry now answered S. Thomas in such tortuous and evasive terms, with a view to nullifying his concessions, that Vivian declared openly to his face he had never met with such a liar. He also wrote to the Pope, "He is sophistical and captious in every word he utters about the Church." S. Thomas, however, agreed to accept the restricted concessions which Henry offered, for victory had been won on the great question on which he had gone into exile. He did not ask for guarantees, as Mr. Froude says, but only for the kiss of peace, as the Pope had advised. Henry did not make the long speech that Mr. Froude invents for him; but he refused the kiss of peace, which Mr. Froude omits to mention. He also omits to tell his readers that Louis said, "Unless the kiss of peace were given, he would not have S. Thomas put foot in England, even for a sum of gold equal to a king's ransom"; and that Theobald of Blois added, "It would be mere folly to do so." Nor does he mention that Henry rode off abruptly without waiting for S. Thomas's answer; and that thus it was through Henry, and not through S. Thomas, as he asserts, that "the conference at Montmartre ended . . . in nothing."†

An abortive attempt by the Norman bishops to bring about another meeting, closed the long years of negotiation. Henry's policy had utterly failed. He had been compelled to drop all mention of the customs, and to accept S. Thomas's reservation.

* Ep. S. Tho., i. p. 382.

† Ep. S. Tho., i. p. 252; ii. p. 220.

The Purification was passed, and at any moment S. Thomas might launch his sentence against him. The Pope too had ordered the Archbishop of Rouen and the Bishop of Nevers to issue an interdict. But Henry's rare inventiveness of petty expedients, which Mr. Stubbs describes as characteristic,* did not fail him.

The final period of the dispute opens with the coronation of young Henry, and the substitution of oaths to maintain the customs for the usual coronation oaths. By the first Henry defied an interdict, since he was no longer king of England;† and by the second he recovered the ground he had lost by his concessions at Montmartre. Both unmask the deep hypocrisy of his professions to the Pope throughout these negotiations.

Mr. Froude says that the Pope enjoined the Archbishop of York to officiate at the coronation. There are extant two letters of the Pope to this effect; but their genuineness is doubtful, for there is not the least reference to them in any writings of the time. In any case they must have been revoked before the coronation. All the English bishops, except the three who officiated, murmured and refused to crown the prince on account of the claims of Canterbury;‡ and neither these three nor Henry defended themselves on the ground of the Pope's recent permission. On the contrary, Henry pleaded at Freitval an older letter from the Pope, which had empowered him during the vacancy after Theobald's death to appoint any bishop whom he chose, and which had been granted in order to exclude the Archbishop of York, who was then out of favour.§ Had any authentic letter authorizing the latter to officiate, been then in force, it must obviously have been mentioned by Henry and the bishops, or some of the biographers.

Mr. Froude further says, "This only is certain, that the inhibition was not served on the Archbishop of York." He rests his assertion on the fact, that the Pope's letter had been entrusted to the Bishop of Worcester, who was detained in Normandy by the queen, because she knew that he would prevent the coronation. But its transmission did not depend on the Bishop of Worcester alone. Numerous copies had been sent by other messengers on account of the great risks of conveyance; for, at this time, if letters from the Pope were found on any one he was imprisoned, or, if from S. Thomas, he was put to death.|| Some time before, a messenger of S. Thomas's having delivered a letter to the king, "his fingers were thrust into his eyes, as if to tear them out, till the blood flowed; and

* "Constit. Hist.," i. c. 12, p. 447.

† Will. Cant., ii. p. 25.

‡ Rog. Pont., p. 156.

§ Ep. S. Tho., i. p. 70.

|| Ep. S. Tho., ii. p. 289; Fitz-St., p. 267.

hot water was poured down his throat till he confessed that the letter came from Master Herbert," when he was thrown into prison.* Fitz-Stephen, who was at this time in England, says explicitly that the bishops received the prohibition on the Saturday before the coronation.† Herbert, William of Canterbury, Gervase, and John of Salisbury, all say that they received it before the coronation; the two former adding, that some who had been apprised of its import would not accept them.‡ This, of course, does not clear them morally, though possibly an unscrupulous man like Roger of York, may have taken advantage of it to swear after the martyrdom that he had not received them.§ The Bishops of London and Salisbury, on their excommunication, were disposed to submit to S. Thomas, which they evidently would not have been had they been guiltless.|| S. Thomas also reproached Henry at Freitval on the ground that the prohibition had been received, and Henry did not deny it.¶ Mr. Froude grounds his charge, that S. Thomas had "purposely withheld" the prohibition, on a subsequent letter of John of Salisbury's, complaining in general terms of S. Thomas's dilatoriness on this and other occasions.** But he omits to notice John's positive assertion, above referred to, and also an earlier letter of his to the monks of Canterbury before the coronation, in which he tells them that the prohibitory letters were then in England.††

The fact that the oath guaranteeing the liberties of the Church had been omitted at the coronation, and that the young king had been sworn to maintain the Constitutions of Clarendon, rests on the Pope's authority, being mentioned in his first letters excommunicating the Archbishop of York and the Bishops;‡‡ and also on that of Hoveden,§§ who reprints these letters without comment. S. Thomas also refers to it in the letter in which he asks the Pope not to mention it in the letters of excommunication,||| and the Pope seems to have omitted it in his subsequent letters, which were those actually delivered.¶¶

It is impossible to account for Henry's unreserved reconciliation with S. Thomas at Freitval on July 22nd, 1170, barely more than a month after his open defiance of both him and the Pope, except on the ground assigned by a contemporary, that "some one wrote to Henry to ask, Why is the Archbishop kept

* Ep. S. Tho., ii. p. 184.

† Fitz-St., p. 268.

‡ Herb., vii. p. 298; Will. Cant., p. 26; Gervase, 1,414; Jo. Sar., p. 322.

§ Diceto, p. 558.

|| Herb., vii. p. 319; Fitz-St., p. 284.

¶ Ep. S. Tho., i. pp. 67, 70.

** Ep. Jo. Sar., ii. p. 236.

†† Ibid., p. 234.

‡‡ Ep. S. Tho., ii. p. 84.

§§ Vol. ii. p. 8

||| Ep. S. Tho., i. p. 70.

¶¶ Ibid., ii. p. 85.

out of the kingdom? He had far better be kept in than kept out.* The peace of Freitval was not "understood to have been inconclusive," as Mr. Froude asserts. S. Thomas, by the king's order, presented publicly through the Archbishop of Sens his written petition for the restoration of the king's favour, peace and security for himself, his followers, his Church, and its possessions, which were described in a statement, and reparation for what had been done against him and his Church at the coronation. All this Henry granted publicly. Later in the day it was agreed that S. Thomas should go and take leave of the King of France and his other benefactors, and that he should afterwards stay for a time with Henry, so that all might see with what favour and familiarity he was received.† It remained then only for Henry to fulfil his promise.

But this he never did. At first S. Thomas's clerics were placed in his livings; but before long they were ejected, and the king's nominees were replaced. Instead of his possessions being restored, his rents up to Christmas were seized, the recent harvest was swept up, the barns were cleared, and only the bare walls of his palace at Canterbury were left to receive him.‡ Personal violence, too, was threatened by Randolph de Broc, who boasted that before S. Thomas had eaten a whole loaf in England he would take away his life; and though S. Thomas complained to Henry,§ no steps for his protection were taken, and he narrowly escaped being made prisoner as soon as he set foot in England. Henry had promised that he would meet him at Rouen and pay his debts, and that either he or the Archbishop of Rouen would accompany him to England. But neither Henry nor the money was forthcoming, and the Archbishop of Rouen said that he had had no instructions from the king to accompany him.|| S. Thomas did not return to Canterbury in consequence of an order from Henry "to go back . . . at once," as Mr. Froude gives us to understand; but because, seeing "the Mother of the British Churches in danger of perishing . . . in order to save her from this fate," he voluntarily proposed to return to her with Henry's "favour and permission."¶

The fact that Henry gave S. Thomas leave to issue the sentences on the bishops, does not rest on the sole authority of S. Thomas, nor on what passed in his private conversation with the king, as Mr. Froude tells us. The indisputable evidence for it is the letter of Earl Theobald of Blois to the Pope, in

* Fitz-St., p. 272.

† Ep. S. Tho., i. p. 73.

‡ Fitz-St., ii. p. 277; Ep. Jo. Sar., ii. p. 240.

§ Ep. S. Tho., i. p. 380.

|| Ep. Gub. Fol., ii. p. 200; Fitz-St., p. 279.

¶ Ep. S. Tho., i. p. 381.

which he says that in his presence S. Thomas having complained to the king of the coronation of his son, the king gave him free and lawful power over the bishops who had dared to place the new king on the throne, that sentence might be pronounced against them. These things, he says, he saw and heard, and he offers to confirm them by an oath, or in whatever other mode his Holiness might prefer.*

Mr. Froude makes a difficulty about accepting Earl Theobald's assertion, because Herbert says "that the conversation between Becket and the king was private between themselves." Herbert's remarks applied to the time when S. Thomas, having received permission to pronounce sentence against the prelates, slid down from his horse and fell at the king's feet, whereupon the king dismounting, forced him to remount and held his stirrup while he did so. But Mr. Froude omits to notice that Diceto says, they dismounted and remounted twice.† Hence it would appear that this little scene, with the accompanying conversation, was gone through twice—first, when they were alone, as Herbert says; and secondly, before the whole assembly, as told Earl Theobald, Fitz-Stephen, Gervase,‡ Benedic,§ and a friend of John of Salisbury's, as well as S. Thomas himself. Fitz-Stephen adds, that when they dismounted and remounted all good people who were present, burst into tears.|| John of Salisbury's friend corroborates the statement by saying that there was an "infinite multitude" at Freitval, and that the king "publicly announced" he had made peace with the archbishop "ad honorem Dei et suum,"¶ words which would have been absolutely untrue had they not included reparation in the usual way, by either the voluntary submission or excommunication of the offenders, for an outrage so gross, that it had called forth a protest from the king and bishops of France.** Finally, there is Henry's own evidence at Freitval, when S. Thomas having refused the request of Arnulf of Lisieux and Geoffrey Ridel that he would absolve the excommunicates, Henry called him away, and bade him not care for what such people said, thereby consenting to S. Thomas's avowed intention to carry out the Church's judgments.†† Mr. Froude tells us, Fitz-Urse "denied that he had heard the king give any sanction to the punishment of the bishops." But he omits to mention that the reason why Fitz-Urse "neither heard nor saw," was, as he himself said, because "he was not there!"‡‡

* Ep. S. Tho., ii. p. 211.

† Gervase, p. 1,412.

‡ Fitz-St., p. 275.

** Hoveden, ii. p. 9; Will. Cant., ii. p. 27.

†† Ep. S. Tho., i. p. 57.

† Diceto., p. 552.

§ Bened., ii. p. 59.

¶ Ep. S. Tho., ii. p. 305.

‡‡ Bened., ii. p. 59.

Mr. Froude treats the issuing of the sentences against the Archbishop of York and the Bishops of London and Salisbury as an act of revenge. This is a misrepresentation. The usurpation of the rights of Canterbury at the coronation was, as Mr. Freeman has clearly shown,* more than the violation of a mere honorary privilege, since the right to crown the king, often involved in those days the power to choose him. The offending prelates knew that the Pope and universal Catholic opinion had declared their act to be a usurpation, but they refused to acknowledge that it was one. S. Thomas waited above five months for them to come to a better mind. But he waited in vain. Had he left the matter in that state, a precedent against Canterbury would have been formed, and he would have been guilty of injustice to all his successors. The sole object of issuing the sentences was to compel the prelates to retract the usurpation, and he at once offered them absolution on that condition. The bishops were about to submit, but the Archbishop of York dissuaded them. Thus, the issuing of the sentences was obviously not an act of private revenge but of public justice. It ought not to be forgotten that S. Thomas never published the sentences against the other bishops, who had erred from want of courage alone.

When S. Thomas landed in England the sheriff demanded an oath of fealty from the Archdeacon of Sens, who was the only foreigner amongst S. Thomas's followers. This was not the "usual oaths," as Mr. Froude says, but was "an unheard-of rudeness";† and it was obviously contrary to the common law of Europe that a foreigner should be obliged to take an oath, which would nullify his fealty to his own king, and, if he were a cleric, to the Pope.‡ Nor did S. Thomas answer "scornfully." On the contrary, "the archbishop, who had come into the country peacefully, answered peacefully."§

The brilliant picture of the "steel-clad retinue with glancing morions and bristling lances" around S. Thomas when he set out for London, which Mr. Froude's imagination conjures up, fades in the light of historic truth down to "some (aliquot) soldiers,"|| but "five" in number.¶

The scene of the martyrdom Mr. Froude works up in his usual mock-heroic style, on the assumption that S. Thomas's "temper was fast rising," and he gave way to anger. But the contemporaries, some of whom were present, tell us the exact contrary. Grim, one of the witnesses, says, that when the knights entered he looked at them for some time, and then

* "Hist. Essays," p. 111.

† Ep. S. Tho., i. p. 84.

|| Herb., p. 321.

† Fitz-St., p. 282.

§ Fitz-St., p. 282.

¶ Fitz-St., p. 326.

saluted them "peacefully" (pacifice).* Herbert says that he answered them "gently" (mansuete).† Benedict that he frequently gave them meek answers, "in word as in voice most temperate" (temperatissimus), and even addressed Reginald as "friend" (amice).‡ One anonymous writer tells us that he received them benignantly and worthily (benigne et digne); § and another, that to each of their threats and reproaches he answered mildly (modeste).|| All these writers at the same time record the insolent and furious bearing of the knights, whose evident object was to rouse him to anger.¶ But so completely did they fail, that even when he followed them to the door and asked them to let his seneschal, Fitz-Nigel, go, he spoke to them with due calmness (satis modeste);** and as his clergy were hurrying him to the church his countenance was quite unchanged.†† Mr. Froude says, "Some of his friends thought that he had asked De Morville to come back and speak quietly with him, but it was not so." We wish Mr. Froude had told us how he knows this. Benedict, who was present, tells us positively that he *did* go to the door, and call De Morville back to speak to him.‡‡

In conclusion, we must protest against the perversion of history in order to make it a vehicle for the indulgence of private antipathies and personal idiosyncrasies. Extraordinary as is the foregoing accumulation of false statements, it is surpassed by the number which our limits have compelled us to omit, and even far more by the bitterness of the malice which seems to have inspired the work. It is a relief to turn from Mr. Froude's envenomed pages to those of distinguished non-Catholic writers, who, though they have no sympathy with S. Thomas's faith, and but little with the objects for which he struggled, yet write in a true historic spirit. They give us a fair account of his contest against despotism,§§ and tell us of his "unselfishness of aim,"||| and how he won "the love of the English people in a struggle, in which nothing but an unerring instinct could have shown them that their interest was in any way involved."¶¶ They do justice to his sincerity,*** freedom from hypocrisy and double dealing,††† heroic firmness, lofty sense of right,‡‡‡ and inflexible resolution in support of a cause,

* Grim, p. 70.

† Vol. ii. pp. 58, 59, 60.

‡ Benedict, ii. p. 62.

** Fitz-St., p. 297.

‡‡ ii. p. 62.

‡‡‡ Ibid., p. 92.

¶¶ Freeman, "Norman Conquest," i., preface.

*** Ibid., "Historical Essays," p. 106; Campbell, "Chancellors," i. p. 99.

††† "Hist. Essays," p. 104.

† p. 327.

§ MS. Lambeth, ii. p. 120.

¶ Passio secundo, ii. p. 149.

¶¶ Herb., vii. 330.

§§ Green, "Short History," p. 102.

||| Ibid., p. 111.

in which he willingly submitted to poverty, exile, and death itself.* They hesitate not to pronounce him "fairly entitled to a place among the worthies of whom England is proud,"† and to proclaim him a martyr "to the general cause of law and order as opposed to violence and murder,"‡ and "one of the most distinguished men of any race that this island has ever produced."§

ART. III.—CATHOLIC COLLEGE EDUCATION IN ENGLAND.

Remarks on the Present Condition of Catholic Liberal Education. By Hon. and Rev. W. PETRE. London: Burns & Oates.

The Problem of Catholic Liberal Education. By Hon. and Rev. W. PETRE. London: Burns & Oates.

Letters in the "Tablet" on Catholic College Education in England.

The Position and Prospects of Catholic Liberal Education. By Hon. and Rev. W. PETRE. London: Burns & Oates.

The New Departure in Catholic Liberal Education. By a CATHOLIC BARRISTER. London: Burns & Oates.||

THE educational question has of late years been very largely discussed by English Catholics, as regards two of its principal branches; viz. university or quasi-university education, and education of the poor. No one therefore can be surprised that the discussion has now spread over a somewhat wider sphere; and that within the last few months the whole system of our existing colleges—S. Cuthbert's, S. Edmund's, S. Mary's Oscott, Stonyhurst, and the rest—has been subjected to vigorous and varied criticism, as regards their dealing with lay students. The impulse to this criticism was first given by a priest for whom we feel the greatest respect, the Hon. and Rev. W. Petre. But the controversy, which has been continued for several months

* Campbell, i. p. 100.

† Freeman, "Hist. Essays," p. 113.

‡ Ibid., p. 112.

§ Campbell, i. p. 60.

|| The following article was almost entirely written and the larger portion sent to press, before Mr. Petre's *third* pamphlet reached us in proof-sheets; "The Position and Prospects of Catholic Liberal Education." As regards this pamphlet, therefore, we have contented ourselves with referring to it in a few added notes.

At a later period still, we have received the reply to Mr. Petre, published by "A Catholic Barrister." From this also we make one or two citations in our notes, and we add a few remarks on the pamphlet at the end of our article.

in the columns of the "Tablet," has been by no means confined to a consideration of his particular proposals and acts. We are very far from professing, whether in what we shall say now or on any future occasion, to cover the whole range of this controversy. But we may perhaps do some service by making one or two comments, which we submit to the judgment of those who have far more experience than any to which we can lay claim, as to the practical working of what now exists.

That Catholic education be improved to its very utmost, is at all periods an end of great importance; but in times like the present it may almost be called a necessity. We so strongly therefore feel the debt of gratitude owing to those who have mooted the subject, that we have no wish to speak with any severity of their mistakes or shortcomings. We are perfectly certain indeed that those who have assailed the existing system are as far as possible from representing the common opinion of Catholics; who in general are enthusiastic lovers each of his own college, being intensely grateful for the religious benefits there received. And we feel keenly, that these adverse critics have been grievously unjust to existing Catholic institutions in many different ways. Thus, as one instance of what we mean, their assumption that Protestant school education is at this moment on the whole more intellectually effective than Catholic, takes us entirely by surprise.* To us at all events (so far as we have means of judging) such an opinion seems not only untrue, but without any *primâ facie* appearance of probability.† Still it is at last a matter of less importance whether Catholic education be or be not superior to Protestant, while it is a question of extreme moment whether it be as good as it might be made. We may further add, that for our own part we have far more sympathy with Mr. Petre, than with any other writer who has adversely criticised the existing state of things. We feel indeed that in many respects—like the other critics—he strangely undervalues what is daily effected in English Catholic colleges. Moreover we venture to think that he often does most serious injustice to his own meaning; that he is by no means at his strongest, when he undertakes the task of formulating, co-ordinating, and psychologically illustrating his doctrine. But

* "The idea of non-Catholic superiority entertained by some" Catholics "is a mere creation of their own fancy" ("Barrister," p. 7).

† We need hardly point out, that the only relevant comparison on this head is between the Protestant youth leaving his school say at the age of eighteen, and the Catholic alumnus of Ushaw, or Oscott, or Stonyhurst at the same age. No one doubts that vast intellectual advancement may be made by three years' additional training, whether at Oxford or at Kensington.

he seems to us (we must say) a person of true genius in his own province, though, like many other persons of genius, he is more than a little one-sided; he possesses quite a special and unusual gift of apprehending and sympathizing with the youthful mind; and we think he is one from whose suggestions so much real and important light may be derived, that it would be a profound mistake to ignore them. His simplicity of intention again and his self-sacrificing zeal are apparent on the very surface; nor are these qualities so very common in the world, that we can be indifferent to their existence. How far we are able to agree with him, and where we are obliged to differ,—we can by no other method so clearly set forth, as by offering our own suggestions on some parts of the subject. So much indeed has been said by several of the “*Tablet*” correspondents about Catholic supervision and Protestant public schools—and it seems to us so important that Catholics shall come to a clear mutual understanding as to the questions suggested by such language—that our present article will be of necessity almost confined to the consideration of these and cognate matters. But we hope to enter without fail in a subsequent number, on the more general aspects of the case.

Every educational system, we need hardly remark, consists of two principal particulars, moral training and intellectual teaching; the former being the more momentous of the two. With this former particular we will therefore begin. And that we may get rid as soon as possible of one painful and distressing subject, our first comment shall be on the very severe language which has been used by one or two of the “*Tablet*” correspondents,—endorsed (we grieve to say) by Mr. Petre in his letter to the “*Tablet*” of Dec. 29th—concerning what they are pleased to call “*espionage*.” At starting we protest against their use of the word. It is commonly understood to express some mean and dastardly mode of exercising hostility: as e.g. when some spy of Napoleon I. shammed friendship with some Bourbonite, in order to betray him. Let a system of school supervision then be ever so narrow and unwise,—still it cannot surely without gross abuse of language be called “*espionage*,” in any case where it is motivated by the pure desire of conferring on its subjects the highest benefit, and where they are all openly informed of its existence. There can be nothing mean or dastardly (we say) in any such supervision, though possibly enough there may be much which is injudicious and injurious.

Now however for the substance of the accusation. The correspondents to whom we refer seem for the moment to have forgotten, what they must surely know; viz. the primary

purpose for which supervision is instituted in Catholic schools.* A Catholic master receives from the parents of some given boy that most precious charge—their son's moral and religious training. Surely the notion is enough to break his heart that, through any neglect of his, the poor fellow should suffer shipwreck in regard to that virtue of purity, which—in proportion to its priceless value—is so very difficult of securing in youth. Nay, the master would be guilty of nothing less than the basest breach of confidence, did he not strain every nerve to avert so fearful a calamity from those so sacredly intrusted to him. We can well understand that bystanders may justly criticise this or that particular method adopted by him, gently and tenderly pointing out that it is not conducive to the very end he has so earnestly in view. But that they should speak of him (because of his mistake) in terms of indignation and invective—that they should stigmatize his method of action by an opprobrious nickname,—this is a fact which absolutely startles us. We are entirely unable to understand the state of mind, under which well-meaning Catholics can so express themselves. And they seem to forget, that the most unwise method of supervision, ever adopted by well-intentioned superiors, is an indefinitely less calamity than that other extreme, the entire absence of supervision. There is one living man at all events—viz. the present DUBLIN Reviewer—who does not shrink from saying, that his whole existence has been blighted by the recklessness on this matter of his former Protestant masters. Some fifty years ago he was educated, to his irreparable misfortune, at one of the most distinguished among Protestant public schools. And to this day he cannot remember without a shudder, nay without being tempted to a transport of indignation, the experiences which there befell him, a poor helpless boy not twelve years old. Small indeed—immeasurably small—would have been to him the comparative calamity, though the whole body of tutors had devoted their whole day to no other employment, than creeping about the corridors in carpet slippers.† “Oh fortunatos nimium sua si bona nôrint” Catholicos juvenes. Those who criticise so severely certain real or supposed mistakes in supervision, have no notion what it is from which supervision has probably protected them.‡

* No one can fairly doubt, that the preservation of purity is the predominant purpose aimed at in Catholic colleges by their supervisory system. We do not mean, however, that this purpose is the one predominantly pressed on the student's attention as being aimed at. As we urge afterwards in a different connection, a wise superior is very careful not to suggest unnecessarily any thoughts of the kind.

† See the letter of “Laicus” in the “Tablet” of January 19th.

‡ No one will accuse Mr. Petre of indiscriminating partiality for existing

The Editor of the "Tablet," who speaks energetically in favour of supervision, testifies nevertheless (Jan. 26th) that in some colleges "there are forms and excesses thereof, which directly tend to stunt the character, to encourage hypocrisy and deceit, and to destroy every element of generosity in youth." We cannot but suspect—with profoundest deference to the admirable writer—that this description is somewhat overcharged. But we suppose there is no doubt that grave perversions exist; and their progress and character will be better understood, if we begin by setting forth what we apprehend to be the true Catholic doctrine on the subject.

According to our apprehension then, that type of religious

Catholic colleges. Yet he lays it down ("Position," p. 30) as "indisputable," that "in morality Catholic schools are infinitely superior to non-Catholic schools." He adds, that "if a fair measure of success in the conservation of innocence were sufficient to set the question at rest, here" he "might end" his "pamphlet." This is surely a fact of critical and decisive importance. The Catholic supervisory system then fulfils with reasonable sufficiency its primary purpose; and that a purpose, the momentousness of which no one can possibly exaggerate.

On the other hand what, according to Mr. Petre, is the condition of non-Catholic schools? Catholic schools, for which he only claims that they "have a *fair* measure of success in the conservation of innocence," are nevertheless "in morality *infinitely* superior to non-Catholic schools"; and this is a fact so clear and obvious, as to be "indisputable." These non-Catholic schools then are "infinitely" removed from having achieved even "a *fair* measure of success in the conservation of innocence." So much as this is certainly included in such a statement—as no one (we suppose) will deny—viz. that an indefinitely large proportion of the older alumni are sunk in mortal sin, without making any effort to extricate themselves therefrom. With very great respect for Mr. Petre, we must candidly say that we cannot understand his language on this subject. We cannot understand how he feels sympathy (p. 40, note) with a German Protestant's statement, that to him the sight of English Protestant schoolboys at play presented "a refreshing picture." That a number of youths, who are aliens from God, slaves to the Devil, and advancing steadily to damnation, should be entirely unmindful of their unhappy state and exuberantly joyful in their demeanour—this is to our mind not a "refreshing" but a ghastly picture. To our mind those exhibitions of high and careering youthful animal spirits which may be witnessed in Catholic colleges—and they are every whit as prominently there witnessed as in Protestant schools—owe their very charm to one's conviction, that those on whom one gazes have preserved youthful innocence as well as youthful joyousness.

It is our own strong impression however, that non-Catholic schools are by no means so immoral as Mr. Petre's words would imply, in those cases in which diligent supervision is carefully exercised. The present writer's experience is, (1) that the private school to which he first went,—though deplorable enough in its moral aspects,—was nevertheless far less detestable in that respect than the public school to which he afterwards proceeded; and that (2) the moral evils of that private school were most manifestly and unmistakably traceable, to the shameful inadequacy with which its theory of supervision was practically carried out.

government which the Church recognizes as divinely set forth, is the *parental* type. To take one out of a hundred testimonies—we believe there is no work which in its line possesses greater authority, than that of F. Lancicius, S.J., “*de conditionibus boni superioris*.” He assumes the theory we have mentioned as a matter of course, throughout that work. Thus he remonstrates (n. 11) with those superiors, who “instead of a father’s love” exhibit “a stepmother’s harshness and a certain pompous stiffness.” He argues (n. 72) against the propriety of a superior assuming that his subjects fancy themselves weakly for the sake of self-indulgence, by pointing out how differently *parents* act. And so on indefinitely. Let us consider then briefly and generally, how this parental theory will reasonably be applied to the particular case of college education. We need hardly say that we speak of an ideal, in regard to which no one can expect that it will be entirely reached in any given practical case.

The superior then, who has received from the parents of some boy the sacred charge of their son’s education, will make it his first care to train that boy in the various Christian tempers and dispositions. All the appliances of discipline will, as far as possible, be directed to this end and measured by this standard.* Nor is it only by means of discipline that he will act. A still more powerful influence will be brought to bear—especially as the pupils grow in years—by their frequent and friendly intercourse with persons matured in piety. The choice of superiors will be accounted as among the most momentous duties of one, to whom the supreme charge is intrusted in some given educational institution. Persons will be carefully sought out, who on one hand are in real truth holy men, while on the other hand they are free from all tinge of stiffness or what is colloquially called “*donnishness*”; and who possess the special art of recommending piety to youthful minds.† The effect of example is proverbially far more important than that of precept; and the unstudied manifestations of genuine piety are far more persuasive and influential than its formal inculcation. By living

* “In our [Catholic] schools, boys must live by motive of the love of God daily and hourly inculcated: in [Protestant] public schools they must be content to adjust their conduct by what is honourable, manly, gentlemanly” (“*Position*,” p. 25).

† We do not mean to imply as essential that, in a college where there are several superiors, *all* should possess these gifts. There may well be this or that one of their number who—while heartily sympathizing with what his colleagues effect in the way mentioned in the text—does not himself possess the same capabilities in that direction; while nevertheless he may labour most usefully in his own special line.

Nor again are we intending any disparagement whatever of Mr. Petre’s practical recommendation that—over and above the superiors—there should be non-resident teachers on special subjects. This seems to us an excellent plan.

with such men, the student comes to love them as fathers and friends; he catches as it were the holy infection, and loves virtue in its attractive embodiment. Over and above therefore the large benefits which he will derive from his director and from express spiritual instruction,—a still more powerful agency will be at work in the whole circumambient atmosphere of the community.*

And there is one particular on which we would especially insist. The Editor of the "*Tablet*" (ib.) makes this excellent remark, in special application of the parental theory. "Who does not know," he asks, "with what watchfulness and supervision good parents educate their children; with what safeguards they surround them; how jealously they guard them against temptation and evil, whether in books or companions and acquaintances?" Yet "this watchfulness," he adds, should "be accompanied and modified by such generous trust and confidence, as shall develop a noble and trustworthy character." Similarly it is of importance that those students shall feel themselves to possess their superior's confidence, who know that they deserve it.† A degree of minute supervision, which (it may be) was necessary in dealing with boys say of eleven or twelve, would be not less than calamitous if applied to youths of sixteen or seventeen. It would indeed be a deplorable arrangement, if young men were kept under jealous and minute surveillance up to the very moment of leaving

* "Happy the boy who grows up amid scenes where the attitude of solid Christian piety, where the calm and general temperance of behaviour habitual to pure hearts, where the horror of sin . . . daily and hourly strike and edify his regard" (Quoted in "*Remarks*," p. 18).

† See the charming and most attractive picture drawn by the "*Barrister*" (p. 12) of the Jesuit college in which he studied. We will quote the passage in full at the end of our article.

On the other hand, there are certain modes of action which an adverse critic sometimes cites as proving a superior's distrust of some given pupil, which really do not even tend to prove anything of the kind. Any superior, not lost to all sense of responsibility, labours most anxiously and sedulously to preserve his youths from whatever may be to them an occasion of sin. "See," comments the objector, "how ill he thinks of them. He believes they are ready to be at any mischief, if his eye is off them for a moment." Even Mr. Petre condescends to a remark of this kind. It is not however of *them* but of the Devil, that a wise superior has such an unfavourable opinion. He considers that the Devil is ever on the watch—and the more actively in proportion to the existing innocence and excellence of individual Christians—to take any opportunity which may unwarily be offered him of suggesting to their mind evil thoughts. In so judging of the Devil, is the superior doing him injustice? Certainly not. And even if in any particular case or number of cases the superior acts with injudicious strictness—still this does not ever so remotely tend to show that he has a low opinion of those towards whom he is so acting, but only that he is injudicious and (it may be) narrow in his calculations of spiritual expediency.

school, and were then thrown suddenly adrift on the wilderness of the world.* Most different will be a superior's method, if he really studies the parental type. These youths, in the later years of their course, will have learned the true principles of Christian action from his lessons and from their familiarity with holy examples. And their largely unsupervised intercourse with their fellow-students, who have been similarly indoctrinated, will be a most valuable preparation for the wider freedom which ultimately awaits them. The relation of superior and students will more and more nearly resemble that of father and adult sons.

To prevent misconception, we must once more repeat what we have already said. We have been drawing out what seems to us the ideal, recognized by the Church, and to which a very large number of existing colleges, whether on the Continent or in England, more or less approximate in practice. We are not so absurd as to suppose that, under any imaginable system, all will be done, or nearly all, which is desired by those who administer it. Human nature being what it is, such a notion would be indeed chimerical. But on the other hand it is a mere truism to say, that an object which is earnestly and consistently aimed at will be very far more extensively and less unsatisfactorily obtained, than some different object which is not aimed at at all.

We now take a further step in our argument. We think Mr. Petre has done excellent service by insisting on the truth, that certain special and high qualifications of those in authority are indispensable for the healthy working of a school. Let it be supposed however that some given principal of a college does not duly exert himself—or perhaps feels himself intellectually incompetent—to apprehend discriminatively the character of those with whose education he is intrusted. From the absence of this indispensable requisite, corruption of one kind or other results by inevitable necessity. By far the worst of such corruptions take place when—after the model of certain Protestant public schools at certain epochs†—the boys are not supervised at all, and are left freely (out of school hours) to their own devices. Of course no Catholic superior would dream of so shocking an arrangement as this. In Catholic schools

* Youths "must of all things be taught intelligent self-restraint. If all difficulties and dangers are removed without their co-operation, . . . they may find, when they are removed from their 'safe retreats of health and peace,' that a battle is before them which they must fight unassisted" ("Position," p. 30).

† We purposely abstain from speaking here of Protestant public schools in general. Something more will be said about these institutions a few pages further on.

what ensues under the unhappy conditions we have mentioned, is that a certain hard and unelastic discipline comes to prevail : a discipline, which aims mainly at securing the external observance whether of moral duties or of college rules, and makes no attempt at studying and moulding individual character.* Moreover the intellectual helplessness which we have supposed tends to a further result. Not being able to understand whom he can trust and how far, the principal is not unnaturally led to distrust every one in every particular ; and to seek solace for his conscientious discomfort and anxiety, in the minutest attainable inspection of every detail of every one's daily life. It is plain at once how much injury is done to the character of youths, when they find themselves unreasonably and unjustly mistrusted ; and how easily they become provoked as it were to recalcitration and recklessness.†

Then there is one bad result sometimes ensuing from such a system, which deserves especial mention. There is a certain class of evils, in regard to which it is most desirable that a youth should hardly think of their existence ; his whole heart and interest being absorbed in other matters. But a kind of surveillance is possible, which will be constantly reminding him that such things are, and which may produce in him a morbid and in some sense dangerous habit of introspection. And there is special danger that this kind of surveillance may come to exist, where on one hand the superiors are truly conscientious, while on the other hand they entertain such general distrust of their pupils as that to which we refer.

We take leave of this painful and anxious subject with two remarks. First it must not for a moment be imagined, that we regard the evils of this distrustful and (so to speak) police system as ever so remotely comparable in gravity with those of the extremely opposite system ; as ever so remotely comparable with the truly horrible results, which must ensue

* So Bishop Hedley, in his powerful and admirable address to the Ampleforth students, which he has most kindly permitted us to republish in our present number :—

“It is most essential for education that each boy in a school should be treated, not as a mere unit, but as a definite individual, with special strong points and special weaknesses. . . .

“If boys be kept at a distance, or chilled by severity, or subject to a too unvarying drill, you make them hide some of their vices and faults, but neither their minds nor their hearts will grow.”

† A mere disciplinarian “cannot be equal to the elaborate and delicate task of meeting the yearnings and ministering to the troubles and developing in the light of divine grace such purity and high aspirations as those of his boys whose lives are most valuable may be taken to possess.”—“Position,” p. 47.

in the long run from the habit of non-supervision. Secondly we protest earnestly against an impression which seems to prevail among several of the "Tablet" correspondents, that, on the Continent at least, this distrustful system prevails almost universally. We cannot cite on this head a more unsuspicious testimony, than the "Journal in France," published by Mr. Allies, himself an Etonian, at a time when he was external to the Church. We will give one or two extracts from this Journal, which are but samples. For instance:—

During the five days we passed at Ivetot, we *remarked again and again to each other* the atmosphere of paternal charity which all [the educational superiors] seemed to breathe. There was no looking for success in the world, no thought of gaining wealth; but the one thing in view was to train the children committed to them, as members of Christ and heirs of His kingdom (p. 174). ✱

Again. A certain Englishman had been "much struck by the terms of intimacy in which the masters lived with the pupils."

This has also struck me pointedly, (adds Mr. Allies,) wherever I have seen educational institutions in France. There the wall of separation does not seem to exist, which shuts out the English tutor or master from the real state of his pupil's mind, from his prevailing habits, and natural tone of thought. With us, the boy before his master, and the boy by himself or with his schoolfellows, are two beings wholly distinct. Seldom indeed can the tutor get at the real living soul with whom he has to deal; still seldomer mould and direct the development of his moral powers. It is, to the best of my belief, a *generic* difference between Anglican and Roman Catholic education (p. 309).

We will give one more extract concerning the school at Ivetot; because it will serve so forcibly to dispel the notion that, in Catholic France at least, the relation between superior and students is commonly one of stiffness and punctiliousness.

In the evening we were all collected, in a somewhat suspicious manner, for some exhibition in a long hall, at the end of which a carpet was spread, and a chair placed for the Archbishop. I asked M. Robert what was coming; but he replied, "*Pour nous autres Français, vous savez, nous sommes des fous; il faut que nous rions de tout!*" I will not say that the entertainment verified his former proposition, but certainly it did the latter. M. Picard, Curé of the Cathedral of Rouen, took out a paper, and began reading a copy of verses by himself, commemorating a recent fall from his horse of one of the tutors. At each verse the boys took up the couplet and refrain, and sang it with hearty good will. This continued for some twenty or thirty stanzas. The boys needed but the hint. I thought to myself, I doubt whether it would improve the discipline of Eton to collect the boys in the

long school-room together to commemorate an equestrian lapse of my friend C. or A., supposing them to have met with one. The refrain,

“Quel est ce cavalier là
Qu’il mene bien son dada,
Tra-la-la, Tra-la-la,”

sounded by 250 voices, still rings in my ears. This was succeeded by another song recited in the same manner, on M. Robert’s propensities to study the moon (p. 178).

Another question of moral training raised by Mr. Petre is, whether a boy’s school life should, on the whole, be painful to flesh and blood, or comfortable. We agree with Mr. Petre that there is no particular moral advantage in the former alternative, —rather the reverse. But we suspect that in this, as in several other parts of the subject, the question of *finance* comes in : a question on which we have no room to speak in our present article.

So much on direct moral training. But one prominent portion of intellectual teaching is so intimately bound up with this training, that in practice one cannot separate the two. We refer, of course, to the imparting of Christian doctrine; most particularly and emphatically, to the impressing on a student’s intellect, heart, imagination, the true principles of Christian morality. This vitally important part of Catholic education then we now proceed to consider. The desired end is, that he be imbued with the one true Christian spirit; that he learn to revere saintliness; that he be grounded in hearty sympathy with that moral code, which the Church ever teaches in opposition to the world; that he be trained to estimate by the one true ethical standard those various persons and acts, with whom and with which he will hereafter be brought into contact. If there be educational failure in this essential particular, we venture to think that the most signal educational success in every other would be rather a calamity than a blessing to the Church. Those who take a carnal and worldly view of human actions, may be Catholics indeed in such sense that they are included within Christ’s visible fold; and they may have many excellent qualities also, which we need not here attempt to catalogue. But they will ever be disaffected to the Church and practically her enemies, as regards her public and political action; and if they *are* to be her enemies, it is a simple evil to her, so far as their intellectual culture may enable them to be her vigorous and formidable enemies. That men who retain worldly and carnal views—be these men Catholic or non-Catholic—may be stupid and intellectually incompetent, must be the well-instructed Christian’s earnest desire.

But this whole matter seems to us of such very fundamental importance in its bearing on educational theories, that we shall make no apology for going into it at greater length. And first we would observe, that there can, of course, be no more indisputably authentic declaration of the Christian ethical code, than the Beatitudes, pronounced by our Lord. These Beatitudes, says F. Coleridge ("Preaching of the Beatitudes," p. 141), are "the great principles and laws of the New Kingdom." They "are within the reach of all, in that they require no particular state of life or external vocation in those who may attain them even in their greatest perfection" (ib. p. 144). Of what kind then is the perfect Christian? "Blessed are the poor in spirit, the meek, those who mourn, and those who hunger and thirst after righteousness; * the merciful, the pure in heart, the peacemakers, and the persecuted." These words, taken by themselves, are indisputably most unmistakable; they point to one definite and profoundly consistent type of character. But how unspeakably vivid a light is thrown on them, by those lives of Saints which are recorded century after century in the Catholic Church! The Saints differ indefinitely from each other as regards natural temperament and external circumstances; but such difference does but set forth with more marked emphasis their (we had almost said) startling identity of ethical character. As we study those lives with loving reverence, a sense more and more deeply sinks into our mind, as to what is *meant* by poverty of spirit, meekness, and the rest. Here indeed is one most especial note of the Church; and one on which (we think) much less stress is commonly laid than is its due. There is a sort of consensus among Protestants—extending to some who in no intelligible sense can be called Christians at all—as to the truth and beauty of that ethical standard which was set forth on the Mount. But what Protestant body can for very shame so much as profess, that there has existed among them a continuous series of holy persons, conspicuously exhibiting that standard in their daily life? Protestants (by some overruling Providence) praise the Sermon on the Mount; but it is Catholic Saints, and not Protestant worthies, who heroically fulfil its lessons.

The same ethical standard is often proclaimed by the Church in a different shape, viz., in the well-known "principle and foundation" of S. Ignatius's Exercises. We were created, says the Saint, for the love and service of God; while as to all other

* We venture so to translate "justitiam," as an English reader might easily misunderstand the word "justice."

things,—the more perfect course is to choose them only so far as they are more expedient to us for attainment of the above-named end. We hope many of our readers will have studied, with the deep attention which it deserves, F. Coleridge's comment on the Beatitudes; than which we know in no other writer whomsoever any comment, which impresses us as a more masterly instance of Scriptural exposition. Whoever will trace, in F. Coleridge's company, the mutual relations and interdependence of these Beatitudes,—the successive stages whereby each one of their number results from, and (in some sense) rises above, that which precedes it,—will at once recognize the identity of S. Ignatius's ethical standard with our Lord's. Such a student will understand that S. Ignatius's principle,—in proportion as it takes root in the mind, and undergoes the influence of daily action—necessarily germinates in those very dispositions of heart, which Jesus pronounces blessed.*

And here—be it observed by the way—we come across a second argument for the Church's divine illumination, entirely distinct from that which we just now mentioned. As in the former case we suggested that Catholics could adduce a very forcible argument against Protestants on the ground of Scripture,—so in this case we submit that Christians can adduce a very forcible argument against infidels on the ground of reason. No truth—we are convinced—is more irresistibly and even obviously established by reason, than the Existence of a Legislator who is *de jure* Supreme.† Again, no truth is more irresistibly and obviously established by reason, than that if there *be* such a Legislator, the only reasonable course for those who aim at perfection is the making obedience to Him the one ultimate end of their life, and the choosing other things only so far as they may help them to practise that obedience. The Catholic ethical standard then is not only that which is clearly

* We would refer here to two noble sermons in Dr. Martineau's "Hours of Thought on Holy Things," called "Seek first the Kingdom of God." It is most provoking, however, to observe the excellent author's grave misconception of Catholic doctrine. He considers (p. 22), that those who regard the life of regulars as the life of highest perfection, regard it as almost the *only* thoroughly Christian life. In their view—according to Mr. Martineau's strange impression—"all the characteristic engagements of the citizen, the merchant, the politician, the student, are conceived to lie on the secular side of human life, and constitute our temptations to evil rather than our opportunities for good." Catholics say directly the reverse. Every innocent secular calling, in which a man is placed, is the means given him by God for working out his own sanctification.

† Of course we hold without the shadow of a doubt, that the Existence of a Being infinite in all perfections is conclusively established by reason. But to our mind, the Existence of a Legislator *de jure* Supreme is demonstrated by reasoning more *obviously* irresistible.

testified in Scripture, but also that which is established by most obvious reasoning as exclusively the true one.

But now are these times, in which a young man, entering upon life, will learn naturally and spontaneously to estimate by this one true standard the various persons and actions with whom and with which he comes into contact? Is saintliness an ordinary Englishman's ideal of the very highest moral excellence? There is some significance in the mere fact, that "poorness of spirit"—placed by our Blessed Lord at the head of the Beatitudes, and as the foundation of all which follow—is commonly used in English as a term of reproach: as when men talk of a "poor-spirited creature." At all events, F. Newman does not hesitate to speak on the matter before us with characteristic incisiveness:—

There have been Protestants (he says) whose idea of enlightened Christianity has been a strenuous antagonism to what they consider the unmanliness and unreasonableness of Catholic morality; an antipathy to the precepts of patience, meekness, forgiveness of injuries, and chastity. All this they have considered a woman's religion, the ornament of monks, of the sick, the feeble, and the old. Lust, revenge, ambition, pride, these (they have fancied) make the man, and want of them the slave. No one could fairly accuse such men of any great change of their convictions, . . . if they were one day found to have taken up the *profession of Islam* ("Grammar," p. 248, Fourth Edition).

Are such practical views very uncommon, among non-Catholic men of the world? And do not very many, who may not go the entire length described by F. Newman, nevertheless largely sympathize with the type of character which he denounces? Sir J. Fitzjames Stephen gives a very intelligible account, as to what is the ordinary Englishman's moral ideal; implying, throughout the whole passage, that his own feelings are entirely in harmony with what he mentions. "The most beneficial religions," he says ("Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity," pp. 323, 4, Second Edition), "are those of which the central figure is an infinitely wise and powerful legislator, whose own nature is confessedly inscrutable to man, but who has made the world as it is for a *prudent, steady, hardy, enduring race of people*, who are *neither fools nor cowards*, who have no particular love for those who are, *who distinctly know what they want*, and are determined to use all lawful means to get it." In other words—according to the writer—those are the Creator's especial favourites, whose life mainly consists in labouring for those temporal objects on which they have set their hearts—not indeed by any unlawful means,—but with prudence, steadiness, hardihood, endurance, courage and shrewdness: those also who have no particular love for any one of their fellow-men, unless *he* too be courageous and

shrewd. "Some such religion as this," Sir James adds, "is the unspoken deeply-rooted conviction of the solid, established part of the English nation"; but assuredly it is a very different religion from that taught by our Lord and exemplified by the Saints.* Then would an ordinary Englishman account it a matter of praise or of blame, if it were said of him that he has a singularly sensitive regard to his honour? Yet this is but to say of him in other words, that he is very far from saintly. Surely it may be maintained without exaggeration that, in the eye of that anti-Catholic world which surrounds us, interior piety, purity of intention, and love of God are as nothing, when they seem to conflict with national wealth, power, and aggrandisement. If we would convince ourselves of this, let us look at its employment of that ill-used word "patriotism." The true patriot, in common parlance, is he who yearns to promote his country's glory and temporal greatness, not he who yearns to promote her growth in the fear and love of God.† We are not meaning of course that Englishmen are worse in this matter than French or Germans; but we speak of Englishmen, because it is with them that our argument is concerned.

Now there has been at times much discussion among Catholics, as to how large a proportion of direct doctrinal instruction should be imparted in the higher education of laymen. Our own humble judgment has ever been, that serious evils may be expected to ensue, unless such instruction occupies a somewhat important place in the curriculum; and we believe we have Mr. Petre so far entirely with us. But however this may be—and we are not here discussing the subject—there cannot possibly be a second opinion among Catholics, on the question *now* before us. There cannot (we say) be a second opinion among Catholics, as to the absolutely fundamental importance of most carefully grounding Catholic youths in the principles of Christian morality; of providing them with some thoroughly effective antidote, against that poisonous atmosphere of anti-Christian moral judgment, which we have feebly attempted to describe, and into which they will be suddenly plunged when their college life has come to an end. If they are not taught with reasonable sufficiency to measure men and acts by the Christian standard, they are not brought up in the Christian religion, but in some other. In fact, according to F. Newman, the religion in which such youths grow up,

* The reader will be interested by referring to Sir James's criticism of the Sermon on the Mount, in pp. 334, 5.

† We set forth more fully what we here intend, in January, 1872, pp. 5, 6.

on its ethical side, more nearly resembles the Mahometan than the Christian. Then as a mere intellectual exhibition—what can be more contemptible than the issue of such an educational system as we are supposing? Its alumni hold speculatively a certain ethical theory, as the one moral basis of true religion; and then they are found in practice to estimate human action by a standard fundamentally different. Nor need we add, that in proportion as any Catholics were found in this outrageously false position, practical evils of every kind would be the result. We will take one serious evil in particular, by way of illustration. It is in some respects the most grievous calamity of our time, that educated lay Catholics are often so largely out of sympathy with the public and (what we may call) political policy of their ecclesiastical rulers. The evil of which we speak is doubtless far more conspicuously exhibited on the Continent than in England. But even in England, we fear, it cannot be denied that a certain number, not absolutely very small, even of well-intentioned Catholics, are greatly perplexed and disedified by the strong language of authority, on the disastrous evils e.g. of mixed education; or on the anti-Christian character of the modern “liberties” considered as principles; or on the profound corruption of the present state of society; or on the Church’s infallibility and supremacy in various matters primarily secular; or on the necessity of the Pope’s civil principedom. What is the main cause of so deplorable a circumstance? With far the largest proportion of such persons, the cause is precisely this, that they have been taught by the non-Catholic world around them to view human life and human action from so false a standpoint. The Church, in this age as in every other, not only enforces the great evangelical maxims, but makes them the rule and basis of her political action in the world. It follows as a matter of course, that such of her children as have no firm grasp of those maxims, regard her proceedings with amazement and distress; invent or adopt some ingenious device for eluding her authority; clamour for some compromise with error; look about for some *modus vivendi* with this or that embodiment of an evil principle. It is to Catholic colleges and schools that the Church reasonably looks, for her gradual emancipation from the aggressive influence of this truly deplorable spirit.*

Certainly, then, there is no other particular in Catholic intellectual education so urgently needed, as the indoctrinating its recipients, not merely with a speculative knowledge, but with a

* We set forth more fully what we here intend, in the whole argument of our first article for January, 1872.

practical apprehension of the one Christian moral standard. A merely speculative knowledge of this, indeed, is (we might say) possessed by every Catholic; and it would be as easy as it would be comparatively useless, to insist that every student know the Beatitudes by heart, as he knows the "Our Father" and "Hail, Mary." What is imperatively required is, to ground him in the habit of appreciating contemporary men, actions, literature, (so far as his *moral* estimate is concerned) exclusively by this standard of measurement. And the chief criticism we are disposed to make,—as to those multifarious ~~and~~verse comments on the existing state of things which have appeared in the "Tablet,"—is that we can derive no information from them whatever, how (in their writers' view) this all-important work is to be done. These correspondents pass over this question as simply and unsuspectingly, as though the said work,—not only were not the most fundamental portion—but were absolutely no portion whatever of solid Catholic education. We do not include Mr. Petre in our criticism; but we think that even he has been very far indeed from treating the matter with due prominence and stress. In exhibiting what we believe to be the recognized Catholic solution of the problem, we begin with one preliminary remark, to which we attach great importance in its bearing on the whole question of Protestant public schools.

Those carnal and worldly moral notions which F. Newman denounces, are no accidental result of particular circumstances, but are the spontaneous growth of corrupt human nature. No doubt there are many men—for instance, those of the criminal classes—who can hardly be said to have before their mind any ethical standard at all; who contentedly grovel in the mire, and seek but the immediate gratification of their lower appetites. Then, again, in various times and places, false maxims of morality have been directly inculcated by false religions. These two cases however, for the moment, we put aside; and having done so, let us next consider the process by which human reason—Revelation being supposed away—normally advances to the knowledge of moral truths. It is cognizable from the first as a very obvious verity, that there are certain duties of intrinsic and indispensable obligation, any violation of which is of necessity strictly prohibited by the Supreme Legislator. In other words, I know as a very obvious truth, that there is a Natural Law,—whether its extent be wide or narrow,—possessing irrefragable claims on my obedience, and strictly binding, though the whole universe solicited me to rebellion. Every other course of conduct, then, is glaringly unreasonable, except (1) to obey carefully its precepts so far as I know them; and (2) to use every means at my disposal—by interrogating my consciousness, by praying for light to the Supreme Legislator,

and in every other attainable way—in order to discover the full extent of its enactments. In proportion as I give myself more energetically to this task—and specially in proportion as I labour not only to comply with strict *obligation*, but to do what is morally better and more pleasing therefore to the Supreme Legislator—in that proportion various important results ensue. Among other things, I feel more and more keenly the unreserved and profound submission which is due from me to this Legislator; I become more and more penetrated with a sense of my extraordinary moral weakness; I am more and more disposed to cling by *prayer*, as by my one sheet-anchor among the tempests of the world.

Now this whole process, from first to last, has to be carried out (if it *be* carried out) in a spirit of sustained opposition to what is by far the most intense and deeply-rooted of all my evil habits, viz., *pride*. What can be more revolting and disgusting to pride, than the thought that I am under an obligation of unreserved and (as the proud man would call it) *abject* submission to a Superior? that I am stained and polluted by constantly-recurring sin? that my only hope lies in prayer for strength and pardon? A large multitude of men, then, shrink instinctively (though, of course, culpably) from such a view of morals and religion. Accordingly, being too high-minded (both in a good and in a bad sense) to acquiesce deliberately in a life of mere self-indulgence, they invent for themselves, or learn from those around them, an ethical standard of their own. By an unconscious but inevitable process—inevitable, we mean, so long as their evil disposition continues—they “frame a code of morals which they can without trouble obey, and then are content both with it and with themselves.” As regards the *substance* of morality, they place it in this that or the other kind of act, to which their own inclination prompts them. And as regards the *motive* of their moral action, they do not trouble themselves to reflect on it. We do not deny indeed, that a sense of what is right more or less animates their conduct; but we nevertheless very confidently maintain that, with such men, pride and vain glory are far more vigorous and influential impulses than is the sense of right, towards their doing acts which are objectively good. And thus it is that so strange a similarity of ethical ideal is to be found among persons otherwise so mutually dissimilar, as the Pharisaic Jew, the worldly heathen, and the heathenish Protestant. In all three cases, it is an ideal “which is based on self-sufficiency, and issues in self-satisfaction.”*

* See F. Newman's truly magnificent sermon, in the “Occasional” volume, called, “The Religion of the Pharisee the Religion of Human Nature.” We have incorporated in our text one or two sentences of that sermon.

Nor is this calamity remedied by the mere fact that a Revelation has been given, as experience abundantly shows. That same evil influence of pride,—which, when Revelation is away, prevents such men from travelling by the light of reason towards true moral doctrine—prevents them also from realizing and heartily embracing that doctrine when it has been revealed.

Now from all this theorizing, the most practical possible conclusion may be at once drawn. There can hardly, we infer, be a greater calamity in any college or school, than the existence therein of a public opinion *spontaneously generated among the students themselves by means of their mutual contact and intercourse*. Yet to promote the growth of such a public opinion, has been at certain periods a recognized purpose in certain Protestant public schools. We say there can hardly be imagined a more antichristian method of education than this. The main agency in forming any youth's character must of necessity (unless in cases of rarest exception) be the public opinion by which he is encompassed. No amount of mere teaching in class—or again of admonition in the Confessional, supposing he were a Catholic—can have real power to train him on any model, which may be at variance with that recognized habitually by those among whom he passes his daily life. But if that public opinion,—instead of being energetically guarded by the earnest action of pious superiors,—have been left by them at hap-hazard to be formed by mutual agency of the students themselves,*—it will, as a matter of course, be based on that carnal and worldly moral standard, which (as we have argued) is the spontaneous growth of man's corrupt nature. The unhappy youths will lose the glorious liberty of the Gospel, and become the degraded worshippers of cleverness and of "pluck." Take some one of their number, endued with great physical energy and quick superficial talents; one, at the same time, who little values purity of intention or communion with God. Here is the youth who will carry everything before him. His fellow-students have not been duly visited by the wholesome influences of those older and maturer than themselves; and behold, here is the sorry idol which they will bow down to and worship. Let them enter the arena of life imbued with the principles which they will thus have learned, and what will be the inevitable result? They will view all human action through a distorted refracting medium, and estimate it by a standard

* We do not mean that in every case it will be necessary for superiors to *originate* the true ideas; because many Catholic boys will have learnt excellent lessons under the parental roof. But we submit that superiors have no more sacred and indispensable duty, than that of carefully watching and actively directing the public opinion prevalent in their community on matters ethical.

antagonistic to the Gospel. We are not here criticising, be it observed, any educational maxims, practically acted on in any Catholic college whatsoever. We are criticising maxims, with which one or two of the "Tablet" correspondents seem to us (more or less unconsciously) infected.

These correspondents seem to us (more or less unconsciously) under an impression, that such a system as we have described is more conducive than its opposite to developing strength of character.* The desired end however—be it observed—is not that youths shall simply develop strength of character, but that they shall develop strength of *Christian* character. The strength of character which a good Catholic desires for his children, is not that exhibited in running the race of worldly ambition with the keen and absorbed zest—with the unrelenting and unscrupulous energy—of some irreligious Protestant. What he desires to see grow up in them with ever-increasing vigour, is that steadiness and courage, which unflinchingly resist the circumambient influences of worldliness and ambition; which stand firm against evil example; which persist, throughout all the agitating pressure of human affairs and anxieties, in making obedience to God, in that state to which they are called, the one predominant purpose of their life. Now we protest we know no such moral cowards as Protestant public schoolboys, trained under the system which we are assailing. They have had no protection against the overbearing tyranny of their fellows. A base and ignominious atmosphere of human respect has stifled their energies. They have become more and more ashamed of avowing whatever there may be higher in their thoughts and convictions, insomuch that it has more and more tended to fade from their mind altogether.†

We have mentioned public schools; but we have no wish to assume that Protestant public schools proceed universally on

* It may be thought with some reason, that the following paragraph would have been more properly placed under the *first* division of our article, in which we discussed the question of *moral training*. It is very difficult however to arrange one's materials on a large subject in a manner entirely satisfactory.

† Hear Dr. Arnold on this head. "The real servility which exists in England . . . is a surrender of individual judgment and conscience to the tyranny of public opinion. *This tyranny exists in schools to a fatal degree.* . . . It is this which renders it so difficult to make a large school a place of *Christian* education. For while on the one hand the boys stand to their master in the relation of pupils to a teacher, they form on the other hand a complete society among themselves; and the individual boys, while influenced by him in the one relation, are unhappily in the other more influenced by that whole of which they are members and which affects them in a much larger portion of their lives. *And how can this influence be of a Christian character?*" ("Miscellaneous Works," p. 377).

this truly odious system of separation between superiors and pupils. That some of them indeed at some periods have so proceeded, is absolutely certain. For instance, if ever there were a man whose name is associated with Protestant public schools, it is Dr. Arnold. Dean Stanley, when recording that part of his life which was concerned with them, commemorates in so many words "the peculiarities which distinguish the English public school system from almost *every other system of education in Europe* ; and which are all founded on the fact of so large a number of boys being left for so large a portion of their time to form an independent society of their own, in which the influence that they exercise over each other is far greater than can possibly be exercised by the masters, even if multiplied beyond their present number."* And the "Saturday Review" of Dec. 8, 1860, says that "the moment the master" of a public school should "begin to supervise" the boy's "manners and pursuits out of school, the whole character of the institution" would be "changed." Such, we may add, was precisely the system of which the present writer had experience. On the other hand, when a controversy, somewhat resembling the present, was raised among Catholics in the years 1859, 1860,—the most prominent advocate of the Protestant public-school system expressed this admirable sentiment: "It must not be supposed," he said, "that I would say a word to discountenance the friendly and familiar intercourse of masters and boys, grounded on a genuine feeling of sympathy on the one hand, and responded to by a trustful and affectionate respect on the other. Such intercourse I hold to be most eminently desirable." We can only say that in the particular school, at the particular period, to which we have been just referring as within the present Reviewer's individual experience, things were essentially different. At that time, in that place, the students would have as simply stood aghast at the very notion of "friendly and familiar intercourse" with one of the masters or tutors, as they would have done at the notion of friendly and familiar intercourse with one of the angelic host.

It is clear to our minds then that when, in the recent controversy, various correspondents have referred to the system of Protestant public schools, one has meant one thing by the term

* Dean Stanley further records, that Dr. Arnold keenly felt "the difficulty of communicating to such a system any real Christian character." Dr. Arnold, adds the Dean, on some occasions "unfolded the causes which had led good men to declare that public schools are the seats and nurseries of vice"; and sometimes "seemed to have an earnest and impatient desire to free himself from" the system altogether. His more permanent resolve, however, was to use his best efforts in improving it.

and another another. And as our present purpose is in no way to criticise Protestant institutions, but exclusively to make suggestions in behalf of Catholic education,—we shall say no more on this disputed question of fact. We will only affirm, for the reasons already given, that such an educational system as that ascribed by Dean Stanley to public schools,—and experienced in action by the present writer,—is the most anti-Christian system ever devised with an honest intention by persons professing Christianity.

The first step, then, towards imbuing youths with due apprehension of Christian morality, is the negative one of guarding most carefully against the evil we have just mentioned. There cannot be a more congenial soil than such a system as Dean Stanley describes, for the growth of such notions on morality as those which F. Newman denounces. The untrained and undisciplined alumnus of such a Protestant school comes as a matter of course to regard meekness, patience, and forgivingness as the virtues of women; to account impurity a small evil, or no evil at all, where it is not accompanied by treachery or cruelty; to place a *man's* moral excellence in courage, self-respect, and what some persons call honourable ambition.* We do not of course mean that youths will *formulate* either these or any other moral principles. But (1) it is by these principles that youths will form their moral estimate, whether of each other or of men and actions generally, wherever (as at certain Protestant public schools) they are purposely left to originate a public opinion of their own. And (2) such a result *tends* to ensue, *in proportion as* (at any school whatever) superiors are remiss in the task of moulding and directing the moral convictions of the community. It is friendly and habitual intercourse with superiors of matured piety, which alone can furnish security to the students against this grievous calamity. The superiors especially indoctrinate those alumni, who are older and more influential; these indoctrinate others with whom they are brought into contact; and a healthy atmosphere is thus generated, of which superiors unintermittently and jealously guard the full preservation and maintenance. Moreover it must be carefully borne in mind, that the fact of sacerdotal celibacy enables Catholic superiors to be integral living and energizing members of their society, with a completeness different *in kind* from that attainable by the married or marrying Protestant

* One or two of the "Tablet" correspondents have paid a great, though unintended, compliment to existent Catholic colleges, by complaining that their alumni are deficient, as compared with Protestants, in *ambition*. We fear (speaking from memory) that in one of his pamphlets Mr. Petre has been betrayed into language of this kind.

master. Here is one most precious advantage of Catholic education as compared with every other; viz. that those who administer it are able to realize so far more thoroughly the *parental type*.

This atmosphere of Christian thought, we say, on which we lay stress, will be largely due to the active exertion of superiors, and cannot be possibly secured without that exertion.* We do not, of course, mean that they will apply themselves of set purpose to administer moral disquisitions in play-time, but just the contrary. It is in proportion as their talk is *free* from every artificial purpose—in proportion as it is the spontaneous outcome of their thoughts—that it will achieve the desired end. It will imply, as a matter of course, a certain moral estimate of men, of actions, of literature, and that estimate the Christian one. A good man's conversation will not be the less attractive, the less abounding in poetical imagination, or humour, or knowledge of character, or apt expression, or provocativeness of joyousness and mirth, because he is a good man. He differs from a worldly man, not in that he is less engaging, less joyous, or less influential, but in that he throws the whole weight of his influence into God's scale. It is where, on one hand, the superiors are truly pious and interior men—men also who possess the art of exhibiting piety in the form most attractive to youth—while, on the other hand, they are on terms of the most intimate and familiar intercourse with those under their charge,—that the whole college will tend to be pervaded by that true moral judgment of men and actions, which is the one most momentous constituent of Catholic intellectual education. And a wise body of superiors will regard this friendly and familiar intercourse with the pupils,—not as an episodic or subordinate matter which is to come into play when no other occupation happens to press—but on the contrary as among their most sacred and absolutely indispensable duties.†

* Mr. Petre ("Remarks," p. 6) quotes Bishop Hedley in a similar sense: "If a parent could only be sure that his child would be duly spoken to, he need be anxious about little else. By speaking I mean the art of saying a word to a boy when a word would do good,—a word of warning, chiding, remonstrance, encouragement . . . for teaching, guiding, and helping the heart in its earliest efforts, struggles, and miseries."

† In illustration of our text, we may quote the following passage, which appeared in our number for October, 1869:—"Liberals often ridicule this expression, 'a Catholic atmosphere,' as though it were a mere unfounded and unmeaning figure of speech, devised for the purpose of avoiding argument. We maintain, on the contrary, that never was there an expression more thoroughly philosophical. He is the best Catholic in his views and doctrines, in whom Catholic dogmata are most constantly energizing as active implicit

They will find (we think) their efforts in this direction not a little assisted by the practice, common in English Catholic colleges, of uniting clerical and lay students. It is a serious question, we well know, how far this union is beneficial to *clerics*. Several bishops have thought that daily intercourse with lay boys tends in some degree to weaken the clerical student's ecclesiastical spirit; nay possibly, in some extreme cases, even to endanger his vocation. This is a question entirely external to our present sphere of inquiry, and on which we have not a word to say. But even were it established that clerics are injured by this contact, it would nevertheless remain true that to the lay boys themselves it is a signal benefit. If my son has not himself received the grace of an ecclesiastical vocation,—or if, having received that grace, he has not the heart to correspond with it,—the next best thing I could wish for him would be, that he be on terms of intimacy with those nobler souls, whom he may revere, even though he have not the grace or the courage to imitate. We are assuming, of course, that the indefinite superiority of their vocation over his is a fact duly impressed on his reason and his imagination, by the discipline of the college and by the unanimous language of its authorities.

We experienced a sensation, then, of almost grotesque surprise, when we found a "Tablet" correspondent objecting to this arrangement in the interest of *lay boys*! It appears that, in accordance with the Council of Trent's recommendation, a large proportion of clerical students are of comparatively humble origin; and fears are entertained lest the polish of gentlemen's sons be tarnished by contact with so rude a lot. To say the least, such an argument is curiously one-sided. Were it ever so probable that clerical students are the less gentlemanly, it is morally certain that (as a class) they are the more heavenly-minded and less worldly.* If, then, familiarity with them tends unconsciously to lower my son in the scale of gentlemanliness, with still greater

premises. But no other way can be named in which the mind can be kept so constantly under the control of such premises, as by the unconscious influence of others, thoroughly possessed by them, with whom it is brought into efficacious contact. And this influence is most curiously parallel in character to those physical agencies which constitute an 'atmosphere.' Even were it true, which most certainly it is *not*, that the very few who are highly educated can be sufficiently influenced by argument and explicit statements,—at all events, for the vast majority, it is this contagious sympathy which alone has power to imbue them with sound [religious] reasoning."

* We are not for a moment denying that the humbler classes, as well as the higher, have special faults of their own, and that an ecclesiastical education would be very imperfect which did not take careful account of this. But our present article has nothing to do with *ecclesiastical* education.

certainly it tends to elevate him in the scale of piety and conformity to his Saviour. Is it not well worth his while (if so it were) to lose a little external polish, for the sake of what is so indefinitely more valuable?

However we are not so paradoxical as to undervalue the great importance of gentlemanliness. Rather the very contrary. That would be a most imperfectly constituted seminary for clerical students, which did not train them in habits of true gentlemanliness. A really good clerical seminary would, therefore, be an excellent school of gentlemanliness, to those lay students who might have the honour of being admitted to it. No doubt—as the late Mr. Hope Scott once observed—the priest gentleman is not exactly of the same type with the squire gentleman: but the essence of gentlemanliness is seen in one type no less than in the other. In truth (as has often been remarked) no really interior man can be vulgar. There may be ignorance of conventional usages; but wherever there is humility, unselfishness, self-distrust, constant consideration of others, all true gentlemen are attracted by the exhibition.

If our readers concur on the whole with what we have hitherto said, they will certainly further see how important it is, that there shall exist the greatest attainable harmony of spirit among the superiors of some given college. The whole Catholic theory concerning religious orders implies, that there are various exhibitions of the Christian character, which importantly differ from each other, while yet we cannot correctly say that one is less truly Christian than the other. A is called by temperament, or again by external circumstances, to cultivate one special side of spirituality, while M is called to cultivate another: moreover A will be found so far in special sympathy with B, C, D, E,—while M is in much greater sympathy with N, O, P, Q. We say then that a much more powerful effect will be produced on the mind of students by a college in which A, B, C, D, and E—or again in which M, N, O, P and Q—are superiors, than by one which combines A and B with M and N. The reason is obvious. Superiors will be enabled to impress Christian principles much more effectively on the student's mind, when their action is mutually harmonious as regards the special *exhibition* of those principles. One "Tablet" correspondent has laid down as a kind of truism which no one will dare to question, that a monk, merely as such, has no characteristic qualifications for the work of teaching. But certainly, as regards that vitally momentous element of teaching which we are now considering,—the most momentous (be it remembered) without exception of all the intellectual elements—a body of religious does possess quite an extraordinary aptitude for the task; so

great is the unity of Christian sentiment, by which its members will be mutually consolidated and welded together. We do not, however, for a moment deny that a similar advantage—though in a less degree—may well be enjoyed in a college governed by secular priests. And here is the great benefit resulting from that special spirit which animates each particular college; a spirit uniting its members to each other and distinguishing them from externs.*

There is a suggestion on which much stress has been laid by several of the "Tablet" correspondents; viz., that English Catholic colleges should be fewer than they are, and the members of each proportionately more numerous. We venture to submit on the contrary, that such a change would not only be no advantage, but would be a seriously retrograde movement. In our second article on the subject we shall advocate this conclusion, even as regards the effectiveness of secular intellectual teaching. But in its bearing on the topics we have already treated, every one will understand on what grounds we base our opinion. We have followed Bishop Hedley in maintaining, that there is no more indispensable requisite for a good education, than the superior's careful study of each boy's individual character; but every increase of numbers makes it more difficult, and therefore more improbable, that this work will be effectively performed. Even as things are, a habit tends to grow up among the youths of a large school, of fancying that unfairness and favouritism are displayed, if one boy is treated, e. g., with greater tenderness, or more careful attention than another; whereas in real truth there are hardly any two boys to whom the very same method of treatment is beneficial. We do not deny indeed, that at a large school there are in fact great objections against carrying out this principle to its legitimate result; though we think that more might perhaps be done in that direction than is commonly attempted. But the very fact that there *is* this difficulty in acting on a true and important principle, tells (we think) strongly against the advisableness of large schools. Then it is a far more arduous task in large than in small schools, that superiors preserve due ascendancy in generating the public opinion which shall prevail among the students within the ethical sphere; while on the other hand—the number of superiors being necessarily much greater in a larger school—it is far more diffi-

* Strong indeed are Mr. Petre's statements, on the amount of religious influence now exercised in Catholic colleges. "There is no young Catholic at present within the walls of any of those houses of education" he says "but whose heart beats hard and fast at the thought of a world to come, of the fearful chances which lie beyond the grave" ("Remarks," p. 24).

cult so to choose them as that they shall be mutually harmonious in spirit and in action. Lastly, boys differ incredibly from each other in temperament, and it is signally beneficial that there be a diversity of schools corresponding to this diversity of temperament. It frequently happens, as things are now, that a parent finds Downside, e. g., more suited than Ushaw for one of his sons, and Ushaw more suited than Downside for another. In fact, look at the matter on which side you will (so at least it appears to us), the institution of larger schools would tend to an unelastic and procrustean result in every way undesirable. To our mind reform is rather needed of a precisely opposite kind; and we fancy we have Mr. Petre here altogether with us.* But we hold our opinion with diffidence, and with entire deference to those who have more practical experience than ourselves.

Mr. Petre ("Remarks," p. 16), has some powerful comments on the social atmosphere of a large school; though we must protest that they are rather applicable to certain Protestant public schools, than to any Catholic colleges:—

The social spirit of a large school is for the most part swayed by the crudest and baldest of boyish minds. At the period when muscle is strongest, what are the natural tastes, ideals, aspirations of the individual man? Are they not rather of the brutal kind, exhibiting themselves in a grossly physical standard of excellence, in feats of agility and strength, in the pleasures of a rude, good fellowship? It has been to us ever a pathetic spectacle to behold the struggles of minds sensitive, and receptive by nature and early influence, struggling unconsciously against a power which they cannot resist.

Unless however we altogether misunderstand Mr. Petre's following paragraph, he would seek the corrective of this most serious evil, not so much in a diffused spirit of reverence for sacred things, as in a diffused spirit of respect for literature and intellectual power. If this be his meaning, we cannot at all concur. Idolatry for idolatry, we had rather schoolboys worshipped muscle than intellect. The former idolatry is necessarily confined to a transient stage of their mental development, while the latter may debase and degrade the whole tenour of their subsequent life.

So much on large schools. We are considering, it will be remembered, the methods which can be adopted, in order to bring about that fundamental necessity of good Catholic education, the prevalence and realization of Christian moral doctrine

* Since this was written, Mr. Petre has expressed himself. He quotes with agreement ("Position," p. 52), a writer, who is "disposed to think a society of twenty or thirty boys . . . to be a seminary best adapted for the education of youth." Our own bias would be in favour of a somewhat larger number.

among the alumni. Those methods of which we have hitherto spoken, have been in some sense indirect and of a disciplinary character; though not on that account the less efficacious, or rather in substance absolutely necessary. Then the whole course of devotional and ascetical training—and unless such a course be carried out with vigour, there can of course be no Catholic education worthy the name—will powerfully converge in the same direction. But over and above this, the ordinary course of school teaching will supply many valuable resources. For instance it will be a training no less valuable in the moral than in the intellectual order, if *the lives of Saints* be placed before the students in their full historical bearing and relation to contemporary events. We do not here refer to spiritual reading: this is of course among the most essential of habits, but it belongs to the purely devotional and ascetical sphere on which we have already spoken. What we are here urging is a distinct intellectual pursuit, just as fit for school hours as any other. It would be in fact a series of historical studies, chosen with a special purpose in view; that purpose being, that students may apprehend the phenomena of a saintly character as exhibited on the broad stage of life. As an illustration of our meaning, we may mention F. Newman's papers on S. Philip Neri in the "Occasional" volume; or (on a much larger scale) F. Coleridge's admirable life of S. Francis Xavier. Over and above the *historical* benefit of such studies—which is evidently very great—they have the further advantage (and this is our immediate concern) of opening to the student a new channel of sympathy with the saintly character.

Again, generally, in historical studies of every kind, it is the Catholic teacher's obvious duty to point the true moral; to deal forth moral praise and reprobation exclusively in accordance with the Christian standard.

But there is another kind of lesson also, which on several different grounds we would venture strongly to urge. Whether by means of lectures, or in whatever other way, a direct study (we think) should always be made at school by lay boys of contemporary English literature. The more obvious and immediate purpose of this study would of course be to form the student's taste, and assist him in appreciating great writers. But a Catholic treatment of the subject would be fatally imperfect, which did not very prominently include a consideration of the false moral notions which so indefinitely abound in non-Catholic works. The moral standard according to which human action is estimated by Scott, by Wordsworth, by Miss Austen, by Macaulay, by Thackeray, by Dickens,—here is a theme at once intensely interesting and largely profitable. There are

(we fear) very few non-Catholic writers indeed on secular subjects who, in their pictures of human life, have not more or less deflected—the great majority have most grievously deflected—from the Christian standard of morality. A Catholic teacher will caution his pupils against allowing any admiration for genius or wit to conceal from them the true nature of those aberrations, and will make them clearly understand in each particular case what those aberrations definitely are.

Here we conclude our comment concerning the most fundamental part of Catholic intellectual education; that which consists in imbuing youths with a keen practical apprehension of the Christian moral standard. We do not dream—we need hardly repeat—that in any institution the educational practice will be even nearly on a level with the educational theory. But there is a certain intellectual end, which may be aimed at in education, and which every Catholic must account more momentous than any other. What we have been submitting is, that the superiors of any given school will more nearly approximate to the achievement of that end, in proportion as they are disposed and able to adopt more effectively such methods as we have mentioned. Our remarks unfortunately have carried us to so great a length, that we must reserve to our subsequent article all but the merest sketch of what further we have to say; while yet we have found it impossible to abridge them without doing grave injustice to our argument.

The next question which presents itself, concerns the remaining doctrinal instruction which should be given. How much ought lay students to be taught—and by what methods—on the Trinity, the Incarnation, Grace, &c. &c. A large and serious question indeed, which (for the reason just given) we here merely indicate, and pass on.*

As regards the greater part (though by no means the whole) of what we have hitherto urged, we have no reason to doubt—indeed much the contrary—that we are in substantial agreement with Mr. Petre; though (as we have above remarked) he does not seem to account this part of the subject by any means so preponderating in importance as we account it. Certainly he lays indefinitely greater stress on the methods of general intellectual and literary training. We are very far indeed from doubting, that these methods justly claim most attentive consideration; but we must defer to a future number (as we have said) all detailed comment on Mr. Petre's criticisms and proposals. Here however we may remark

* Mr. Petre makes on it in passing some able remarks ("Position," p. 33).
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generally, that to our mind they indicate on the whole a loving study, and large insight into the peculiarities, of youthful character. His reading on his theme has been most extensive; and he uniformly reads (as it seems to us) with discrimination and profit. We said at starting that we think he shows to least advantage, when he undertakes the task of formulating, co-ordinating, and psychologically illustrating his doctrine. But this need only mean, that he is a writer of genius rather than of philosophical analysis and consistency. Our words by no means imply that the doctrine itself, which he has grasped and carried out into diversified practical application, may not be both just and important. Even those concerned in education who least agree in his conclusions cannot (we should think) but benefit, by the originality and freedom from the spirit of routine, manifested in every page. We have ourselves been especially struck with his consistent jealousy of whatever may interfere with individuality of character. Each youth's personal tastes and capabilities, he thinks, should be carefully considered, in deciding to what particular studies his mind shall be directed ("Remarks," p. 23). There are many students no doubt, to whom enforced preparation for the London examinations is most useful. But we believe there are quite as many others, whose mind would remain indolent and torpid so long as this were the only kind of study open to them; but who would be thoroughly interested, and imbued with much very valuable intellectual culture, by other lessons of quite a different kind, which should be more congenial to their tastes and aptitudes. And here is another reason for the multiplication of Catholic schools, which shall most largely differ from each other in their curriculum. Further, we quite agree with Mr. Petre in thinking that, over and above what are commonly called *studies*, large scope should be allowed for free culture and development. A youth should have "leisure for reverie, for private reading, for the action of the many selective tendencies of the mind in youth, for the semi-conscious contemplation of ideals at first dimly seen" ("Remarks," p. 11). "If the highest ideal on which, apart from religion, we can form our boys is success in a competitive examination, or that they be robust, good fellows, can we be surprised that our Catholic educational results exhibit contracted mental power?" (ib., p. 12).^{*} Only we would here add an explanation as to our own meaning. That Catholic educational results are considerably below what they might without

^{*} We cannot at all concur with the "Barrister's" remarks on this matter, in pp. 30, 31. We hope to consider these remarks carefully in our next article on the subject.

any very great difficulty be made—this is our own strong impression; but that they are in any way below what English non-Catholics attain—this we entirely disbelieve.

One particular in intellectual education of which we have not hitherto spoken—one which has been touched by Mr. Petre, and emphatically enforced by Rev. Mr. Formby—is of most critical urgency at the present time. We refer to the “providing youths with an intellectual armoury, which will avail them in after life when social intercourse brings them into companionship with” pantheists, materialists, atheists. We hope to treat this question inclusively when we recur to the subject of Catholic education; although (as is obvious) it is one which concerns not only such colleges as Ushaw, Stonyhurst, and Downside, but in a still greater degree the Catholic University College at Kensington.

Mr. Petre has now advertised a series of pamphlets, as successively to appear; and we hope to review the whole subject in an early number, by help of the very valuable materials which those pamphlets are sure to supply.

The preceding article had been sent to press, before we received the “Catholic Barrister’s” singularly able and interesting pamphlet. We observe, however, that it does not come very much across our own sphere of remark. He speaks exclusively of Mr. Petre; whereas our own attention has been equally fixed on the whole body of “Tablet” correspondents, and these have travelled largely beyond Mr. Petre’s limits. Then a still more important difference is, that the “Barrister” has been mainly (though not exclusively) occupied with the question of general intellectual and literary culture; a question which we have ourselves been obliged to postpone. In our next article on the subject, we will consider his views on this matter with that attention and deference which they undoubtedly deserve. But we hope in that article also to show cause, for not at all concurring with his extremely unfavourable estimate of Mr. Petre’s views and abilities; though we feel as strongly as he does the persistent inaccuracy and inconsistency of that gentleman’s logic. Surely it is no novelty, that a person may originate powerful, nay inestimably important thoughts, who is nevertheless wanting in power of scientific exposition. Something like this we take to be Mr. Petre’s case; and there is the additional misfortune, that he does not seem aware of his intellectual shortcomings. Nevertheless we are confident that Catholics will be throwing away an invaluable opportunity

—and that on a matter which few others equal in importance—if they are deterred by the obscurity of Mr. Petre's logic from giving the fullest weight to his practical suggestions. By all means let these be criticised most freely, and rejected wherever there is seen good reason for rejecting them; but do not let them be ignored, merely because their originator is so curiously deficient in certain logical gifts and so unaware of his deficiency.

We must not conclude without placing before our readers, according to promise, the "Barrister's" truly charming and attractive picture—a picture honourable alike to his then preceptors and to himself—of the relation which existed between superiors and students at the Jesuit College where he was educated.

I can, of course, speak only from my own experience, but the Jesuit educational system is noted for its uniformity. I must be pardoned if I speak warmly; for I feel deeply upon this subject. Five years—five of the very happiest years of my life—were spent beneath the shelter of the Jesuits' roof. To them and to their care I owe every good thing, moral or intellectual, that I may happen to possess; and I should feel myself guilty of the basest ingratitude, if I stood silently by while their character or their system was assailed. Most willingly and most truthfully, then, do I give my testimony, that in the Jesuit college where I, with nearly two hundred other boys, spent the best days of my youth, espionage was a thing absolutely unknown. The fullest confidence was reposed in the honour* and good feeling of the students, and rarely indeed was that confidence abused. The Jesuits were as the parents of the younger boys; as the elder brothers of the more advanced. In the study halls they were earnest erudite mentors; in the playground they were the unconstrained sharers in our sports. Mutual affection was cemented by deep respect on the one side, by frank and familiar kindness on the other. I may add, that the friendships thus formed ended not with the ending of our school-days, but in many cases (mine amongst the rest) stretched far out into our after-life, and were to us a source of keen intellectual and social pleasure, and deep religious consolation (pp. 11, 12).

Such a relation between superiors and students is no peculiarity of colleges conducted by regulars; for the very same report is made by the students at S. Cuthbert's, or S. Mary's Oscott, or S. Edmund's. And to a similar effect we may insert an extract from the prospectus of S. Bede's Manchester College, which is under the Bishop of Salford's direction, and which is (we suppose) the newest educational product of English Catholicity.

* We wish the "Barrister" had explained, in which of its many senses he uses that very ambiguous word "honour."

The aim of the College being to prepare young men to enter upon life at an early age, a mild discipline is preferred to the severer systems. A rational amount of freedom is given to the students, the limits of which are enlarged according to their age and discretion. It is esteemed of the highest importance to teach them by degrees, while still under supervision, that most essential of all arts and sciences—self-control and the rational use of their liberty.

The students partake of the same table as the Rector and superiors, and associate with them on the principle of the easy and natural subordination of family life.

Mr. Allies's remarks, quoted in a former page, show that a similar state of things is as common on the Continent as in England. We may fairly assume then, that whatever corruptions may have found their way at particular times into particular institutions—and we have shown that we are not blind to the evil of such corruptions—the type of education here described is the one recognized Catholic type. It proceeds on the principle—not of mistrust and suspicion—but of loving, parental, and discriminative supervision.

ART. IV.—MR. MOTLEY'S HISTORICAL WORKS.

The Rise of the Dutch Republic. By JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY. London : Geo. Routledge & Sons.

History of the United Netherlands. By JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY. London : John Murray.

[FIRST ARTICLE.]

IN opening the late Mr. Motley's works on the Netherlands, we seem to enter a chamber of horrors which altogether eclipses that of Madame Tussaud. A large proportion of his characters—and we think we may with truth call many of them altogether his characters—are marked by extreme wickedness of one sort or another, while the remainder, whom he puts forward as endowed with all virtues, are apostates. On one side boundless savagery, dissimulation, and hypocrisy, with not a word or a glance but has two meanings, and the real meaning a sinister one; on the other, a heroic unselfishness and integrity which facts belie, but which are upheld in the face of them. Among the virtues of the Nassau family in

Calvinists in general, and the vices of every one else, the reader finds small comfort. The whole picture of the time, graphic as it is, full of life and light and brilliant colouring, produces a sickening impression of universal corruption, which was far from being the real state of things even in the latter part of the sixteenth century.

There is, of course, much in these books which is matter of history, and which no one has any interest in suppressing; for we contend, not that true facts of history should be concealed, but that they should be narrated fairly on the strength of good authorities, and without gratuitously damaging reflections on historical characters. It would be difficult to exaggerate the intemperate harshness of Philip II. in his dealings with the Netherlanders. The mischief was begun in the reign of Charles V. Indeed, the whole course of proceedings from the time when Charles placed the Council of State above the Free Court of Mechlin, and so made the first step towards establishing absolutism in the Netherlands, to the time when a mutilated half of them was handed back to Philip III. after forty years of rebellion and bloodshed, was one long act of misgovernment and folly. Systematic attacks on the civil liberties which formed the chief pride of the country, kindled a smouldering discontent, which was inflamed by the progress of the new religious sects; and the fire of the great Netherland revolt finally burst forth on an attempt to enforce a ruinous tax. The increase of Calvinism in the provinces was one cause, but not the only cause of the rebellion. Philip's civil despotism and the violent method which he employed to combat Protestantism combined to hurry on the crisis. The people who flocked to hear the disquisitions of inspired tinkers and apostate monks, felt a zest enjoyable to a Teutonic or quasi-Teutonic nature, in flying in the face of a power which rode roughshod over their charters; and when the varied plagues of Protestantism broke out in the land, the means taken by a paternal government to quell them were much like those by which modern sages expect to check the rinderpest—ten sound subjects slaughtered for one sick. Every measure levelled against the Protestants for about fifteen years did but serve to increase the evil it was intended to cure, all because Philip II. and his deputies would not, or could not, understand that northern and southern natures are different.

Charles V. had died in his retreat at San Yuste, where he had dwelt for three years, with one eye still on the world, scandalized at his son's lack of energy, superintending the choir, eating hard, suffering from ennui, and lacking all the spirit of a monk while he imitated a monk's seclusion;

Philip II., now a widower for the second time, had left the provinces in an ominously bad humour, because they demanded that the Spanish troops should depart also; and his half-sister Margaret, Duchess of Parma, had entered on an eight years' course of the toil and trouble which were synonymous with the government of the Low Countries. Already, when Philip took leave of William the Silent with an outburst of temper, if the story be true,* which much astonished the calm and at that time quite innocuous young prince, the first howlings of the tempest were heard. The peace of Cateau Cambresis had left Philip free to re-enact his father's "Placards" of 1550, which had hitherto been carried out in a very desultory manner; and though the French war was over, he did not diminish the taxation, nor was he willing to remove the hated Spanish troops. The States, assembled to receive his farewells in August, 1559, took the course by which constitutional assemblies are wont to defend themselves against the despotism of monarchs, and refused to vote the subsidies he requested unless the Spanish troops were withdrawn. In spite of his displeasure, Philip subsequently promised to remove the troops; but Philip's usual procrastination was always redoubled where there was question of keeping his promises.

Seldom was a woman placed in so difficult a position as Margaret of Parma, when left alone between the two fires of Antoine Perrenot and the malcontent Flemings. Charles V. had rated her talents highly, perhaps rather too highly. She would have made an admirable governor under a king who was not perpetually exasperating his subjects, and in a province which was not seething with disaffection, especially if she had been without the incubus of Granvella as chief of her consulta. She would have done very well in the Netherlands if she had only had the courage now and then to disobey the King, and the end of her reign really was marked with successes, though they were immediately marred by Philip and the Duke of Alva. Margaret possessed many good qualities. She had a singular devotion to the Blessed Sacrament, and her hand was always open in charity. But she was extremely fond of power, like all the children of Charles V., except a solitary wise exception who became a Jesuit; she was also

* Mr. Motley's authority for this scene is "Aubery du Maurier," who had it from his father, who had it from a gentleman present. It is nothing to the purpose that Philip's letters of this period do not read as if he suspected the prince of making the States thwart his will, for he was seldom irate in his letters. But according to M. Gachard, or rather to Sigismondo Cavalli, whom he quotes, "*Jamais il ne se fachait, quelque chose qu'on pût lui dire.*"

crooked in her dealings and policy, a vice which Mr. Motley is pleased to attribute to the fact that "she had sat at the feet of Loyola." It was hardly necessary to charge on the frank and generous Ignatius the insincerities of a woman who was educated partly at the Medicean court, partly at that of Paul III. Margaret was a lady of exemplary propriety, but was seldom on very comfortable terms with her husband. The Duke liked neither her masculine appearance, nor her desire of ruling at home and abroad. He looked on her not so much "as a woman of a strong and masculine mind, as a man in feminine garb."* The moustache which adorned her lip and her bold ungraceful walk were considered by her admirers to add to her dignity, but were a source of epigrams to her enemies and lampooners.

Mr. Motley shows a bitter dislike to Margaret of Parma, not more bitter, however, than he displays towards nearly every character of undoubted Catholicity. His reasoning powers were victimized by the boundless hatred of the Church which blinds the eyes of so many Protestant historians, as it does those of the Protestant public whence they spring. He never seems to see how impossible it is that so large a number of people should be so black as he paints them. Laborious in finding authorities on other matters, he takes everything for granted which any one chose to say against the characters whom he has marked out to personate vices; for his work really reminds us of those religious plays in which the vices and virtues, simple and unmixed, come on the stage in human form. We shall soon have occasion to point out different spiteful charges brought by doubtful authorities, but credited by the historian, against Margaret and her kith and kin.

It was certainly a difficult question how to treat the disease of heresy without danger of aggravating the evil. Heresy was always breaking out in some new place, sometimes under the inspiration of the parish priest himself, as was the case at Nieuerburgh, where the curé forbade the customary processions and administered Holy Communion in both kinds.† The fierce edicts of Charles V. made the disease more virulent; but it was certainly one to which Netherland air was favourable. No small amount of truth is contained in Mr. Motley's strange expression: "Commerce was the mother of their freedom . . . in civil matters. It was struggling to give birth to a larger liberty, to freedom of conscience."‡ That commercial enterprise should give birth to anything worth

* Strada, 41.

† "Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche," vol. i. p. 258.

‡ "Rise of the Dutch Republic," vol. i. p. 132.

having in the way of religion, is a curious though not an original idea. But the spiritual Utopia of Protestant writers is a state of things in which every one, except perhaps Catholics, invents a religion for himself, and a tendency towards this sort of independence is much more likely to develop itself among a commercial people than others. Not only are they more in the way of catching the epidemic from infected countries, but the constant pursuit of wealth and luxury inclines the mind away from simple obedience to the Church of God. In England we often hear that it is the "blessed Reformation" which has made us the most prosperous nation in the world, however much that prosperity may be worth to the individuals composing the nation; as if it had ever been promised either that religion should make men rich or that riches should make men religious. Protestantism, however, has much to do with love of luxury and comfort and carousing. It made head chiefly among the nations which were most given to these things, and which were Teutonic nations. Unfortunately, Teutonic nations are also distinguished for obstinacy; and thus it was that the measures taken by Charles V. and Philip II. against heresy in their Flemish dominions only exasperated it into greater vigour. They never showed any skill in their treatment of it. They systematically forgot that their government was partly to blame for the hold which various forms of Protestantism took in the Netherlands. In the first place, the Lutheran chaplains whom Charles V. licensed to preach to his troops passed through the land, carrying away the weak on the new wind of doctrine. Then the spiritual welfare of the Netherlanders in many places was neglected. Letters written by Margaret to her brother in the early days of her regency reveal the destitution of country parishes, where sometimes there was no priest, oftener a very illiterate one, so that the people were not even taught the Christian doctrine. For rustics, therefore, there was much excuse, but less for the inhabitants of towns, where the churches were better served. In such a state of things the creation of new bishoprics was certainly a step much to be desired; but it aroused opposition even among Catholics, who thought the Bishops were coming not as fathers but as inquisitors. There were good reasons why the Netherland Inquisition, which, as Philip himself said, was "more pitiless than the Spanish," should be feared and hated by all classes of the community.

Though it may be difficult to show why apostasy, the worst of all crimes, should not be punished at least as severely as lesser ones, it is evident that, in all northern countries at least,

severe penalties increase the number of apostates; and the regulations of the "Placards" and the Inquisition in the Low Countries were so framed as to make them a terror even to sincere Catholics. If Charles and Philip had confined their efforts to seizing and proscribing sectarian books; to breaking up meetings and *prêches* as riotous assemblies without noticing the individuals, in the earlier days of the evil, before the numbers grew too large to be dispersed without an army; if they had filled the churches with bishops and priests armed only with prayer and argument, the Protestant hydra would soon have died of the inconvenience of being so many-headed. Had Philip followed the advice given by Egmont and other staunch Catholics at the Regent's council-board, a large waste of blood and treasure would have been prevented. But Government burned the sectaries, and the flames in which they perished threw a glory round their heads which was like the glory of martyrdom. Sympathizers who had begun to sympathize rather from hatred to Spain than from love of Luther or Calvin, were carried away by the horror and splendour of the scenes which took place in half the market-places of Flanders, and began to feel a morbid longing for a similar glory. The persecution had soon increased the Protestants to so many thousands that they were a great power in a land whence Philip had been obliged, much against his will, to withdraw the Spanish troops; and at last the Government fell to the depth of permitting sectarian temples to be built outside the walls of towns. Severity certainly plucked heresy out of Spain itself. But was heresy ever so deeply rooted in Spain? And was not the Flemish mind precisely the one which persecution would confirm in an error? Philip, however, was hardly the monarch to take into consideration differences of character among his subjects. He meant to rule with an absolute sway over them all, and by the same absolute means.

It was not to be wondered at that Catholics as well as sectaries objected to the Inquisition and the Placards, which offered but slight protection to the innocent against false accusations, and encouraged the informer with material rewards. They also overrode some of the highly valued rights and privileges of the provinces. But there is no reason why disapprobation of Charles V.'s Placards should necessitate unfair representations of Catholic doctrine. Mr. Motley's historical writing is, however, more than commonly prejudiced, and is often extremely confused in consequence. All the abuses which were rife early in the sixteenth century are pitchforked into his pages, and mixed up with approved Catholic doctrines and practices. A Protestant of course

opines that it was well to separate from the Church instead of reforming the Churchmen, but at least he should not misrepresent the Church's system. Mr. Motley's works are the more likely to mislead the large class of the ignorant because they are written in a sensational style, and abound in horrible details, described after the fashion of Foxe. They have been worth much more than their weight in gold to English and American "Evangelicals," who not only mark in pencil the most grisly passages, but point to them as the best authority on the subject of Catholicism.

The interests of the Church were certainly not much advanced by Philip II. One of his early acts of folly was to place his sister under the control of Perrenot, afterwards Cardinal Granvella, who, of all men, was the most hated by the nobles, priests, and people of the Netherlands. Margaret herself soon began to chafe under the rule of his iron hand, hidden though it was in a velvet glove. Against him ranged themselves the great aristocracy of the Netherlands. The calm, reflective, worldly Orange, the brilliant high-principled Egmont, the sullen honest Horn, the drunken Brederode, the ridiculous Hoogstraaten, were chief among the mouth-pieces of Flemish discontent.

Of all these, Orange was by far the most astute. He was a remarkably keen observer of men and things, naturally timid and calculating, ambitious, but not sanguinary or violent. He was extremely insincere, and as clever at underhand work as Philip II. wished to be and was not. As to religion, although Mr. Motley strains every nerve to make him appear a devout soul, especially after his apostasy, we rather agree with M. Gachard that the truest estimate of his principles is to be found in an MS. discovered by that indefatigable archivist at Arras:—"If you consider his inconstancy in religious matters, together with his general behaviour, and the letters which he wrote to different persons . . . you will find that he was one of those who regard the Christian religion as an invention of policy to keep men in order through the fear of God, no more nor less than the ceremonies, divinations, and superstitions which Numa Pompilius introduced at Rome to soften the rude nature of the early Romans."* He refused, apparently from prudential motives, to promise that his second wife should "practise her religion," which consisted in keeping a Lutheran preacher, an advantage enjoyed to the full by poor Anna in later life.

* French MS. quoted in vol. ii. of the "*Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne.*"

Mr. Motley professes to be ignorant of the moment when William "opened his heart to the light of the Reformation"; but it seems pretty evident that it was the moment when he saw that nothing else would serve his turn. During the greater part of Margaret's regency he acted like a good Catholic when in the Netherlands, though he sometimes went to Lutheran churches in Germany, and sometimes spoke in a flip-pant tone of religious matters generally. As to Egmont, he was thoroughly and heartily Catholic, wherefore Mr. Motley regards him with much less favour than Orange. Horn and Hoogstraaten also were orthodox. As to Brederode, he professed a fierce hatred to priests, but was seldom sober enough to have defined opinions.

We do not think that the principal seigniors objected to the scheme of the new bishoprics so strongly as Mr. Motley imagined. The Duchess wrote to her brother in March, 1561, saying that she had shown his letters on the subject to Egmont and Orange; that Egmont had frankly offered his aid, while Orange said that he would do his best to help in the erection of the new sees, though he feared that it would not be without trouble, because the idea that the new sees meant the Inquisition had been put into the people's heads.* His complaisance contrasts strikingly with the opinions he expressed on the same subject twenty years later in the "Apologie." It can hardly be said, then, that "the Prince omitted no remonstrance on the subject to the Duchess, to Granvella, and by direct letters to the king."† The idea which had been put into the people's heads was not, however, far wrong, for Philip ordained that each bishop should have two inquisitors on his staff.

But the nobles thought that all would be well if they could only get rid of Granvella. Up to the middle of 1561, Orange and Granvella had been on intimate terms, the Prince consulting the Bishop on the expediency of pardoning the Huguenot rebels of his own principality, and the Bishop, more lenient in Orange than in Belgium, recommending the pardon.‡ But two years of his government alienated all who were loyal enough to blame the minister instead of the king. In the "consulta" he decided on matters which were not referred to the other members of the "Conseil d'Etat." He tyrannized over the Regent. He loved the Inquisition as a sort of royal police, though the erection of the new bishoprics had not altogether pleased him, because "it was more hon-

* "Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche," vol. i. p. 243.

† "Dutch Republic," vol. i. p. 140.

‡ "Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne," vol. ii.

ourable to be one of four than one of eighteen." This remark shows what Granvella's zeal for the Church and for souls was really worth, although Mr. Motley is fond of quoting his pious expressions to prove that he was as ardent a Catholic as he was an unprincipled man. After he became a cardinal, seventeen colleagues were not so distasteful to him.

The general dislike to Granvella burst forth unequivocally in 1563, when the governors of provinces and the knights of the Golden Fleece had recourse to that very Teutonic institution, a meeting, at which they resolved to ask for his recall. The three "cocks of the States," Orange, Egmont, and Horn, wrote to Philip in loyal strain, begging him to remove the hated Cardinal, while they refrained from bringing against him any special charge. At the same time they expressed their perfect satisfaction with "Madame," and their zeal for the Catholic religion.* Altogether the latter took it too much for granted that subjects had rights, and even the right to feel satisfied or otherwise with their rulers, to be very pleasing to Philip II. He was extremely reluctant to give way to Flemish clamour, though Margaret herself, while professing the highest regard for the Cardinal, swelled the cry for his removal. But Philip was not always actuated by spite against his subjects, and he was the more inclined to yield because the Cardinal's enemies had got the laugh on their side. The spirit of fun, which was so rife among the Flemish nobles, accomplished more than all their grave letters and remonstrances. It was the fool's-cap livery invented by Egmont which drove the Cardinal away. Even Philip understood that a minister who was universally ridiculed could not be useful at his post. He recalled Granvella, and the three nobles resumed their abandoned seats at the council-table.

Still matters did not improve so much as they ought to have done when Granvella was gone. They would have improved more if Philip had not sent so many minute orders to his sister. Mr. Motley, in the plenitude of his dislike to the much-tried Margaret, credits every story against her, without much care as to the authorities whence it comes. He quotes from "*Papiers d'Etat*" a description, on hearsay evidence, of her undignified conduct in council. He is also positive that she made a fortune by selling places. A contemporary chronicler says so, and besides "the correspondence of the time proves that the story was no calumny." A few pages further on we come on some letters to this effect of Viglius, who was a devotee of Granvella, disliking and disliked by the Regent,

* "*Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne*," vol. ii. p. 35.

and cannot help thinking that these are "the correspondence of the time" alluded to. Moreover, when Margaret again and again begs the King to relax the severity of his commands as to the Placards and the Inquisition, Mr. Motley informs us that she did so, not because "she had any sympathy with the victims, but because she felt the increasing danger to the executioner." This fact strikes us as rather difficult to ascertain.

But the arrests and the executions went on; and in the midst of so much bad work Philip resolved to do a good one; namely, to order the promulgation of the decrees of Trent. Mr. Motley causes some confusion by mixing up these decrees with police regulations and with the "Placards" of Charles V., though he knows that they "related to three subjects,—the doctrines to be inculcated by the Church, the reformation of ecclesiastical morals, and the education of the people." How these objects could interfere with "the privileges of the provinces and the prerogatives of the sovereign" we are at a loss to understand. It is childish to be for ever assuming that the predominance of the Catholic religion infringed the ancient charters of the country, as if any other religion was predominant when they were framed. Still, the spread of the sects and the dread of increased rigour in the Inquisitors were so great that even the Duchess feared the effects of her brother's command. The decrees were published here and there in a desultory way for two or three years without much popular resistance, as we infer from a letter of Orange to the Duchess in January, 1566, written from Breda, in which he says that "though at the beginning there was some discontent and murmuring, yet now that a few reservations had been made, he thought there would be little difficulty in that neighbourhood."*

The visit to Spain undertaken by Egmont in 1564 to lay the proposals of both Regent and nobles before the King, had no results except to impress him with the benignity of Philip's character; the presentation of the "Request" to the Regent by the confederated nobles in 1566 had none, except that it led to their adoption of the celebrated name of "*Les Gueux*." Orange was not one of the confederates. He was doing more underhand work than theirs. He was reading Philip's private correspondence. Mr. Motley does not conceal the fact that William hired a spy in the very court and cabinet of the King, —a spy, moreover, who could unlock his desk and copy his letters. Instead of concealing, he justifies it. William did

* "*Cor. de Guill. le Tacit.*," vol. i. p. 46.

it for a good purpose, and therefore it was lawful,—a principle which Mr. Motley has occasion to apply to his hero more than once. Would he have been equally indulgent had the fault been committed on the other side?

What with the disaffection and discontent of the people, Philip's incapacity to issue a judicious order, and Margaret's unwillingness to disobey Philip, the Netherlands were certainly in a most uncomfortable condition. The public irritation was much increased by the circumstance that the King owed enormous sums in the country. The opinion of the nobles at the council-board was all in favour of the "moderation" of the religious edicts demanded in the Request; Egmont, Montigny, and others recommending that repentant heretics should be pardoned, obstinate ones banished, and preachers alone punished with death. "Learned ecclesiastics and even prelates consider the Placards too rigorous," said Montigny; and even Viglius swelled the chorus. William of Orange spoke as little as possible on the subject of punishment, though he hinted that there should be none at all. He was urgent for the convocation of the States-General, to deal not only with the Placards, but with the King's debts. As to the Inquisition, there was an universal cry for its removal.* In all this Margaret concurred; but Margaret was always painfully aware that her sceptre was only a delegated one. She declared that it was beyond her power to suspend the Placards and the Inquisition; but she would request their suspension of the King through the lips of envoys who should represent both herself and the nation. To fulfil this office the Marquis of Berghen and the Seigneur de Montigny started for Madrid in the spring of 1566. Indeed, Margaret was altogether a much more motherly Regent than Mr. Motley would have her to be, and the affection with which the people regarded her did not entirely result from the greater harshness of Alva's reign. But she was inconveniently nervous, and also too easily convinced by slander. Thus she allowed Noircarmes to poison her mind against Egmont, Horn, and Orange, and even repeated his stories to the King, doubtless to the great edification of Orange when he read the letters. Now and then there was what may be called an "unpleasantness" between the Prince and Regent, but altogether their correspondence reads like that of two honest, open people, who were generally on good terms with each other. William seems to have served both the Church and the King more or less well in his govern-

* See the notes by Secretary Berty on the proceedings of the State Council, given in the appendix to the "*Correspondance de Guill. le Tacit.*"

ments, though there is visible in his conduct a certain tendency to compromise with the sectaries. Still in his letters he spoke of the "new religion" with rational contempt; he seized heretical books, dispersed *prêches*, and protected religious against the mob. He even wrung royal subsidies from the unwilling provincial States. But the laxity of his religious principles, and his prevailing wish to make things smooth in this world, always pointed to what was called "toleration," as the easiest solution of difficulties.

Things went from bad to worse in the Netherlands. The people trooped out to the fields in thousands to hear the ravings of the monks and tinkers. Horrible sacrileges took place, and outrages were committed, not only on sacred images, but also on the Blessed Sacrament. No Christian government could let these go unpunished, yet punishment provoked further crime. In August, 1566, the iconoclast riots broke out. Mobs swept through the churches, bearing everything that was sacred and beautiful to the ground. Even the stout Flemish heart of Margaret was appalled at the symptoms discernible in Brussels itself, though the great nobles did her the service of saving her from an ignominious flight. On the 24th she agreed that the sectaries should continue to preach in places where preaching had already taken place, and she also considerably overdrew her account with Philip by declaring the Inquisition abolished. Imprudent harshness had led to weak concession, and concession again was to lead to breach of faith; for no one was more shocked than the Duchess herself, when she saw what she had done in the moment of her terror.

The sectaries had chosen an unfortunate time for breaking images. After much delay Philip had written to his sister in the end of July, granting his usual partial consent to the propositions of Berghen and Montigny, while intending to draw back on the first opportunity. At the same time he instructed the Duchess never to convoke the States-General, though she might amuse the people with the hope; for Philip felt as keen a dislike to Parliaments as our own Charles I., or any other autocrat. But before Margaret was able to make use of her brother's half-hearted and reluctant favours, the riots of August had changed the face of affairs, and she had become perfectly desperate. Governors of the Netherlands generally passed through three stages: first, hope; then doubt and vacillation; and, finally, frantic despair. In 1566 Margaret had reached the frantic stage. Hitherto she had pleaded for a relaxation of the Inquisition; now, instead of asking the King to ratify her concessions, she only begged him to undo

what she had done. She was filled with grief and shame at having granted the "Accord." She told her brother that Orange, Egmont, and Horn were openly disloyal, while she sent them to Flanders, to Antwerp, and Tournay to suppress sedition.

They did their work well. Egmont put down the sectaries with a strong hand, Orange with quiet sagacity, Horn with gloomy prudence. Antwerp was the centre of rebellion, both religious and political; the image-breaking had been inaugurated there, and to restore the Catholic religion without creating fresh riots was a delicate task. Orange cannot be blamed for working on the basis of the "Accord," though he went too far in granting three of the city churches to the sectaries, as the "Accord" had not provided that their *prêches* should be intra-mural. The concession, however, probably arose rather from the difficulty of his situation than from sympathy with the sectaries, and Orange certainly restored Catholic worship to Antwerp, as well as to other cities within his government. It was hardly the best time for Margaret publicly to display her suspicions of his loyalty; yet she was so foolish as to send the Duke of Brunswick with troops into William's stadholderate of Holland, to his no small indignation. A great soul would have thrown itself with confidence at such a crisis on the loyalty and chivalry of the three principal nobles; but Margaret's soul, though good enough in its way, was not exactly great. Egmont had done his work too thoroughly to be carped at; Horn had proceeded on the terms of the "Accord." Margaret, however, was determined not to be bound by the "Accord"; and perhaps she was not far wrong, as she may fairly be said to have agreed to it under compulsion. But the situation was a difficult one for those whom she employed without trusting them.

It was at the close of this year, 1566, that Orange seems first to have contemplated armed resistance to the King whom hitherto he had served. He possessed hidden means of knowing that Philip intended either to bring or to send a Spanish army to cut the Netherland knot with the sword, and the idea occurred to him of meeting force with force. If William had had any religious principle, he would have been the best friend of his country; as it was, he looked only to his country's mundane advantage, and used religious phrases merely to consolidate his authority. Rather than see the Netherlands coerced by Philip, he was ready to go into open rebellion; he could not bear the sound of a gun, but still guns must be fired, and he might trust his brother Louis to be valiant, if he might not trust himself. He was also determined that if he was to make

war, Egmont, Horn, and Hoogstraaten should make war with him. To this end he appointed them to meet him at Dendermonde, where they discussed a mysterious letter, which professed to have been written by Alava, Spanish ambassador in France, to the Regent Margaret. We do not know how Orange explained the circumstance of its being in his hands. It informed Margaret very explicitly that the King meant to "use and destroy" the great nobles, and advised her to flatter them till the time came to treat them "in another manner." This letter is now admitted on all hands to be a forgery, though Mr. Motley hazards no conjectures as to the forger. He is much astonished at the "coolness" of Strada in suggesting that it might be an invention of the confederates; and he naïvely observes that "the astuteness of William of Orange had in this instance been deceived." We think that the astuteness of the historian has been deceived. Every circumstance about the letter points to William himself as its author, for certainly no one on the Royalist side was likely to write it in order to let it fall into his hands. It was a piece of the underhand work at which he was an adept. Certainly it is curious to see how Mr. Motley, who so thoroughly searches all Spanish cupboards for skeletons, slurs over the origin of this letter, and avoids all attempts to probe the mystery. He cannot ward off suspicion from Orange, and yet will not admit the sinister possibility, for where Orange is in question Mr. Motley is not an historian, but a panegyrist.

The letter missed its aim, for Egmont had the acumen to doubt its authenticity. The meeting produced no results, and, indeed, the nobles only talked for an hour and a half before the inevitable eating began. Orange was unable to drag his friends into the vortex of civil war and apostasy, for Egmont and Horn were men who looked on religion not merely as a convenience, and they felt that to raise the standard of war against the King would be likely to involve them with the sectaries in more ways than one. William's resolution was taken; yet his instincts of order were so strong that they prompted him to do one more good work for his own reputation, for the country, and even for the King. In the end of 1566 insurrection had broken out, not riots merely, but an insurrection with guns and banners. Valenciennes refused to receive the royalist troops, and was immediately invested. A young noble named Marnix also set up a rebel camp near Antwerp, where his levies were scattered by eight hundred royalists. Thereupon twenty thousand enraged Calvinists arose in revolt within the city, and were restrained chiefly by the influence of Orange from attempting a general massacre of

Catholics and Lutherans. Orange harangued them, rebuked their fanaticism, and then and there for the last time in his life he shouted "Vive le Roi!" A conflict between right and wrong was going on in the soul of Orange. A little forbearance, a little sagacity on the part of Philip at this time, would have saved William from apostasy, and Philip himself from the enmity of the most cunning politician of the day. Egmont had already chosen between good and evil, if, indeed, he ever was so much as tempted to cast in his lot with the professors of the latest religious novelties. In March, 1567, he contributed to the taking of Valenciennes, which would have been the turning-point of the Netherland troubles if Philip had possessed the ordinary modicum of common sense. Everywhere the Protestants submitted. The country was tranquillized, the churches were restored, the Regent was triumphant, when she heard to her indignation that the Duke of Alva was coming to enforce the King's authority in the Netherlands with 10,000 men.

Margaret's small share of the Hapsburg temper blazed out now, and she wrote Philip such a letter as seldom made its appearance on that blotted wooden writing-desk whence troubles went forth to all his correspondents. Nor did he fail to put down with lofty displeasure that daring explosion of anger, and to tell his sister that she ought to be grateful to him for giving her such opportunities of well-doing. Yet since he knew the good was done, why should he send the Duke of Alva to do it over again, or, as events turned out, to undo it altogether? Since the country was subdued, why depopulate it? This was a mere scheme of vengeance, and one which seems to indicate that Philip "the Prudent" inherited something besides Spain from his grandmother Juana. For the second time he was placing the country in the power of the man it most dreaded and disliked. The approaching general, whose harshness was notorious, was an object of abhorrence alike to Regent, nobles, and people. He had none of Granvella's diplomacy, but surpassed that cat-like Burgundian in vindictive violence. His coming ended William's struggle between good and evil. To make matters worse, the Regent was ordered to demand of the nobles an oath to obey every command of the King or his lieutenant, an order insulting alike to their loyalty and their common sense. It afforded to Orange a good pretext for retiring to Germany, not, he said, with the intention of bringing war thence into the Netherlands, though it was probably foreseen by many that he would. Egmont still refused to join him. Egmont was not so wise in his generation as Orange; he was more sincere, more con-

scientious, but less acute, because less worldly. He relied on the benignity which he had discovered in Philip, not knowing that his death-warrant was on its way to the Netherlands in Alva's luggage. He lost his head, but at least he saved his soul.

In August, 1567, Alva marched through the trembling country, and presented himself before the Regent, who received him with freezing *hauteur*. She was hot enough, however, in her letters to Philip, demanding to be dismissed from a country which she had settled, rather than stay to see it unsettled again. That it would be unsettled was evident enough when Egmont and Horn were arrested in September, 1567; for who could be safe when the victor of S. Quentin and Valenciennes was accused, and who could look on tranquilly at the destruction of the noblest of Flemings? At this very time Egmont was receiving affectionate letters from Philip, and civilities from Philip's lieutenant. Two chivalrous Spaniards indeed warned him of his doom; but his compatriot, Noircarmes, persuaded him to neglect their warning, and immediately afterwards both he and his friend Horn found themselves in the Castle of Ghent. Margaret was full of anger and despair, though, according to Mr. Motley, "she was only offended that they had been arrested without her permission." In December we find her leaving the Netherlands, not without a parting fling or two from Mr. Motley, though she was certainly followed by the regrets of the nation, as one who had tried her best to right their wrongs.

Alva rushed headlong on his course. He tried a whole batch of nobles before his newly-made "Blood-Council." He could not reach Orange, nor Louis Nassau, nor Hoogstraaten, who had escaped; nor Brederode, who had already died of hard drinking in Germany; but Egmont and Horn were in his power, and his arm was long enough to reach Montigny in a Spanish prison. The Count de Buren, William's eldest son, was taken from college at Louvain, to be educated in Spain, an event which was sure to follow from William's extraordinary negligence in leaving him in the enemy's power. The prince himself was now raising troops in Germany, with the favour of certain of the German princes. This was, in fact, the time when he "opened his heart to the light of the Reformation," which light he allowed to take a Lutheran colouring in consideration of the fact that his most hopeful allies were Lutherans. In May, 1568, his forces, under Louis Nassau, fought their first battle, and singularly enough they won it, which shows that beginnings are no auguries. They derived but little advantage from their victory at Heiliger-Lee, its immediate results being only the execution of Counts Egmont

and Horn. This was a murder, and hardly even a judicial murder. The insane destruction of two loyal subjects and good Catholics did more harm to Philip's cause than any military success of Alva's could do it good, though that success he certainly had, and on the 21st of July began by gaining a victory over Count Louis at Gemmingen. Orange now went so far as to take the field in person with his mercenaries, but fought no battles, unless a disastrous skirmish deserves that name. His campaign this year consisted entirely in running away from the Duke of Alva, which he did without intermission for some months, until at last he manœuvred himself into French territory, to the no small disgust of the King of France. In reply to the remonstrances of Charles IX. he wrote a remarkable letter, reminding that monarch that it was the duty of Christian princes to support "the true religion"; though as the king's idea of the true religion differed from that of Orange, and that of Orange varied according to the exigences of his situation, the implied request was not very practicable. William retired into Germany without gain or glory, and presently afterwards went to fight for the French Huguenots, though he successfully avoided being present at a battle.

To rebel at this juncture was, perhaps, not unjustifiable, if rebellion were unaccompanied by apostasy, as indeed it was in some of the towns which objected to receive Spanish garrisons,—notably Mechlin. A Count of Holland and Duke of Brabant had no right, constitutional or otherwise, to ruin and to depopulate his dominions, which Alva was now doing in Philip's name. His great object was that charges of heresy should be brought against every person of property; these charges were easily proved against even the most sincere Catholics, who suffered death in a cause which they abhorred, while their goods went to the Crown. It is needless to say more than that Philip himself thought his deputy going too far. Philip was altogether disappointed with the Duke of Alva's government. Alva had intended to enrich Spain by impoverishing the Netherlands, and began with the confiscation of heretics' property. Then he tried a yet more sweeping plan, and laid on the celebrated taxes of the hundredth, twentieth, and tenth pennies, the last to be levied on every article which changed hands. The grand idea of political economy in those days was to kill the goose with the golden egg, and of this idea Alva was the boldest exponent. Somehow the result was unsatisfactory. The outcry was so great that the tax was commuted for two years, but not till Alva had summoned before the Blood-Council the whole pro-

vince of Utrecht, which was foremost in resisting the edict. In July, 1570, an amnesty was proclaimed, but with so many exceptions that it excited grim laughter rather than confidence. Alva's statesmanship was not bettered by experience. He had got rid for the present of Orange and his Germans, and he should have seized this time to pacify the people. Instead of taking steps to reassure them, he was eager to resume his favourite taxation. Every one resisted him. Even the ultra-loyal members of the State-Council stood up for their country, and Viglius himself was heard to enunciate the doctrine of "*Vox populi, vox Dei.*" But the opposition only stimulated Alva's resolve, and the renewal of the tax was proclaimed on the 31st of July, 1571. The hardened Flemings immediately shut their shops, and business was at a standstill in cities which for centuries had been hives of industry. Never was Alva so universally hated as now. Burning, hanging, secret drowning might be overlooked, but empty pockets were not to be endured. "The whole people," wrote Alva to Philip early in 1572, "cry, Let him be gone."* Philip was almost of the same mind himself. He had already appointed to the government of the Netherlands another splendid grandee, the Duke of Medina-Coeli, but as usual, the new governor was a long time in getting there. In the meanwhile Alva's generalship had become necessary to repair the mischief which his want of statesmanship had caused. On the 1st of April, William De La Marck, commissioned as a privateer by Orange to do his rough work by sea, took the port of Brill; and this act, of which the motive was merely a pirate's desire for loot, renewed the war. Flushing expelled its Spanish garrison; the flame spread from town to town. Nearly all the cities of Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and Gueldres rose, nominally not against the king, but against Alva and his Spanish army of occupation.

The insurrection at Valenciennes in 1567, even William's laughable campaign of 1568, were but the first sighs of the great tempest which was now sweeping the land in its fury. The Prince of Orange, from his retreat in Germany, was prompt to utilize deeds which had been begun without him. He sent a deputy to reclaim his stadtholderate of Holland and Zealand, which he meant to hold in Philip's name; for he would have it supposed that he was very loyal to Philip, even while he resisted his authority. He went so far as to talk in his letters of "the king's simple goodness," which the Duke of Alva and the inquisitors had abused.* While Dietrich

* "*Cor. de Guill. le Tacit.*," vol. iii. p. 69.

Sonoy acted for William in his civil capacity, the fighting was done by Louis Nassau. Louis was really a brave man, although a thorough adventurer; for in the Nassau family the valour was settled on the younger branches. Mr. Motley calls him a crusader, though the phrase is hardly suitable to a leader of men who held the cross in abomination. Though not a very good man, he was a soldier good enough to make the Spanish victories over him worth the winning. By this time even the Duke of Alva was convinced that he must abate some of his demands. In June, 1572, he summoned the States of Holland to assemble, and to receive his consent to the abolition of his fatal tax. It was too late. Holland was already at the feet of Orange, pouring subscriptions into his coffers—subscriptions partially composed of plate from the rifled churches—"superfluous church ornaments," as Mr. Motley calls them. The authority of Orange as Stadtholder for his Majesty was everywhere recognized, though for the present he himself exercised it altogether vicariously. In his directions to his officers he always recommended toleration of the Catholic religion, and respect for Catholic worship, an injunction which was too much out of keeping with the spirit of his subordinates to be obeyed. Orange himself was actuated by no violent hatred to the Church. He was a thorough latitudinarian. He had become a Lutheran because he wanted German help, and he was about to become a Calvinist because his supporters in Holland and Zealand were mostly Calvinists. The loose nature of his opinions would have been better suited to the nineteenth century than the sixteenth, though he knew how to introduce pious phrases into his letters with great effect. However, he was not able to restrain the excesses of his German troops, nor did the sea-beggars who cruised about under the corsair De La Marck pay much attention to this part of their instructions.

In May, Count Louis had taken Mons by a *coup-de-main*, under the impression that Charles IX. of France was going to help him royally, according to promises he had received in Paris. Instead of help came news of the S. Bartholomew Massacre,* which was the greatest blunder as well as the greatest crime committed by Catherine de' Medici. She thereby roused the enmity of all anti-Spanish Europe, while she yet could never make up her mind to throw herself into the arms of Philip, or even to forbear intriguing against him. At the time, however, her act played into Philip's hands. William of Orange had at last marched into Flanders

* "Cor. de Guill. le Tacit.," vol. ii. pp. 106—156.

with an army of German mercenaries, and advanced to raise the siege of Mons. There he fought his first action, which was to be surprised at night by Julian Romero and 600 Spaniards. After this he retreated to the south, leaving Mons to the enemy. There was nothing else for him to do, ostentatiously abandoned by France as he was, and harassed by the mutinies of soldiers whom he could not pay. For the second time all seemed over for William of Orange. He found his way to Holland, still perhaps cherishing hopes of a third chance presenting itself, though he pathetically declared that in the Dutch fens he would "make his sepulchre."*

City after city which had recently shut their gates against Spanish garrisons were now given over to Spanish armies to plunder. The *morale* of Philip's force in the Netherlands was at a low ebb, and articles of capitulation and the word of Spanish grandees and caballeros proved no protection to the hapless towns which surrendered to Alva's officers. The cruelties, however, were not all on one side. Mr. Motley hardly does justice to the ferocity of those heroes of his who fought so obstinately for their own religious fancies. At the siege of Haarlem especially, their barbarous treatment of their Spanish prisoners provoked horrible reprisals.† Indeed, throughout the war the Hollanders and Zealanders showed that an eight centuries' struggle against Saracens was not needed to make a nation cruel. It would have been at least graceful in William of Orange to lead a raw force which he had collected to the relief of Haarlem; but he was easily dissuaded from that course by the municipalities of the other towns, or as Mr. Motley puts it, "by the tears of the whole population of Holland." The picture of sobbing burgomasters and lachrymose Dutchmen of all kinds is pathetic, and it is also interesting to observe the phrases and stratagems with which Mr. Motley strives to conceal the white feather worn by his favourite. Alva was now crowned with laurels, but was not altogether at his ease as a victor. He had clamoured for the advent of Medina-Cœli, but could not endure him now that he was come. Amid the horrors of the war the episode of the two quarrelling dukes introduces a ludicrous touch. Alva's attempts to subject his colleague to the authority of his son Don Fadrique were more than a Spanish grandee could endure, and Medina-Cœli departed the Netherlands in a bad humour in November, 1573, after a fruitless sojourn there of a year and four months. It seems

* Groen van Prinsterer, vol. iv. p. 4.

† Strada, "De Bello Belgico," p. 877.

that no Spaniard or quasi-Spaniard ever came to the Netherlands and kept his temper.

Holland now ought to have been already reconquered, judging by the number of towns which were taken; and if Alva could have kept his hands from massacreing, and Philip his lips from sanguinary threats, it is possible that the year 1574 would have witnessed the submission of the strip of land which still held out. But however clement Alva and Philip had been, the subsequent conduct of William of Orange makes it very plain that he would have done all in his power to avert submission. It is amusing to find Louis of Nassau, notwithstanding the Paris massacre and the broken faith of Charles IX., renewing his dealings with the French court so early as the summer of 1573; for it is quite impossible that a politician so acute as William of Orange should have been deceived by Catherine's new pretence that the massacre was all a mistake. Still more disgusting is the revelation which Philip II. made of his true character in this same year. He wanted the Imperial crown; and to gain the Protestant princes of Germany to his cause, he offered to pledge himself to permit the practice of Protestantism in its different forms in the Netherlands. Hitherto he had felt it his bounden duty to extirpate heresy in his dominions; but when there was question of the Imperial crown, his conscience seemed to be invaded by a flood of loose modern ideas, and he was ready not only to restore the Prince of Orange to his estates and dignities, but to establish by edict the same amount of religious license as existed in Germany.* Indeed, as we grow to know Philip more and more, his virtues fall away from him one by one. He was not then really in earnest when he ordained that the edicts and the Inquisition should remain in full force, when he reprimanded his sister for being too clement towards heretics, when he said that he could not rule over the enemies of God. He was willing to be clement himself, he was willing to be the sovereign of renegades, for the honour and glory of writing himself Cæsar as his father had done.

In 1573, too, William of Orange changed his religious colours for the last time, and publicly professed Calvinism. At this point his admirer suddenly admits his latitudinarianism without shame. He had "delayed for a time his public adhesion to this communion, in order not to give offence to the Lutherans and to the Emperor,"† from whom it now

* Mr. Motley takes his account of this transaction from a letter of Gaspar de Schomberg to the Duke of Anjou, in the "Archives" edited by M. Groen van Prinsterer. There seems to be no reason for doubting its reality.

† "Dutch Republic," vol. ii. p. 89.

appeared that he was not likely to get much help. "He was never a dogmatist, however, and he sought in Christianity for that which unites rather than for that which separates Christians." With such ideas of Christianity, and such laxity of conscience, it is not surprising that William of Orange did get on in the world after all.

This year is also happily remarkable for the departure of Alva from the Netherlands. In Alva the climax of all exaggerations of Spanish sternness and strength is attained, and Philip also reached the utmost height of his infatuation in choosing as governor of the Flemings the man who, of all his subjects, was most unsuitable to the post. When the leathern face, large pitiless eyes, and armour-clad figure of the dreadful duke disappear from the scene, we feel inclined to exclaim—"For this relief much thanks!" The duke had found the country at peace; he stirred up a most sanguinary war, stained with horrid atrocities on both sides, and he left this war to his milder and rather commonplace successor to finish, together with a large legacy of other troubles. Don Luis de Requesens y Çuniga, Grand Commander of Castile, now came to Brussels with the intention of pacifying the country by gentler measures.

The results of bad government often reach their full measure under a better government, and of all Philip's viceroys in the Netherlands poor Requesens was the most miserable and the most tormented. Margaret and Alva had both suffered from want of money, but Requesens was in absolute penury during the eighteen months which elapsed before death ended his woes. To serve Philip was synonymous with being short of money, and at this time Philip's exchequer was at its lowest ebb. The financial scheme of ruining the Netherlands had not proved lucrative. The war with the Turks, though glorious to Philip's arms and fame, had drained his coffers. He was taxing the religious houses, and taking toll from the invalids who ate meat in Lent. In 1574 he was bankrupt for fifty-eight per cent., and was obliged to make a truce with the Turks after all. There was really no course left to him but to disregard the Grand Commander's piteous entreaties for money, or to tell him that he must govern the Netherlands without it. To take towns, repulse fleets, and maintain a picked army without cash and with credit lost, proved no easy task. Military successes did not alleviate the viceroy's sorrows. After the victory of Mook in April, 1574, when Louis of Nassau perished, the Spanish soldiers mutinied for their three-years' arrearages of pay, which Requesens discharged by mulcting the burghers of Antwerp. At last he made up

his mind to treat with Orange, and sent Hugo Bontius on that fruitless mission, for Orange had already determined that the war should go on. It was his way to throw the responsibility of this determination on the Estates of Holland and Zeeland, who were his slaves in all things but the ready disbursing of money, and he assured Bontius that the Estates would never consent to a peace which did not guarantee freedom of religion, even if he would consent himself. On another occasion he said he was willing to leave the religious question to the States-General.* In 1575 further negotiations took place, and we think that Requesens and the king certainly were mistaken in not referring the religious question to the States-General, according to the proposal which was now distinctly made by the Dutch commissioners. The majority of the States were Catholic, and would have decided against Orange, though subsequent events seem to show that Orange would have shuffled out of the position had the Government accepted it. As it was, the two rebellious provinces flew wider apart than ever from the provinces which had remained quiet since 1567. In Holland horrible tortures were inflicted on Catholics, though without the sanction of the Prince of Orange. It was with his sanction, however, that Holland and Zeeland formally renounced their allegiance to Philip in October, 1575, and began diligently to search for another king; but no other king would have them. They were miserable enough, so miserable that, as the story goes, Orange even thought of drowning the country, and carrying the people away in ships to shine in other spheres. But fortunate circumstances now came to William's aid. These were the Grand Commander's death on the 5th of March, 1576, and the interregnum which followed.

This crisis was naturally the time chosen by the prudent Philip to leave the Netherlands without a viceroy. While the Council of State feebly gathered up the reins of government, and undertook perforce the management of an army in mutiny and two provinces in rebellion, while Philip sat in his council-chamber, ponderously debating week after week on the different characteristics of possible and impossible Governors and Governesses, William the Silent rushed at his opportunity like a starving man at bread. Spite of the Catholicism of the Belgian provinces, spite of the half-drowned, half-conquered condition of the two which gave him obedience, he would himself be the head of the decapitated commonwealth. Every circumstance seemed to play into his hands. The country was

* "*Correspondance de Philippe II.*," vol. ii. p. 1291.

exhausted with war. The starving and mutinous Spanish soldiery, committing frightful excesses in the Belgian towns, awoke there a natural horror of Spaniards, and a stern resolution to expel them from the country. Bishops and priests, no less than nobles and burghers, were determined to get rid of the hated incubus, determined to show Philip that the Netherlands must no longer be the scene of horrors, inflicted by his own soldiers, similar to those from which he had saved Italy on the part of the Turks. To do this, however, it was necessary to make a compact with Holland and Zealand, who were no more nor less than William of Orange; and this the Belgian Catholics were willing to do. Accordingly the deputies of nearly all the Catholic provinces met those of Orange at Ghent in the autumn of 1576; and in the very days when the Spanish fury was raging at Antwerp, in a sister city was concluded the famous Pacification of Ghent. The contracting parties bound themselves to expel the foreign soldiery; the settlement of religious questions was relegated to a future assembly of the States-General, and in the meantime the Placards and the Inquisition were to be suspended, and Holland and Zealand were recognized as Protestant, though they were not to practise against the Catholic Faith in the other provinces. The king could hardly complain if the Flemings took matters into their own hands while he left their country without a viceroy, and his soldiers to support themselves by plunder. The Catholics hoped to have secured the interests of religion by leaving them in the hands of an assembly in which the Catholic deputies would far outnumber the Protestant. But William of Orange looked on with a contented eye. He knew that a Commonwealth could not exist without a head, by whatever title the head might be called. He knew that he was the most powerful because the most acute person in the Netherlands; he knew that so long as the king sent them no governor he should be virtually the chief ruler, and if the interregnum continued long enough the king's power in the Netherlands might be abolished altogether.

Unfortunately for William's plan the interregnum was already at an end. Philip could hardly be said not to have deliberated ripely on the choice of a governor. One councillor proposed Philip's little son, Don Diego; another, that the hapless Margaret should be sent to grapple with united Netherlanders and mutinous Spaniards. But Philip saw at last that ladies and children were not quite suited to the crisis, and finally Don Juan of Austria was appointed to be "Stadt-holder, Governor, and Captain-General" in the Low Countries. He tried to atone by his speed in going there for the tardiness

of Philip's deliberations ; yet he did not arrive in time to prevent the Spanish fury. He reached Luxemburg on the 4th of November, when the Antwerp massacre was about to begin.

William now had to deal with a most dread antagonist. Don Juan was formidable because of his great name and good fame ; because he was fascinating ; above all, because he came as the exponent of a peace policy. But he certainly had the disadvantage of representing a king who was apt to break his promises ; and of this disadvantage William availed himself freely, and Mr. Motley does the same, until they almost succeed in making Don Juan appear guilty of the malversation of Philip and former governors. Perhaps it is natural that William's panegyrist should decry William's most dangerous rival, especially at a point where the prince's own character appears in its worst light. Mr. Motley draws a striking contrast between the "two heroes," of course much to the disadvantage of Don Juan ; though, when all is told, William's superiority seems chiefly to consist in his being bald. Which of the two was the more sincere will be best shown by a calm review of what may be called the Pacification crisis ; of which review we find the impassioned historian to be quite incapable.

When it was known that the new Governor was at Luxemburg, the States, at William's instigation, sent their deputies flying thither, to prevent his entering the Netherlands till he had accepted the Pacification of Ghent. This was a wise and a natural step, but William and the States meant different things. The States honestly hoped to obtain the Governor's assent to the Ghent treaty ; William hoped that he never would assent. William's new-fledged though anomalous authority over the whole country was trembling in the balance, and would be overthrown if the country came to a peaceful understanding with the Viceroy.

At first it seemed that his secret wishes would be fulfilled. Don Juan received "*messieurs les deputez*" with his usual courtesy ; he admitted the ill-behaviour of the Spanish troops ; but he observed that the Pacification of Ghent had been concluded without the King's knowledge or his own, and he could not accept it until after ripe consideration. Still he was willing to consider, and if he could be satisfied that it was in no way contrary to the Catholic religion and the King's authority, he would maintain it in good faith. But the Church and the regal power he was sworn to defend, even to the renewing of the war. The Flemings now brought the favourable opinion of all their bishops and religious superiors to support their favourite treaty. Meanwhile, however, some

amicable but perfectly blameless letters, written by Don Juan to certain of the Spanish officers, fell into the hands of the States' deputies at Brussels, who wrote to him very bluntly on the subject. Never had he had to do with such people as these deputies, but he replied with calmness that he was far from approving the deeds of the mutineers, though he did not choose to mix up with them the soldiers who had fought in lawful warfare.* As to the Pacification, Don Juan was full of scruples on the score of religion, but he hit on an expedient which satisfied them. At Marche-en-Famène, on the 12th of February, 1577, the representatives of the country concluded with the representative of the King a treaty well calculated to restore peace to the land, wholesome liberty to the people, and wholesome authority to the King. It went by the name of the Perpetual Edict, and distinctly ratified the Pacification of Ghent; but it also bound the States by oath to maintain the Catholic religion. The Governor thus thought to secure the interests of the Church, while he conceded nearly everything else. He gave up, not without much repining, his own pet scheme of sending the Spanish troops away down the Channel, effecting a descent on England, and freeing the captive princess who pined there in a lonely tower. Chivalrous plans of this sort were blasted by the breath of those high and mighty, but common-place and rugged individuals, commonly known as "the States." They insisted that the troops should depart by land, and showed the suspicions aroused by former experiences when they stipulated that Don Juan was not to be received at Brussels till his pledges had been fulfilled.

A sigh of relief, a cry of joy, went through the land. A vista of peace and plenty was opened to the rejoicing Flemings, now that their deputies had concluded a treaty with the Viceroy;—nay, with the King himself, for Philip actually lost no time in ratifying his brother's edict. But at the door of this Paradise stood, with a flaming sword, the patriotic William of Orange, warning from its pleasant pastures the people of whom he professed to be the friend and father.

William had been greatly alarmed when he found that there was a likelihood of the Deputies coming to terms with the new Governor. The Deputies were still anxious to obtain the approbation of the Prince; but when they sent agents to advise with him at Middelburg, his reply was that he must consult the States of Holland and Zealand. This was too much for the hardy Belgians. Freedom was their object, and it was

* Letter quoted by Gachard, "*Cor. de Guill. le Tacit.*," III. 176, note.

not their idea of freedom that fifteen provinces should be governed by two. They told the Prince that Holland and Zealand were represented in the States-General, and must be contented with their legitimate amount of influence. They also begged that he would cease to break the Pacification by making war on such of the Dutch towns as had not yet accepted it. Finally, they signed the treaty of Marche without waiting for William's consent.

These were good signs that the Belgians did not intend merely to exchange the despotism of Philip for that of William. But the Prince had a stronger will, and more of serpentine art to back it, than any other man in the Netherlands. Since he could not bully the States into declining the negotiation with the Governor, he must cajole them into breaking their engagements: he must spare no calumnies against Don Juan, till discord was sown between him and the States. The Prince was in every way bound to abide by the decisions of the States-General, and to their decisions he had always expressed his willingness to defer. All that the States had now done, they did with their eyes open, and certainly without intimidation, for Don Juan was in their power, not they in his; and their deed was ratified by the rejoicing of exhausted Belgium. And then "their good friend and patriot to do them service," as William of Orange was pleased to sign himself, not only expressed his strong disapprobation, but set systematically to work to undermine the Treaty of Marche. He was positive that Don Juan did not mean to keep his promises, nor did he hesitate to declare him as bloodthirsty as the Duke of Alva, though "younger and more foolish." Certainly Don Juan had exhibited no signs of bloodthirstiness, and he was keeping his promises with the utmost celerity, expediting, even with the advance of his own money, the exit of the Spanish troops. Meanwhile he came as far as Louvain, where he won all hearts by his pleasing manner and handsome face. He mingled in the sports of the burgliers, and brought down the popinjay with his cross-bow, to the great delight of the people, though the exploit seems to Mr. Motley a proof of frivolity, and he gravely suggests that William of Orange "had no time for painted popinjays." Yet, while Don Juan was at Louvain, he showed much good sense, as well as charity, in his efforts to win back Orange to his allegiance. Not perceiving that "the pilot who guided the bark," as he called Orange, was actuated by a personal as well as a family ambition, he first thought of proposing that Count Van Buren should assume his father's dignities, while the father should retire; but he was given to under-

stand that this offer ought to have been made several years earlier.

However, he sent Dr. Albert de Leeuw to Middelburg to assure the Prince of his good intentions, and to remind him that, as the King had accorded the demands of the States, there was no further excuse for opposition. If, continued the Governor, with forcible logic, the Prince had taken up arms to redress the wrongs of the country, it was evident that he had no reason for remaining armed now, and he begged him to return to the ancient Church, and to help in re-establishing its authority in Holland and Zeeland. Don Juan even offered to grant the Prince an interview, perhaps hoping to fascinate him as he had fascinated the burghers of Louvain; for, as he expressed himself to Philip: "it was no time for stickling at points of etiquette, but rather for repairing the ruined state."

But William rejected all these proposals, between the intervals of a heavy dinner and a heavy supper with his compatriot De Leeuw. He was very grateful, he said, and he would do his best to keep the peace, but he must consult the States of Holland and Zeeland. These States were certainly very convenient to the Prince, and filled the place of the sleeping partner, who yet always has to be consulted when a delicate crisis arises. In fact, Orange had gone too far to be recalled, except by a miracle of grace. He had separated Holland and Zeeland from the other provinces, and made them into a little autocracy for himself. He had turned Calvinist for their sake. He had married a runaway nun, while his lawful but most wretched wife still lived. He had gone very far wrong, so wrong that the frank and hearty invitations of the young soldier with whom he now had to deal were not likely to put him right, unless a voice within his own conscience should second them. And William's conscience, never so eloquent as his pen, had now become very dumb indeed.

Nevertheless Don Juan, with great good temper, resolved to make another attempt. The hated troops being expelled at last, he was free to enter Brussels, which he did on the happy May-day of 1577, amid the chiming of bells and a rain of flowers, and all the quaint gorgeousness of a Flemish festival. He was now the acknowledged Governor-General of the Netherlands; only William of Orange and his States of Holland and Zeeland held aloof. However, Don Juan's first act, after consulting with the States-General, was to send a regular deputation to treat with Orange at Gertruydenberg, and to write him at the same time a courteous and reassuring letter.*

* See "*Cor. Guill. le Tacit.*" vol. iii. p. 290. This letter has not been found.

In his instructions to the Duke of Aerschot and the other commissioners, Don Juan declared that he wished to act as *pater patriæ*, and to put an end to all the discontents and troubles which abounded in the Netherlands. He was sorry to see that the Perpetual Edict was not yet published in Holland and Zealand, "just as if his Majesty had not ratified it," he added, naïvely ignoring the real Dutch attitude towards the King. Also, the Prince of Orange ought not to go on making war in Holland, and annoying the loyal city of Amsterdam.* It is curious to see the victor of Lepanto, the terror of the Turks and foremost soldier of the age, employing every means to insure peace, while William, the fugitive of the Jauche and of Mons, the leader whom pressing affairs always detained far from the seat of danger, used every art to set the country once more aflame with war. And to that end he certainly broke the Pacification of Ghent at every turn, while ceaselessly and unreasonably complaining that it was not being fulfilled by others.

The Governor gained nothing by his deputation. As to his letter, William wrote an answer to it, which was a master-piece of deceit. He was very thankful for so much kindness, and would obey his Highness's commands in everything, more especially in all that appertained to preserving the peace; for he always placed his private interests under his feet. He was very urgent with his Highness to preserve intact the Pacification of Ghent. Yet he had just been driven to admit to the deputies that he would not be bound by the Pacification himself, on the ridiculous ground that the States had broken it by making an accord with the King's representative.

Worthy of William's insincerity and selfishness is the disingenuous panegyric which, by dint of eloquent ambiguous phrases, tries to gull the reader into thinking him a saint. Mr. Motley is very severe on Don Juan for imagining that William was to be gained by handsome offers. Yet what better could he have done than try to win back by kindness the man whom a monarch's ill-timed harshness had helped to drive into temporal and spiritual rebellion? If an act is sanctified by a good intention, Don Juan's conduct in this affair is certainly spotless. But to William his offers did not seem handsome. William had put his soul quite out of the question, and as for temporal advancement, he thought he could advance himself better than any one else could do it for him. The restoration of his name, a seat at the State-council, the sort of honours he had enjoyed in his youth, seemed poor

* See "Cor. de Guill. le Tacit.," vol. iii. p. 290.

in comparison with that royal authority which he meant to have in substance, if not in name. William's ambition was none the less absorbing and persevering because it was of the cold sort which cares but little for the trappings of grandeur.

By this time Don Juan had begun to perceive what sort of a man his rival really was. At first, each had mistaken the other's character. William thought the new Governor as deceitful as himself, Don Juan looked on William as an injured man, who would leave crime if his wrongs were redressed; now he saw that he would never swerve in his course till he had wrested the whole country from the King who had injured him. Nothing could stay that course but to meet him with the sword. The Governor had offered peace, not once, but twice, and always with sincerity; and twice the Prince had rejected it. The States, too, seeing the Governor in their power, and poisoned against him by the ceaseless suggestions of Orange, became as insolent as half-bred people generally are when their demands have been granted. Perhaps Don Juan remembered that insolence was a Flemish tradition. Had not his great-grandmother Mary, with her hair dishevelled, and the proud Plantagenet blood mantling in her face, pleaded in vain in the open market-place at Ghent for the lives of her ambassadors? Had not his grandfather Philip been taken from the paternal roof, and brought up in tutelage by these States? The descendant of Mary and of Philip regarded the nation with extreme dislike; he could not bear their drunken habits, nor the want of honour among their nobles. Nevertheless, amid all his troubles, and though he clearly perceived that Orange was the sole cause of them, Don Juan never for a moment contemplated a recourse to that weapon which other viceroys did not scruple to use against a man who had become a public pest; he never thought of having Orange assassinated. The impartial archivist of Belgium, M. Gachard, distinctly states that throughout his researches among Don Juan's letters he has never found the most distant allusion to such a course, though such allusions occur too frequently in the correspondence of Philip with Alva, Requesens, and Parma.* We are sorry to say that Mr. Motley has evaded doing justice to Don Juan in this matter. He avoids stating that Don Juan wished to assassinate Orange, but he implies it, for implication does not demand the proofs which are required by a statement. Thus, speaking of Parma, he observes that "he felt, as all former governor-generals had felt," that to get rid of Orange was the

* See Preface to vol. vi. of the "*Cor. de Guill. le Tacit.*"

only way of ending the war; and he makes much of a phrase in one of Escovedo's letters, where he says he wishes for the "finishing of Orange"—*acabar a Oranges*,—which might mean many things besides his murder. And as Mr. Motley often expresses his reliance on M. Gachard's high authority, it was hardly fair to pass without notice, but with an implied contradiction, his testimony in favour of Don Juan of Austria. Perhaps it was in the same spirit that Mr. Motley, while quoting, almost *verbatim*, Strada's account of Don Juan's boyhood and youth, entirely omits the passages in which his remarkable virtues are recorded by the Jesuit father.*

No course but war was left to the Governor, though only a sense of necessity led him to recommend it to the King. Philip, however, was in no hurry to take the recommendation. He who had sent Alva to exterminate half the Netherlands and pauperize the other half, was now solicitous about the possible "ruin of those states." The solicitude was due partly to a tardy and ill-timed prudence, partly to the fact that Philip was reading letters which his brother never intended for his eye. He knew that that English enterprise, that hobby-horse to which the young crusader was so fondly attached, was in the wind still. There was nothing very ridiculous or blamable about the enterprise itself. Pope Gregory XIII. approved it highly, as the best means of re-establishing the Catholic religion in England; and to do this, and to liberate the captive queen, was Don Juan's grand object in life. He had told Philip expressly that he did not want the crown for himself.† His secretary, Escovedo, certainly wanted it for him, but the poor old secretary far outstripped his master in ambition; and when he poured out his heart to his friend Antonio Perez, Perez was careful to expose to the King the whole of Escovedo's meaning, besides much that he never did mean. Philip had long wearied of the reiteration with which his brother returned to the necessity of conquering England; but Perez persuaded him that something more was intended, that Don Juan aimed at the crown of Spain itself, to which England was only a stopping-stone. Philip lent an ear to the diabolical suggestion. He had always shown towards his brother a good-nature and forbearance which he never displayed even to the hard-working Margaret of Parma. But he grew more suspicious as he grew older, and he was daily put to torture by the gout. Under these circumstances, and with the interpretations

* Strada, "*De Bello Belgico*," pp. 519—524.

† Don Juan to Philip II., May 17, 1576 (Gachard).

of Perez, the vehement expressions in Don Juan's letters, which amuse a modern reader, increased his alarms almost into certainty. He had read his brother's lamentations over the departure by land of the troops with which he thought so easily to have conquered "our rainy isles," and was very unwilling to send them back again, however much they might be wanted. Meanwhile, matters were again coming to a crisis in the unhappy Netherlands, thanks to the skilful management of William the Silent. The Governor was persuaded partly by the behaviour of the States' Deputies, partly by the suggestions of the treacherous Aerschot and the discovery of numerous plots for his capture set on foot by Orange, that he should be made a prisoner if he remained in Brussels; and Aerschot assured him that he would be forced to sign every paper which was laid before him. Resolved at least to preserve his liberty, Don Juan, in July, 1577, seized the fortress of Namur, where he established his head-quarters. This action, as Mr. Motley says, "was throwing down the gauntlet"; it was also abandoning Brussels to the enemy; but Don Juan was in such a position that it was almost impossible for him to act prudently. Pitfalls had been dug on every side by Orange, who was the most dangerous and hateful enemy he had ever encountered; more dangerous than Ali, Selim's Capitan-Pasha, who had some spark of chivalry; more hateful than Ochiali, the corsair-king, who was at least a man of valour. Don Juan could cope with a foe whose weapons were generalship and courage; he was incapable of parrying the refined frauds of Orange. Then his zeal for the Catholic Church gave Orange a handle against him, and frightened the half-hearted. Early in June he had commanded that the Canons of Trent, published in his sister's time, should be more strictly obeyed. This was no breach of the Treaty of Marche, by which the States had of their own free will sworn to maintain the Catholic religion; and the Catholic religion was certainly inseparable from the decrees of the last Œcumenical Council. Perhaps, however, it was not altogether prudent to sign the death-warrant of an heretical preacher, a tailor by trade, who at this very time was tried by the Court of Mechlin. It might have been wiser to prevent his instructing his fellow-citizens in other matters than the shaping of cloth, without cutting off his head. Of course Orange drew no small advantage from this affair, though it must be remembered that the case had not been brought before the Inquisition, which the Perpetual Edict formally abolished.

From Namur Don Juan sent envoys to the refractory

States,—M. de Grobbendonck, whom, with much good taste, he softens into Grovendon, and M. Rassenghem. He warned the States against the designs of Holland and Zealand; blamed the Prince of Orange, and demanded that he should fulfil the Pacification of Ghent. That unfortunate treaty was absolutely torn to pieces. But Orange seems to have thought that, as he was instrumental in making it, he might break it at his leisure, though no one else was to have a like privilege. Meanwhile Don Juan tried to garrison Antwerp citadel and other fortresses with the German troops, who remained in the country because the States had not yet paid them off. According to Mr. Motley, this was very wrong. He seems to think that Don Juan was bound to let himself be immolated by William when and how William would. Indeed, at this point he brings against Don Juan the most violent charges, based on his efforts to secure the country from being torn out of Philip's hands without inaugurating open warfare. He accuses him of violating the Ghent treaty; we point to facts, and ask how? He accuses him of trying to secure Antwerp citadel by a "base stratagem," which consisted of an endeavour to garrison it with troops who would faithfully hold it for the King. The base stratagem was on the part of the so-called patriots, when they bribed whole companies who ate the King's salt to betray the citadel into their hands. The whole of this passage is mere diatribe.

We do not deny that Don Juan was sometimes imprudent, but his situation was one of extraordinary difficulty. At this juncture Philip left him for three months and a half without letters and without money. He could not persuade the Netherlanders to keep the peace, neither could he persuade the King to make war, though he exerted all his eloquence to that effect. He had told the King that the Netherlanders were selling their souls to William, and that William wanted to drink his sovereign's blood, but Philip remained unmoved. He had suggested that the Emperor, their father, would never have sat down under so much dishonour. He had reminded him of what the public and the historians would think—evidently foreseeing Mr. Motley; but Philip was callous still. Abandoned by the king, teased by the States, outwitted by William, Don Juan lost his head, and sometimes his temper also. Now, he addressed the States' envoys in the haughty tone of a prince towards rebels; now pathetically declared the innocence of his intentions, and complained of the calumnies of Orange. And Orange was on his track still. The state of tutelage to which that extraordinary and unscrupulous politician had reduced the States, was best illustrated by the fact that in Sep-

tember, 1577, they invited him to Brussels, and he arrived there just as they had concluded a new agreement with the Governor on the basis of further concessions on his part. Already the people were celebrating this fresh attempt at peace, when the runaway Mars of Holland appeared on the scene and contrived, by adding yet more intolerable conditions, to make Don Juan reject the treaty altogether. The Governor himself was glad that there must at last be an end of this fruitless scribbling and bickering, but his mortification at William's entry into Brussels was boundless. "God alone knows how much it grieves me that such a thing should happen in my time," he wrote to Philip. But at this the darkest and most intolerable moment a ray of hope dawned. He learned that Philip had ordered the Viceroy of Milan to send the Spanish troops back to the Netherlands. He now wrote a last letter to the States, offering them an ultimatum before he let the war loose on them again, and withdrew to Luxemburg in October; the States wrote a last letter to him with the object of averting the danger, but the Prince of Orange prevented its being sent.

Nevertheless, the Flemish nobles soon wearied of the dictatorship of William. Aerschot, who had betrayed everybody in turn, and had fled from Namur Castle on a horse without a saddle, succeeded in bringing the Archduke Matthias to the Netherlands, hoping thereby to shelve both the rival princes. Both were dismayed when this new bombshell was flung into the arena; but Orange, with his usual acumen, contrived to take complete possession of the Archduke, whose want of character he at once perceived. It is difficult to be grieved at the inconveniences to which Aerschot was exposed about the same time by the revolutionists, Imbize and Ryhove, at Ghent. Ryhove had gone to Antwerp to consult Orange about his plan of turning Aerschot and his friends out of the government of Ghent; and Orange characteristically evaded expressing either consent or disapprobation, hoping to benefit by the attempt if it succeeded, while he could disown it if it failed. It was the beginning of a series of anti-Catholic revolutions in Flanders, and thus advantageous to the prince, though he let Aerschot escape with nothing more than a fright.

In December, 1577, the States-General declared Don Juan of Austria, to be no longer Stadholder; in January, 1578, they admitted Matthias to that dignity. It looked well for their affairs that Queen Elizabeth now lent them a small subsidy. It was true that she had recently assured Don Juan that if she moved in Netherland matters it would be to aid the king;

but then she had also expressed herself to Orange in a different sense. Even now her aid was of a shabby sort, but she did well to be cautious, for pride was about to have a fall. In 1577 Brussels had been kept gay by the receptions of three different rival princes; and as poultry and confectionary abounded on each occasion, the people were happy. But in January, 1578, Brussels was shivering with rage and terror on account of the tremendous defeat inflicted by Don Juan on the States' troops at Gembloux. William of Orange had succeeded in bringing the scourge of war on his country once more; and that being the case, he naturally saw fit to retire to Antwerp when the sound of his enemy's guns was heard near Brussels, as did also my lords the deputies, and the valiant Matthias, who had only just been declared by a guild of rhetoric to be "as brave as Julius Cæsar." It is needless to say that neither he nor Orange had risked their valuable lives on the field of Gembloux.

The circumstance of William's retreat to Antwerp is not mentioned by Mr. Motley, though he might at least have devoted to it the space which he occupies with blaming the Pope for making the Netherland war a crusade, and with mistaking a plenary indulgence for "full absolution for crimes committed during a lifetime."* For the carnage of Gembloux he considers the "Catholic magnates" of Belgium alone to be responsible; laying no guilt on the man who had brought so many Flemings to the shambles, and left them to be slaughtered, while he secured his own safety and that of the puppet Matthias. The victims themselves remained infatuated; and the tone now taken up by the King and the Viceroy, who were weary of offering peace, and were beginning to demand the restoration of the Placards and other machinery of the Emperor's time, did not soften the obstinacy of the States. The Catholic nobles were still uneasy under the domination of Orange, the more so because heresy was springing up from a hundred hiding-places, and eloquent tinkers and tailors were again sounding their discordant trumpets in the Catholic cities of Flanders. Unfortunately, the antidote with which the nobles hoped to check William's poison was the Duke of Alençon and Anjou, late a leader of Huguenots, and the impersonation of every vice. It was William himself who had first thought of adding Anjou to the elements of the "Netherland chaos," and when his advent was hastened by William's enemies he knew how to turn it to his own advantage. And here Mr. Motley makes an apology for William's

* "Dutch Republic," ii. 296.

tortuous politics, on the ground that they were serving "an honest purpose." Queen Elizabeth, however, was very indignant at her lover's invasion of the Netherlands, which she would rather see Spanish than French; but as they were also invaded by Duke Casimir, who brought 12,000 Germans to the aid of the States, and partly overrun by the armies of Philip II., it seemed likely that there would soon be no Netherlanders left to be subjects to any one. A large portion of the country had been gained by Don Juan after the Battle of Gembloux, so large a portion, indeed, that the States once more tried to negotiate with him in August, through the medium of Sir Francis Walsingham and Lord Cobham, who explained away Elizabeth's aid to the States as best they could in a medley of French, Italian, and Spanish. Their terms, however, were ridiculous, and necessarily rejected. At the same time Orange himself was perplexed by the hornet's nests of quarrelling Dissenters which he had brought about his ears.

Matters were in this condition when Don Juan of Austria died in September, 1578, and was succeeded by Alexander of Parma, Margaret's son, who had helped to win the Battle of Gembloux. In a country overrun with armies, his game must necessarily be in great part war, and no one could play at that game better than Alexander Farnese. But his rôle was not to be war alone. He gathered the fruits of his predecessor's constancy. Throughout the toil and trouble of Don Juan's reign, he had held fast to the duty he owed to the Church. In face of the virulent attacks of Dutch apostates, and the half-timid, half-blustering Liberalism of frightened Belgians, he continually and resolutely refused to offer upon the altar of confusion the interests of the Catholic religion; lest the Treaty of Ghent should in any way work against them, he bound the States by oath to maintain them; and though the States broke their oath, they could never shake his resolution. They sent embassy after embassy to assault this fortress, never foreseeing that the constancy of the young Christian soldier, whose rule they had rejected, was the foundation on which the future Catholicism of Belgium was to rest. Had the Governor yielded, a crowd of preachers would at once have been let loose on the southern and more Catholic provinces; and then, abandoned by the Spanish government, not knowing where to look for support, these would probably have been gathered within the cold arms of the octopus of Holland. The best that could happen would have been that they should fall into the hands of France, and sever themselves from all Flemish connections. But, as it was, they saw the representative of Spain in the light of champion of the Church, a

position which his successor necessarily inherited. The Walloon provinces, therefore, knew where to turn when they wearied of the calm insolence of Orange and the northern States. They turned to the Prince of Parma, as to one who was bound to defend both them and their Catholicity; and their reconciliation harbingered that of the rest of Belgium. The firmness of Don Juan had kept in that "half-drowned land" a rock standing, which imaged forth the rock of S. Peter, and to which those who retained a love for religion might have recourse. The Walloon provinces sent their deputies to conclude an accord with Parma in his camp before Maestricht, and as he guaranteed their political privileges, the arrangement gave mutual satisfaction.

William of Orange saw, with great displeasure, a part of the coming republic lopped off, just as matters were nearly ripe for a general renunciation of Philip's sovereignty. William still refused the outward signs of the supreme dignity, though he had in so many instances rejected offices only to accept them afterwards, that the nature of his refusal was probably understood. For the present he made use of the Duke of Anjou. On the other hand, Philip solemnly declared him an outlaw, and set a price on his head. Orange thought he could now afford to laugh at the thunders of the Escorial, but the attempt he made to justify his whole career at Philip's expense was rather a lame one. He could speak with truth of his own loyalty in early life, of Philip's tyranny and want of faith; but he injured his own cause by falling into violent declamation, and accusing Philip of such fabulous crimes as the murder of his wife Isabella, with which even Mr. Motley forbears to charge the King. The apology was altogether a mistake, as it took away William's character for tranquillity, and gave some colour to the assertion of Don Juan, that William "would like to drink his Majesty's blood." At least, he had the satisfaction of taking away his Majesty's coronet as Count of Holland. On the 26th of July, 1581, all the provinces except the Walloon solemnly proclaimed that Philip had forfeited his sovereignty over them by his abuse of power, thus startling Europe with a doctrine which Europe did not speedily forget. The loss of a King, however, was still felt as causing a vacuum, which the Duke of Anjou was called on to fill up. But here, for the first time in his life, Orange mistook his man. Anjou was by no means the stuff of which a Matthias was made. He had both much more character and a much worse character than the Archduke, who vanished simultaneously with Philip's sovereignty, as much stricken in purse as if he had been a lawful Governor of the Netherlanders. Mr. Motley has cer-

tainly drawn Anjou's character with great accuracy. He was a young man of mediocre talents, but with too good an opinion of them to let Orange tie him up in leading-strings. He grew the more restive because Orange accepted the countship of Holland, after his recovery from the wound inflicted by Jaureguy. The new Count of Holland was evidently overshadowing the new Duke of Brabant, and Anjou sought to leap into the sunshine of fame by his ridiculous attempt to seize Antwerp on the 17th of January, 1583. This action opened the eyes of William; for he who was so full of suspicions, he who had distrusted the cordial overtures of Don Juan, had placed implicit confidence in the venomous "Son of France." Even after the attempt on Antwerp, he tried to patch up the broken friendship of Anjou and the States, and it is undeniable that he refused to step into his place. Whether this refusal would have resembled many another *nolo episcopari* of William's had he lived, or whether he really dreaded a conjunction of France and Spain against the Netherlands when he should be Duke of Brabant and Sovereign-General, or whether he dreaded the unruly nature of the States, who gave him as much trouble about subsidies as they had given their other lords and masters, will never be known. A riot was excited against him in Antwerp, and he retired to Delft, the hazy calm canals of which peaceful town, embowered with lindens, were to mirror the last acts of his troubled drama. Anjou's thin-spun intrigue, one end of which extended to the waters of Delft, and the other to Farnese's camp, was cut short in June, 1584, by his death at Chateau Thierry, under very extraordinary circumstances. On that day month he was followed to the grave by his ally and patron, through the instrumentality of the very man who brought the news of his death to Delft.

Few points of history are more painful than the assassination of Orange by Balthazar Gérard. The years during which he premeditated the crime, his cunning preparations, and his heroic endurance of torture and death, almost seem to indicate a monomania, and he certainly went to his work in a lofty frame of mind. But the affair is not much to the credit of Philip, of Parma, and of other personages in high places who either prepared the way for the deed, or directly encouraged it. We do not know how much reliance can be placed on the confession made by Balthazar himself in his torments, and, in which he stated that one Jesuit father approved, while another discouraged, the project. It is certain, however, that a Franciscan, named Ghery, preached a panegyric on "The glorious martyrdom of Balthazar Gérard." The common practice of

the time, and the fact that William had been warned of his outlawry by the solemn ban, may go some way to excuse the Franciscan's misspent enthusiasm, and the satisfaction of Philip and Parma at Gérard's deed ; but no great or honourable soul could or would ever approve underhand methods of administering justice. It was more than a little characteristic of Philip, that he should offer a high reward for the assassination of Orange, and haggle about the price when the deed was done. The Gérard family had some difficulty in obtaining the emoluments of their relative's self-sacrifice, and, as Philip could not afford to pay them in money, they were finally gratified with certain of William's estates, together with patents of nobility.

The death of Orange had not, perhaps, such immense effects as might have been supposed. His life-work was already done. He had separated Holland and Zealand and five other provinces from the Spanish monarchy for ever, and established his own family at their head ; and it is not likely, had he lived, that he would have been able to prevent the reunion of the Southern Netherlands with Spain. He might have averted the conquest of Antwerp by Parma in 1585 ; but the reconciliation of the Walloon provinces, which took place before his death, the Catholic spirit abroad in Belgium, and the amazing genius of Alexander Farnese, were all calculated to bring about a return of the South to its allegiance. Still, William was the only clever man in Holland at the time of his death, and blunders were rife enough among the Dutch until his son began to show that he had inherited his genius. As a politician, William was unsurpassed, and he also projected before its time that system of universal toleration which we see exemplified in the myriad conventicles of our own land. The fruits of his talents and his ambition were and are plentifully visible. But for them the whole country would have been reconciled during the regency of Don Juan of Austria. But for them we should not now see Holland erected into a separate kingdom, and ruled by the descendants of William the Silent. One work which was done in William's time is, we believe, being slowly undone. In the sixteenth century, Holland became almost universally Calvinist ; in the nineteenth, more than a third of its inhabitants are Catholic, and the hierarchy has been restored.* We may hope that at a future day Holland will return to that condition to which it would have been restored earlier, had not William the Silent frustrated the Peace of Ghent.

* Dutch Census of 1870 :—Reformed Church, 2,074,734 ; Roman Catholics, 1,313,052.

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ART. V.—ISLAM.

1. *The Koran, commonly called the Alcoran of Mohammed*, translated from the Arabic by GEORGE SALE,—originally published in 1734.
2. *On the Relation of Islam to the Gospel* (Ueber das Verhältniss des Islam zum Evangelium). By Dr. J. A. MOEHLER. 1830.
3. *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*. Lectures delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain, in February and March, 1874. By R. BOSWORTH SMITH, M.A. Second Edition. London : Smith, Elder, & Co. 1876.

ISLAM is the creed of a hundred and fifty millions of our fellow-men scattered from the Chinese Empire and the islands of the Eastern Archipelago to the shores of the Atlantic. More than twelve and a half centuries have passed since Mohammed told his wife Khadiyah of his early visions, and yet Mohammedanism seems to have lost none of its power to bind nations together in obedience to one law, and in reverence for one common sanctuary. After Christianity, it is the most powerful and the most active of the religions of the world, and, alone of all non-Christian creeds, it still sends out its missionaries to grapple with paganism and to cast down the fetish gods of Africa as Mohammed threw down the idols of Mecca. What, then, is Islam? What is its origin, its nature, the source of its influence? All these are questions upon which men in general are profoundly ignorant—all the more ignorant, because they believe that they have brief and ready answers to them. If we are to understand the history of the nations of the Mediterranean, or even the events that are passing before our eyes, we must know something of Islam, and if we are really to learn anything of it, we must not approach it in that spirit which looks only for evils and defects. We must seek too to know what is good and true in its teachings, for Islam is no exception to the rule, that there are few errors which do not contain some truth. We do not for a moment mean that Catholics should approach the study of Islam from that modern standpoint which looks with indifference upon erroneous doctrine, and takes up the false keynote of Pope's "Universal Hymn":—

"Father of all by every age, in every clime adored

By priest, by prophet and by sage—Jehovah, Jove and Lord."

No Catholic can have any leaning towards this tolerant literary recognition of false religions, this pseudo-science which tells us

that "the Christian religion, while beyond question the highest of all, takes a place not distinct from, but among all religions past or present," that "its relation to them is not that they are earthborn, while it alone is divine, but it is the relation of one member of a family to other members who are all brothers."* Our position is utterly opposed to this. Standing on the firm ground of Catholic truth, we endeavour to ascertain how far from or how near to us are those who are still struggling in the sea of error, what it is they hold in common with us, how their creed has been built up—and while we do not close our eyes to what is evil in it, we seek to find also what it possesses that is good. This is the spirit in which we take up the Koran to investigate the creed of Islam.

With the Koran we would point out to our readers two other books which have an important bearing on the study of Islam. The first is Moehler's essay upon the relation of Islam to the Gospel. It was published in Germany in 1830, when Navarino, Diebitch's march over the Balkans, the peace of Adrianople, and the establishment of the kingdom of Greece, had rivetted men's attention upon the East, and led many to believe that the Ottoman Empire was in its death-throes. The essay has never appeared in England, but a translation of it into English was published at Calcutta in 1847. The second book is Mr. Bosworth Smith's lectures on Mohammed and Mohammedanism. It is, we believe, the best book upon the subject in the English language. Its standpoint is very different from ours, and consequently there is much in it with which we wholly disagree. Mr. Bosworth Smith is a disciple of Professor Max Müller, in the so-called "science of religion," and we must differ widely from the views of a writer who tells us in his first page that in the pursuit of truth the chase is always worth more than the game, and the process itself more than the result. He has a genuine admiration for Mohammed, an admiration in some degree extended to his system. He tries to write of it, "with something akin to sympathy and friendliness." But the merit of his book is that, apart from his personal views, he gives the materials for acquiring a sound general knowledge of Mohammedanism, a knowledge which may be made the basis of subsequent study without having to fear that there will be much to unlearn. The book is eminently an honest one, and is pleasant reading, without being shallow or superficial, and this is much to say of a work on a subject on which so many dishonest and prejudiced, and so many weary, unreadable books have been written.

* Clodd's "Childhood of Religions" (1875), p. 246.

We shall best understand what Islam is if we consider it in connection with its gradual development in its founder's lifetime. We need not, however, follow in detail the life of Mohammed. It will be sufficient to mark its chief epochs, and to endeavour to gather from his deeds and words a just idea of his character, a character which has been the subject of equally unbounded and unmerited panegyric and reviling. Mohammed was born at Mecca in the year 570. For the first forty years of his life he was a pagan, dwelling in a pagan city and a pagan land. Mecca, where he was brought up by his uncle Abu Taleb, was already a great centre of pilgrimage. For the tribes of Arabia it was a sacred place. In its midst stood the Caaba, a small square house, that old traditions connected with the history of Abraham and Ismael, and, even going further back, pointed out as the site of man's first dwelling upon earth after his expulsion from Paradise. In an angle of its walls was placed the famous black stone which was said to have been sent down from heaven; this, doubtless, in one sense was true, for travellers tell us that it looks very like an *aërolite*. Around the Caaba were ranged three hundred and sixty idols, some of them rough upright stones, others shaped into figures of men and women, and besides these every house had its own private idol, saluted by its owner with prayer at daybreak and sunset. A city of idols, Mecca depended upon idol worship for its very existence. It stands in a barren hollow of the hills; even its wells are brackish, and food and water have to be brought into it for the subsistence of its people. The city now depends wholly for its wealth and its markets upon the pilgrimage to the Caaba, and the same was true of it before the name of Mohammed was ever heard within its walls. The idolatry that reigned at Mecca prevailed throughout Arabia, although there were many Jews and Christians among the Arabs, and even some of the chiefs of tribes had embraced one or other of these religions. Many of the Christians, however, could lay little claim to orthodoxy. A host of sects and heresies had taken deep root among them. Some of these, like the semi-Gnosticism of Ebion, were flourishing in their native soil; others, such as Nestorianism and Eutychianism, had been introduced from Syria. But for the most part the Arabs were pagans. Nor was idol-worship their only vice. They practised unrestricted polygamy; their boys were all reared up to be added to the fighting strength of the tribe; but of the girls, year after year, large numbers were buried alive, one of their proverbs declaring that "to send women before to the other world was a benefit"; another, that "the best son-in-law was the grave."* Their blood-feuds were

* Bosworth Smith, p. 97.

of frequent occurrence, and were handed down from father to son, so that there was no tribe which had not its hereditary foes, who were to be cut off, as opportunity might offer, by open violence or by secret treachery. But, beside their great vices, they had many excellent natural qualities. They were true to the ties of kindred and to their pledged word; they practised a patriarchal hospitality, and gave freely of all they had to whoever could claim the right of kinsman or of friend. They were brave in battle, and among their hills and deserts they had defied Assyrian and Egyptian, Roman and Byzantine, to reduce them to subjection. They boasted that their turbans were to them as diadems, that the tent was their home, the sword their only rampart, their law the traditional songs of their poets.

Mohammed, though a member of the Kuraish, the chief tribe of Mecca, was the son of a poor man, nor was his uncle and guardian a wealthy one. He received but little education except what he himself could gather from those around him. He was evidently a man of a most powerful mind, quick-witted, earnest, anxious to think out and find an answer to the problems which the sights and scenes among which he grew up suggested to him. Mecca, the great city of Arabian idolatry, was not the only field of observation open to him. There is reason to believe that as a young man he more than once accompanied Abu Taleb in the caravan which went northward from Mecca to the markets of Jerusalem, the great Christian city of the east.* The fire and sword of Chosroes had not yet swept over it, and it still could boast all the wealth that Constantine, Helena, Eudoxia and Justinian, had lavished upon it. Its three hundred monasteries, its churches, its great basilicas glittering with rare marbles, bright mosaics and precious metals, and crowded with the pilgrims of the East and West, must have presented a striking spectacle to the thoughtful Arab, who, now an unknown camel-driver, entered the gates that before another fifty years had passed were to be thrown open to a conquering army fighting in his name. In Jerusalem he saw Christianity displaying itself in all the glory of its triumph over Judaism, the monument of whose downfall he could see in the great plateau strewn with the blackened stones that had once been the site of the Temple. But in Jerusalem, as in Arabia (though to a far less degree), he saw Christianity split into sects, for the whole East had become a hotbed of philosophic heresies, and Monothelites and Monophysites, Nestorians

* Mohammed's trading journeys to Palestine are mentioned by Theophanes (A.C. 671), Cedrenus, and Glycas. A fragment of a Greek life of Mohammed published by the Abbé Migne (*"Cursus Patrologia, Series Græca,"* tom. 158, col. 1078), expressly states that he visited Jerusalem.

and Eutychians, were confounding and explaining away the doctrines of the Trinity and of the Incarnation. It was no wonder that this untaught Arab, when at length he sought to learn what Christianity was, wholly misconceived its cardinal doctrines, and when he rebelled against the polytheism and idolatry of his native land, felt no call to the faith that he had misunderstood. The disputes that he had heard all around him as to the nature of God and of Jesus Christ, led him to seek to form independently and for himself an idea of what Christ had taught, rather than to ask of any living authority what was the Christian doctrine. It seems sufficiently clear that most of the Christians with whom he was in close relation were Nestorians.* From Jew and Christian he gathered a knowledge of the Old and New Testament, which, imperfect as it was, must be regarded as wonderful when we consider that all his knowledge was indirect, and that the Hebrew Scriptures and the Greek Gospels were sealed books to him. Against the paganism of his fellow-countrymen his whole soul revolted. He felt that their idol-gods "could never create a single fly, even were they all assembled for the purpose, nor could they recover anything that a fly took from them; weak was the petitioner and the petitioned."† But it was not until he was a man of forty years that he finally broke with his idolatrous countrymen. He had then, by his marriage with the wealthy Khadiyah, become one of the chief men of Mecca. He had been always a man of few words, but grown into middle age, the matured time of the

Mezzo cammin della nostra vita,

he had become more silent and thoughtful. As a boy, he had been weakly and subject to fits or brief trances. These now came upon him again, and with them began the period of his visions. One day he came pale and trembling to Khadiyah. He had risen from a trance, in which, he said, he had been visited by the angel Gabriel, first of the messengers of God, in human form, displaying a silver roll:—

"Read," said the angel. "I cannot read," said Mohammed. The injunction and the answer were twice repeated. "Read," at last said the angel, "in the name of the Lord, who created all things beside Himself; who created man out of a clot of blood; read in the name of the Most High, who taught with the pen; who taught man that which he never knew." Upon this, Mohammed felt the heavenly inspiration, and read, as he believed, the

* Of all Oriental heresies Nestorianism seems to have possessed more vitality. Nestorius was condemned at Ephesus in 431, but his disciples are still numerous in the East, and in Mohammed's days they must have been a powerful body. Probably he mistook Nestorianism for Christianity.

† Koran, Sura xxii.

decrees of God, which he afterwards promulgated in the Koran. Then came the announcement, "O, Mohammed, of a truth thou art the prophet of God, and I am His angel Gabriel." *

Khadiyah, without a moment's hesitation, accepted the reality of the vision. "Fear not," she said, "for thou bringest joyful tidings. I will henceforth regard thee as a prophet of our nation. Rejoice! God will not suffer thee to fall to shame. Hast thou not been loving to thy kinsfolk, kind to thy neighbours, charitable to the poor, faithful to thy word, and ever a defender of the truth?" Islam had made its first convert.

Mohammed's visions continued to the end of his life. Long and loud have been the disputes as to what is to be thought of them, and various have been the judgments given by various men. "Revelations direct from heaven," say the Muslim commentators. "Delusions from the devil, or actually possession," more than one Christian writer has replied. Others have been content to treat them as self-delusions; others, again, as deliberate inventions. We know they were not from heaven; there is so much that is good in them, that one must hesitate to set them down as delusions from hell; and that they were not deliberate fabrications Mohammed's whole life and conduct forces us to believe.

"How can it be imagined," asks Moehler, "that a religious fire (though it be a wild religious fire) could proceed from him, which set on fire the whole of Asia in an astonishingly short period of time, unless the inflammatory matter had been existing in him? Many millions of men nourish out of the Koran an estimable, religious and moral life; and let it not be thought that these draw from an empty fountain. Should we, therefore, take it for granted that Mohammed was actuated merely by ambition and other low passions, we propose a kind of explanation that explains nothing, a cause that has no relation to its effects. In short, we are not able to give any sufficient causal connection of the phenomena." †

Were we asked for a theory of Mohammed's revelations, we should, confessing the extreme difficulty of the subject, reply with a certain reserve, that they were probably the impressions of a powerful and excitable mind, joined to a bodily temperament extremely likely to make the man liable to believe that at times his own thoughts and reasonings, good or bad, came from without, or were directly inspired. His revelations during a course of twenty-three years (610-632) form the hundred and fourteen suras or chapters of the Koran. They stand as they were arranged by Abu Bakr after the prophet's death, when he had them copied from the tablets, the parchments, and even

* Bosworth Smith, p. 115.

† Moehler, "Relation of Islam to the Gospel," p. 23.

the blade-bones and oyster-shells on which the companions of Mohammed had taken them down from his lips. Some of them were preserved in a still more precarious way, being borne in the memories of those who first heard them, and by them repeated to Abu Bakr. They stand now not in the order in which they were delivered, but in an arrangement which generally places the longer chapters first, and the shorter at the end. The short chapters are really among the earliest in point of time, the longer being nearly all of later date than the Hijrah. These long chapters are many of them composed of passages derived from the Scriptures and the apocryphal gospels. Others are reasonings and arguments on various subjects, and called forth by various occasions; but all are treated by Mohammed as revelations, in all he speaks as a prophet or divinely-inspired teacher. The very habits of his people would lead him readily enough to assume this position as soon as he felt himself called to be their religious leader, and to assume it without being conscious of any presumption on his part. To this day, among the Arabs, Sir Samuel Baker tells us,* the name of God is coupled with every incident; and if a dream suggests any course of action, the Arab will relate it by saying that God has spoken and directed him. Mohammed, it would seem, fully believed in his early visions; they were so real to him that they terrified him, and his hair grew white before his time; and with these impressions once fixed in his mind, his own reasonings, his excuses for his own conduct, his denunciations of his enemies, all became to his mind fresh inspirations, and were added to the accumulating mass of suras that were to form the strange, disconnected work we call the Koran (*i.e.*, the Reading). "There

* "Nile Tributaries," pp. 129-131. He says, "The conversation of the Arabs is in the exact style of the Old Testament. The name of God is coupled with every trifling incident in life. Should a famine afflict the country, it is expressed in the stern language of the Old Testament: 'The Lord has sent a grievous famine upon the land'; or 'The Lord called for a famine, and it came upon the land.' Should their cattle fall sick, it is considered to be an affliction by divine command; or should the flocks prosper and multiply, the prosperity is attributed to divine interference. . . . Should the present history of the country be written by an Arab scribe, the style of description would be purely that of the Old Testament, and the various calamities or the good fortunes that have in the course of nature befallen both the tribes and individuals would be recounted either as special visitations of divine wrath or blessings for good deeds performed. If in a dream a particular course of action is suggested, the Arab believes that God has *spoken* and directed him. The Arab scribe or historian would describe the event as the '*voice of the Lord*' having spoken unto the person, or that God appeared to him in a dream and '*said*,' &c. Thus much allowance would be necessary on the part of a European reader for the figurative ideas and expressions of the people."

is no god but God the living, the self-subsisting," he said. "He hath sent down to thee the book (of the Koran), with truth confirming that which was revealed before it; for He had formerly sent down the law and the gospel, a direction unto men." In writing the Koran he is said to have had the assistance of some of his friends; but round this assertion rages a fierce controversy, the Muslims, for the most part, alleging that he composed it unaided, while Jews and Christians endeavour to prove that he was helped, by Arabian Jews, say some, by Nestorian monks, say others. What help he received we shall probably never know. He certainly was assisted by scribes, for he could not write, and perhaps much of the aid he received from Jews and Nestorians was given in answer to questions put by him when he was striving to gain from their doctrines light upon the problems he was endeavouring to solve in his own mind. But whatever aid he received, the Koran must be allowed to be a witness to his poetical genius and fiery eloquence. He himself boldly proclaimed that all men together could not make a better book, and the Arabs allowed the justice of his claim to literary superiority in his own day. None of the poets of Arabia could contend with him, and to this day the Muslims speak of the Koran as a marvellous book. To those who asked him for miracles, he replied that whatever wonders he could work they would not believe. "My miracle," he said, "is the Koran."* To us it seems, as we read it in a translation, a dreary, obscure, disconnected work. But one can imagine that it is something different to those who, as they read it in the poetic original, believe they have the words of God before their eyes. Even from Sale's dull version there comes from time to time a flash of sublime poetry. Such, for instance, is the description of God in the second sura—words which Mr. Smith tells us "are still engraved on precious stones, and worn by devout Mussulmans."

God! there is no God but He, the Living, the Eternal. Slumber doth not overtake Him, neither sleep: to Him belongeth all that is in heaven and in earth. Who is he that can intercede with Him but by His own permission? He knoweth that which is past, and that which is to come unto them, and they shall not comprehend anything of His knowledge, but so far as He pleaseth. His throne is extended over heaven and earth, and the upholding of both is no burden to Him. He is the Lofty and the Great.

* Mohammed always disclaimed the power of working miracles. Even his marvellous journey to Jerusalem in a single night, and his flight to heaven, he protested, were a dream. Subsequent tradition and commentary assumed it to be a reality, and it only appears in the Koran by a conjectural addition to the opening words of the seventeenth sura.

Equally poetic is the oft-quoted description of the infidels in Sura xxiv. :—

As to the infidels, their works are like the mirage on the plain, which the thirsty traveller thinketh to be water, and then when he cometh thereto he findeth it to be nothing. Or as the darkness over a deep sea, billows riding upon billows below, and clouds above : one darkness on another darkness : when a man stretcheth forth his hand he is far from seeing it : he to whom God doth not grant light no light at all hath he.

It was in language like this that he preached against idolatry to the crowds that gathered in pilgrimage to the Caaba at Mecca. One by one he gathered a little band of converts round him, both men and women, for it is an error to suppose that Islam denies that woman has a soul. There is no need of following in detail the history of his preaching ; it is enough to say that he was persecuted by the Kuraish, who, as the guardians of the Caaba and its idols, felt that their means of livelihood would be destroyed by the downfall of idolatry. He found few converts at Mecca ; most of those who joined him were connected in one way or another with the Jewish colony at Medina ; and at length, when the Kuraish plotted to kill him and massacre his comrades, he sent his few friends on before him to Medina, and set off himself, with Abu Bakr, to follow them. Pursued by the Kuraish, the two friends hid in a cave. They heard the steps of their enemies searching for them in the broken ground around. "We are but two against so many," said Abu Bakr, in alarm. "We are three ; God is here with us !" replied Mohammed ; and, says the legend, a spider closed the door of the cave with its web, the Kuraish turned away, and Mohammed and Abu went on to Medina in safety. This was the famous Hijrah, that is, the flight, and from the year 622, in which it took place, the Mohammedans date their era. They might well do so. Islam first began to flourish when Mohammed came with his disciples to Medina. There the Jewish element in the town had prepared the way for him, and he found many converts. In Medina he built the first mosque. From Medina his horsemen rode forth to cut off the caravans of his enemies, the Kuraish ; and thence he marched, in the second year of the Hijrah, to gain the battle of Bedr over his enemies of Mecca. Bedr was the first victory of Islam in the field. Only three hundred men followed him, and the Kuraish were a thousand strong, but he said that the angels fought beside the true believers, and the Kuraish were driven back towards Mecca, leaving seventy dead on the field. Before he died he had fought nine battles. But it must be remembered that it was his fate that made him a soldier and a

conqueror ; he had been twelve years a preacher before the Kuraish sought his life, and forced him to have recourse to arms ; and, once he drew the sword, Arabia was not a land where it was likely that it would be allowed to rest for long. When the Kuraish had felt his power, and asked for a truce, he granted it, and kept it till they broke it. Then, and then only, he marched on Mecca, captured it, and with his own hand threw down all its idols, sparing only the black stone of the Caaba. There was neither sack nor massacre when the city was taken. Only four of its people were put to death ; these Mohammed condemned as apostates and deserters from his cause. He did not abolish the pilgrimage, he reformed it, abolishing various rites, some of them idolatrous, others impure, which had defiled it. He ordered that, thus reformed, it should be continued as a link to bind the Arabs together in reverence for the home of their first father Ismael. His success stirred up other men to adopt the rôle of a prophet ; only one was anything like a formidable rival, and he sought an alliance, which Mohammed would perhaps have accepted had he been the ambitious intriguer that many assume he was. The letter of the rival prophet ran thus :—" Moseilama, the prophet of God, to Mohammed, the apostle of God.—Now let the earth be half mine and half thine." Mohammed's reply was brief and decisive :—" Mohammed, the prophet of God, to Moseilama, the liar.—The earth is God's. He giveth it to such of His servants as He pleaseth."

Having conquered the Kuraish, and seeing the greater part of Arabia accepting his mission, Mohammed for the first time conceived the idea of spreading Islam beyond its frontiers. Two powerful empires were conterminous with the state that was being organized in Arabia,—the Byzantine empire and the Persian empire of the Sassanidæ. Each was ruled by a great prince. Heraclius reigned as Emperor of the East at Constantinople, and Khosru Parviz, or, as the Greeks called him, Chosroes II., held the sceptre of Persia. They were engaged in a fierce war, which was draining the life-blood of both empires, and was destined to make both an easy prey to the conquering arms of Islam. Letters were sent by Mohammed to Khosru and to the Græco-Roman governor of Syria, inviting them to become Muslims. Khosru tore up the letter. " So shall God rend his kingdom," said Mohammed, when he heard the news,—a safe prophecy, for it must have been about the time when Khosru was hard pressed by the armies of Heraclius, and was near his downfall. What answer the governor of Syria gave is not recorded ; but the envoy who bore Mohammed's letter was murdered before he had left the country, and

out of this murder arose the war with the Byzantine empire, in which, after the prophet's death, Abu Bakr, Omar, Kaled,—“the Sword of God,”—and Abu Obeida conquered Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and many of the provinces of Asia. In no one of these wars was the offer of the “Koran or the sword” made to the conquered people. So decisive were the victories of Islam in the ten years that followed the Prophet's death, so wide was the empire won by the sword of Omar, that, had force been used to spread Islam, there would be a host of names of martyrs put to death by the Arabs in our calendars and hagiologies. Is there the name of a single Christian martyr who has suffered at the hands of the Muslims in the “*Acta Sanctorum*”? There is not, and this is a standing proof of the tolerance of Islam in its career of victory, and a refutation of the oft-alleged theory which attributes the spread of Islam to the sword. So far from his being a persecutor, when the patriarch, S. Sophronius, surrendered Jerusalem, and Omar rode into the city at the head of his conquering Arabs, there was no bloodshed or rapine such as the monasteries of Palestine had often suffered in the days of Arab paganism at the hands of the sons of the desert.* Omar respected both the city and the churches. Instead of taking one for a mosque, he asked Sophronius to show him a site for one, and the bishop pointed to the bold plateau of the temple, where the great mosque of Omar stands to this day. Invited by Sophronius to pray in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and venerate the tomb, Omar replied in words that showed his careful consideration for the vanquished Christians. “I will not,” he said, “for what you offer as a privilege another khalif might claim as a right, were I to accept it.” Under Arab sway the Holy City was the free resort of pilgrims; it was not until the Seljukian Turks overran Syria that quarrels arose which led to the Crusades.

But we must return to the times of Mohammed and his immediate successors. Islam assuredly spread far and wide in the wake of conquest; but the primary object of their conquests was not the extension of the new faith. It was simply their effect. The Greek empire was in its decline; its last epoch of glory and success—the reign of Justinian—had closed just five years before the birth of Mohammed, and Heraclius, though he had driven back the victorious Persians, found himself the

* See Couret's “*La Palestine sous les Empereurs Grecs*” on the Arab raids before the time of Mohammed. These raids were a source of serious danger. Thus, in 490, Naaman, the Arab chief of Hira, invaded Southern Palestine and Perea, destroyed several of the monasteries, and penetrated to the Euphrates before his horsemen were checked and driven back by the Greco-Romans (Couret, pp. 144, 145).

head of an exhausted empire that could hardly strike a blow when the storm of Arab spearmen burst upon Egypt and Syria. And as foreign war and internal strife had sapped the strength of the empire, so schism and heresy had eaten into the vitals of the Eastern Church. The days were past when an Antony peopled the deserts of the Thebaid with solitaries while an Athanasius ruled at Alexandria; and for the Holy Land there was no Abbot Sabas, who could defy an emperor in the cause of truth. When the eagles of the Græco-Romans withdrew before the crescent of the Arabs, there were to be found in both Syria and Egypt thousands of men for whom Christianity was but an empty profession, whose faith had been dried up in the darkness of heresy and doubt, and who were only too glad to embrace a religion to which conquest had given a wide renown, and in which no dogma of the Trinity or of the Incarnation bade reason bow down to faith.* The mosque and the minaret became the monuments of victory. Once a country was occupied, crowds of proselytes professed the faith of the conqueror, and became at once their equals, and fit to hold command among them. The Muslim armies held their faith and their country to be the same; if they thought their quarrel just, the war thereby became a sacred one. The same enthusiasm inspired their ranks as that which carried the soldiers of the first Crusade in one unbroken career of victory to Jerusalem. The Muslim soldier as firmly believed that heaven was his if he fell fighting for the right, and in the first onset he was irresistible. The Greeks, the degenerate Persians, the Vandals of Africa, and the Goths of Spain were swept away before the Arab spears, and the year that closed the first century after the prophet's death saw the Moorish host of Abdur Rahman in the heart of France battling with the Franks of Karl Martel on the plains of Tours. Still later Muslim sovereigns might be seen ruling from the Ganges to the Guadalquivir, and the courts of Bagdad and of Cordova were centres of intellectual life, to which the Muslim capitals of to-day present a sad contrast.†

Though tolerated by the Arabs, the Christian community dwindled to a small minority in most of the countries they conquered. Heresy had already undermined it, and it is curious to note that every Christian country overrun by the Muslims,

* In our own time many Englishmen in India and at Constantinople have embraced Islam as a kind of natural religion which presents no difficult problems, and has the supposed advantage of being without a priesthood.

† It was from the Moors of Spain, and in an Arab dress, that the schoolmen received Aristotle,—a proof, it has often been said, of their large-mindedness and earnest zeal for truth, from whatever source it came.

and held by them for any length of time, had been before that the home of Arianism. This is true of the East, it is true of Egypt and Africa, it is true of Spain under its Gothic kings. It would seem that the Muslim conquest was the scourge of heresy. It was over countries whose people had shown themselves more or less blind to the light, that the dull twilight of this form of natural religion extended its sway, and there is no way of satisfactorily accounting for this than by treating the two facts as cause and effect, which at once reveals a most striking reason for the rapid extension of a religion that in the days of its most brilliant conquests did not for a day appear as a persecutor, and did not make a single martyr.

The progress of Islam in Mohammed's lifetime was marvellous, but still more wonderful was that which immediately followed his death. When he sent his envoys to Persia and Syria he cannot have foreseen how soon Islam would replace as the dominant faith,—in one the fire-worship of the Guebers, in the other Christianity. He must have been utterly ignorant of the causes which in both countries were preparing the way for the signal success of Islam. His summons to Greek and Persian was but the message of a bold man whose enthusiasm had been fired by recent victory. He was not to live to see his boldness justified by success. But in his home at Medina, surrounded by a circle of men who were to carry on his mission and his work, he passed the closing period of a stormy life consolidating his power, and laying the secure foundation on which they were to rear a mighty fabric.

In Mohammed's later years at Medina there is much that is dark and inexcusable, and which to us, looking from the Christian standpoint, is even less excusable than it was to Mohammed's conscience. His wife Khadijah, who had certainly exercised an influence for good over him, was dead, and he had taken other wives, and had gathered a harem round him, exempting himself from his own law that no man should take more than four. Yet, king and conqueror as he was, this was his only excess. He lived the life of a poor man, fed on hard fare, drank only water, mended his own clothes, prepared his own food. In all this his rule was one of Spartan austerity. His life at this time seems, indeed, an enigma; there mingled in it so much that was heroic, so much that was weak and licentious. From this dark period date many of the noblest of the Suras, many of his most praiseworthy acts. Now it was that he forbade usury, abolishing, in the first instance, debts of usury due to his own family, and strove to abolish the Arab blood-feuds, by closing feuds belonging to his own relations. He had never set up his own life as a model to his followers,

nor do they to this day regard it as at all a perfect one. His story is the common one of a man who sees the higher path, but has not strength to follow it. But for the sensual side of his character, he would have been more than a giant among men; perhaps it was this that hid from him the truth. Judged as a king or a conqueror, his character would stand high among those recorded in history; but judged as the founder of a religion, he is at once brought into comparison with Jesus Christ, and the abyss between the two lives is manifest at the first glance; all comparison ceases, and in the full blaze of light the character of the prophet of Mecca seems darker than that of many who, though their lives were not as high, and perhaps not as good as his, by their position challenged no such contrast. Like many another mighty mind, Mohammed found that knowledge alone is not enough for man; that without help from above he cannot realize even his own conceptions of a higher life; and, struggling towards the truth, it would seem that, by breaking through even the imperfect law he had set before him, he stopped his own onward progress, and blinded himself to any clearer light. But we cannot judge him, we cannot penetrate the mystery of this stormy life, removed from us by nearly thirteen hundred years.

Mohammed died at Medina, in the house of his wife Ayisha, in 632. Only a few days before his death, feeling the end approaching, he stood up before the mosque amongst the people to whom he was more than king, and asked if he owed any one anything. An Arab claimed a small debt, and it was instantly paid. Then he asked had he injured any one; if so, he was ready to make atonement; his shoulders were ready for the lash. "Better shame now," he said, "than at the last day." Having made this public offer of a reparation that no one demanded, he waited quietly for death. "Prophet of God," said his wife Ayisha to him, "do none enter Paradise but through God's mercy?" "None, none," he replied. "But will not even you enter by your own merit?" "Neither shall I enter heaven unless God cover me with His mercy." He died with his head resting on Ayisha's knees. Many of his followers had fondly hoped that he would never die, though he had again and again protested that the common lot of men awaited even him. To the last they clung to the hope. As he lay on the floor of Ayisha's house, young Omar, the future conqueror of Syria, was told of the Prophet's death, but refused to believe it. "In the agony of his grief, he drew his scimitar, and wildly rushing in among the weeping Muslims, swore that he would strike off the head of any one who dared to say the Prophet was dead—the Prophet could not be dead." It was by a gentle re-

minder of what the Prophet himself had always taught, that the venerable Abu Bakr, the earliest of the Prophet's friends, and his successor in the Khalifate, calmed his excitement: "Is it, then, Mohammed, or the God of Mohammed, that we have learned to worship?" *

To this day the Mohammedans have remembered and acted upon Abu Bakr's words. "I wish to worship Mohammed—bring him here," says the renegade, in a mediæval story, which embodies a popular misconception that has lived almost to our days. Far from worshipping their prophet, the Mohammedans do not even give his name to their creed. The words Mohammedanism and Mohammedan are unknown in the East, and to call an Arab or a Turk a Mohammedan would be regarded much in the same light as we regard the names of Papist and Romanist when applied to us. "The creed is called 'Islam' a verbal noun derived from a root, meaning 'submission to', and 'faith in God,' and the believers who so submit themselves, are called Muslims, a participle of the same root, both being connected with the words 'Salam' or peace, and 'Salym' or healthy." The Wahabis, the Puritans of Islam, whose doctrines are in close conformity with those of its founder, go even still further. For the ordinary formula of the Muslim creed, "*La illahá il'Allah Mohammed resul Illah*," "There is no God but God, and Mohammed is the Prophet of God," they have substituted another, which excludes even the name of Mohammed,—"*La illahá il'Allah malik yaum eddin*," "There is no God but God the Lord of the Day of Judgment."† Mohammedanism is therefore a misnomer, and it is very likely that its founder never anticipated the personal honours that would be bestowed on him by his followers, the halo of veneration that would surround his tomb, the pilgrimages of which it was to be the object. He himself had expressly forbidden such honours to be given to the tombs of holy men, and the Wahabis only acted up to the letter of his law, when in 1803 they seized Medina, stripped the tomb, and for the ten years that they held the place forbade the pilgrimage. Mohammed's sole connection with Islam is that of founder and lawgiver, all personal honours given to him are aftergrowths. As strongly as ever any Christian asserted it, he told his followers that it was God, and God only, they were to worship, submission to his will, confession of his power, humble adoration, these were to be the chief duties of their lives. He is to be to them the Almighty, and the All-merciful. As the All-loving they know him not. Fear and

* Bosworth Smith, p. 152.

† Urquhart's "Islam as a Political System," p. 145.

adoration of the One God, this is the cardinal doctrine of Islam. But this in itself gives us but little knowledge of the system of Mohammed. To form a clear idea of Islam, we must look to the sources from which its prophet drew his doctrines and his laws. These were mainly threefold—the old semi-paganism of Arabia had some share in it—though but little, the other two sources are the chief ones, and these are Judaism and Christianity. Moehler remarks that “Mohammed is inconceivable apart from Moses, the prophets, and Christ, since the essential substance of the Koran is entirely derived from the Old and New Testaments.”* This must be taken with caution. It is probably not directly derived from these sources, but nevertheless they are the sources. Emmanuel Deutsch has shown that nearly all that belongs to Judaism in Islam came through Rabbinical channels,† and Mr. Bosworth Smith calls special attention to the fact that the source of much of what Mohammed knew of Christ is to be found in the apocryphal and not the canonical gospels.‡ Moehler’s assertion is true with this reservation, and the fact, he states, is a most important one to bear in mind. It is not by any means uncommon to find men, whose view of Islam is, that it is a false religion, which in some wonderful way sprang whole and complete from the fertile brain of Mohammed. Deutsch, in his remarkable essay on Islam, asserts very strongly that Judaism was its principal source, he seems in fact to regard it as in the main a modified form of Judaism, the influence of Christianity upon it being of little importance. This is a very difficult point to decide upon, and probably it will always remain a matter of opinion. The difficulty of the question is increased by the fact that Judaism was the forerunner of Christianity, and that there is in Christianity much of Judaism, so that even were Christianity and Judaism equally present in the creed of Islam, the seeming preponderance would be in favour of the latter. We may, however, be well content to leave the question unsettled, it has no practical importance, the essential point is that Judaism and Christianity are the bases of the religion of Mohammed.

There are many passages in the Koran from which it would seem that Mohammed regarded Judaism and Christianity as sister religions, that were to flourish side by side. There are, it is true, other Suras which breathe hostility to Jew or to Christian; but it may well be that these were written under the impulse of anger or disappointment at the repulses and the injuries he

* “Relation of Islam to the Gospel,” p. 6.

† “Literary Remains of Emmanuel Deutsch.”

‡ “Mohammed and Mohammedanism,” p. 269.

experienced at the hands of both. Muslim commentators still dispute as to the relative authority to be given to the Suras that are friendly and those that are hostile to Christianity, and many among them say that the friendly Suras should be followed, as they are certainly the more numerous.* Additional weight is given to some of these friendly utterances by the fact that in one of the arrangements of the Koran, they appear as among the last words of the Prophet's life. These are the verses of the fifth Sura, which we may here quote, together with a remarkable verse of the second, from Mr. Bosworth Smith's work (p. 261).

"Dispute not," said Mohammed to his followers, "against those who have received the Scriptures, that is Jews and Christians, except with gentleness, but say unto them, We believe in the revelation which hath been sent down to us, and also in that which hath been sent down to you, and our God and your God is one."† And again, he says, in another place, "Verily the Believers, and those who are Jews, those who are Christians and Sabæans, whoever believeth in God, and the last day, and doeth that which is right, they shall have their reward with their Lord, there shall come no fear upon them, neither shall they be grieved."‡ And in a still more striking passage we find it written :—"Unto every one have we given a law and a way. Now, if God had pleased, He would surely have made you one people, but He hath made you to differ that He might try you in that which He hath given to each ; therefore, strive to excel each other in good works. Unto God shall ye all return, and He will tell you that concerning which you have disagreed."§

It is clear, then, that Mohammed was not originally hostile to either Judaism or Christianity, he could not have been, for from these two creeds he drew his doctrine. Political events, rather than anything else, placed him in direct hostility with certain bodies of Christians and of Jews ; but this is a very different thing from saying that he was essentially the foe of either creed. With Judaism the relations of Islam in its early days were peculiarly close and friendly. For some years Jerusalem was made the Kiblah, the place to which all were to turn their faces at the five times of prayer ; and it was not until he had been brought into conflict with the Jews of Arabia that it was

* Moehler objects to this as a mechanical method of commentary, but it is not necessarily erroneous. The fact, that in a series of utterances, whose chronological order it is impossible now to ascertain, Mohammed speaks oftener as a friend than as a foe, must be allowed great weight. Moehler adopts a theory, that while Islam was merely to be the religion of Arabia, Mohammed was friendly to Christianity, but became hostile when he conceived the idea of spreading it into the neighbouring countries, and that the hostile Suras belong to the period of his success, the friendly Suras to his earlier career. But, if the order adopted by Rodwell and others is adopted, in which the fifth Sura stands last, this theory falls to the ground, and in any case, it is a doubtful one, plausible as it seems at first sight.

† Sura v.

‡ Sura ii.

§ Sura v.

transferred to Mecca. Of Abraham he spoke with the deepest respect. He was, he said, a Muslim, that is, one who believed in and submitted himself to God; as the founder and father of the Jewish people, he was one of his own predecessors. His own religion, he often said, was but a development of that of Abraham. To Moses he gave equal honour. The Pentateuch he accepted as a sacred book, and with it at least as much of the Old Testament as is contained in the Psalms and the Prophets. When he speaks of the Law and the Prophets, he refers to the law of Moses. Of that law he adopted many of the most important portions; amongst others, the greater part of the marriage laws, the law of clean and unclean meats, and the laws as to legal cleanness. From Moses, too, he took the law of usury, and the law of inheritance. The Jewish rite of circumcision, though not made obligatory upon his followers, was generally practised by them. While he thus adopted so much of the Jewish law, he appealed to the Jewish prophets as having distinctly foretold him.

"Mohammed," says Mr. Bosworth Smith, "during the early years of the Hijrah, struggled hard, and as it might have seemed to him with every prospect of success, to secure the adhesion of the Jewish tribes who dwelt round Medina. He appealed to their Scriptures, which, he said, he came not to destroy but to fulfil; and which, as he argued for those who had eyes to see, pointed to him: 'A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren like unto me: to him shall you hearken.' Was he not like unto Moses? he asked again and again, and did he not spring from their brethren, the children of Ishmael? 'In thee shall all families of the earth be blessed:' were Abraham's descendants by Ishmael, he asked, to be altogether excluded from this blessing, and had they not now their part of the prophecy to fulfil, as Abraham's descendants by Isaac had already fulfilled theirs?"

From the last blessing of Moses on the children of Israel he took the words: "The Lord came from Sinai, and from Seir He rose up to us; He hath appeared from Mount Pharan." From Sinai, he said, came Judaism; from Seir, among the hills of Galilee, Christianity; from Pharan, the mountains of Arabia, Islam. Moehler, as an aid to understanding how forcibly this interpretation of the prophecy must have appealed to the minds of the Arabs, points out what a strong hold sacred hills and mountains have always had on the imagination of a people. He appealed also to the prophecy of Isaiah, in which the watchman set on a tower sees "a chariot with two horsemen, a rider upon an ass, and a rider upon a camel";* the

* Isaiah xxi. 7, a prophecy referred by Christian and Jewish commentators to the fall of Babylon.

former, he said, was Jesus Christ, the latter himself. The ingenuity of Muslim commentators has discovered many other passages to which they apply similar interpretations.

Whilst to the Jews Mohammed appealed to the Hebrew Prophets as having foretold him, to the Christians he insisted that he had been foretold by Jesus Christ. He took the parable of the labourers of the vineyard, and explained that the labourers of the morning were the Jews, those of the third hour the Christians, those of the eleventh hour the Muslims, called last of all, but rewarded equally with the rest. He was, he said, the Paraclete whom Christ would send, and who would teach all truth. The Gospels he accepted like the Hebrew Scriptures; he called them the "illuminating book,"* and "the light and guide of life,"† and throughout the Koran there is a strong feeling of reverence expressed for *Issa ben Miriam*, Jesus, the Son of Mary. The immaculate conception of the Blessed Virgin is shadowed forth distinctly in the third Sura. Anna, the "wife of Imran," is made to say to God, on the birth of her daughter: "I have called her Miriam (Mary),‡ and I commend her, and also her issue, to Thy protection against Satan." "Therefore," the Sura continues, "the Lord accepted her with a gracious acceptance, and caused her to bear an excellent offspring." Muslim tradition, as set forth by the commentators on the Koran,§ explains this passage in a way that makes it evidently refer to the Immaculate Conception. Every person, they say, is touched at his birth by the devil, and therefore cries out, but Mary and her Son were excepted, God placing a veil between them and the evil spirit, so that his touch did not reach them; and thus, it is added, "they alone of all mankind were not guilty of any sin."

Then, in the same Sura, comes the account of the birth of the Baptist. "Verily," says the angel to Zachary, "God promiseth thee a son named John, who shall bear witness to the Word || which cometh from God: a man honourable, chaste, and one of the righteous prophets." The Koran relates

* Sura iv. v. 161.

† Sura v. v. 54.

‡ From a passage in the Koran many writers have accused Mohammed of ignorantly confounding the Blessed Virgin with Mary, the sister of Moses, but we believe that Sale is correct in insisting that there is not any real ground for the accusation, and that Mohammed knew enough of Jewish history to be aware that a course of many centuries separated Moses from the time of our Lord. See Sale's note on Sura iii. p. 35 (Warne's edition).

§ Al Beidawi, Jallalo'ddin, and Kitada, quoted by Sale.

|| Al Beidawi explains that Jesus is called the Word, because He was conceived by the word and command of God, without having any man for his father. Mohammed evidently repeats the expression from the Gospels without having any idea of its meaning.

the Annunciation of Gabriel, and the miraculous conception and birth of Jesus. Mohammed insists that He was not God, but he speaks of Him as one above all men, and the greatest of prophets.* The third Sura contains the narrative of the Annunciation.

When the angels said, "O Mary, verily God sendeth thee good tidings, that thou shalt bear the Word proceeding from Himself: His name shall be Christ Jesus, the Son of Mary, honourable in this world and in the world to come, and one of those who approach near to the presence of God; and He shall speak to men in the cradle and when He is of full age, and He shall be one of the righteous,"—she answered, "Lord, how shall I have a son since I have known no man?" The angel said, "God createth that which He pleaseth: when He decreeth a thing He only saith unto it, Be, and it is."

The blasphemous calumnies of the Jews against our Lord and His Virgin Mother are only alluded to once, and then that they may be denounced as odious falsehoods. Indeed throughout the Koran the feeling of the writer towards our Lord is distinctly anti-Jewish, and militates strongly against the theory of those who, like Emmanuel Deutsch, would have us see in Islam only a modified Judaism. The very name that throughout the Koran is given to Christ is a proof of Mohammed's belief in His supernatural birth. While the Arabs always speak of a man as the son of such a one, adding his father's name to his own, our Lord is always spoken of as *Issa ben Miriam*, Jesus the son of Mary. Everywhere Mohammed shows a sense of His great dignity.† Many of His miracles are related, some from the Gospels, others from the apocryphal "Gospel of the Infancy."

With regard to the Crucifixion Mohammed could not bring himself to believe that God had permitted Jesus to die such a painful and ignominious death, and he took up the idea of some of the Gnostic sects, that another had been crucified in His stead.‡ "The Jews devised a stratagem against Him," he said, "but God devised a stratagem against them; and God is the best deviser of stratagems." Jesus was caught up into Heaven, and while the Jews believed that they were putting

* Sura ii. v. 254.

† A Muslim never mentions the name of Seyyidna Issa,—the Lord Jesus,—without adding the blessing, "on whom be peace." In the reign of Mohammed IV., a Christian priest who had made profession of Islam, to prove his zeal, reviled our Saviour, and spoke of Him as an "impostor." The Muslims, shocked at the blasphemy, seized him and carried him before the Divan, by whose orders he was immediately executed.

‡ Suras iii. and iv.

Him to death, it was really some wicked man that God had delivered into their hands, some of the commentators explaining that it was the traitor Judas. For a brief interval Jesus, they continue, was allowed to return to the earth to assure His mother and His disciples of His safety, and then He was again taken up to heaven. There He awaits His second coming, when He will descend to earth, and establish peace, uniting all the world under His sway, and dying He will be buried at Medina, where "the tomb of Issa" is marked out beside that of Mohammed. References to this second coming of Jesus abound in Muslim tradition and history. When the Khalifate passed from the line of the Ommiades to the Abassides, Daoud ben Ali proclaimed in the name of the Sultan Abdul Abbas:—"The Khalifate is come to our family; it will remain for ever with it; to the end of time we shall hold it, even until we deliver it into the hands of Jesus the son of Mary."*

But while the Koran inculcates the highest respect for our Lord, again and again it asserts that He was but a prophet, that He was not God. Mohammed never understood the doctrine either of the Trinity or of the Incarnation; and it was his failure to understand these doctrines, and his real ignorance of them, that repelled him from Christianity, to which, but for that, he might have submitted. Had Mohammed ever met in familiar converse one who could teach him the Catholic doctrine on these two cardinal points, the history of the world might have been strangely changed: the name of Mohammed might never have been heard in the West, while the man who bore it, with his mighty energy, his burning zeal, and fearless courage, might have been enrolled among the soldiers of the Cross, the new name received when the waters of baptism flowed upon his head being in later days honoured at the altars of the East and West. But in his ignorance the false idea that he formed of Christian doctrine repelled him from Christianity. The 112th Sura, a brief chapter of four lines, which the Muslims count as equal in value to a third of the whole Koran, is at once an assertion of God's unity, and a protest against the doctrine that he misunderstood:—

Say there is one God only,—
 God the Eternal:
 He begetteth not and He is not begotten,
 And there is none like unto Him.

Mohammed had become possessed of the false idea that the

* Moehler, p. 13.

Christians believed the Trinity to be composed of Father, Mother, and Son, and under this impression accused them of Tritheism. The expression in the Gospels,—Word of God,—he copied, as we have seen, in the 3rd Sura, without having an idea of what it signified; and he confounded the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of God, with the angel Gabriel. "Mohammed," says Moehler, "was very much guided by the experience of the happiness of a parent being complete only when he possesses children; and believing that Christians imagined God to be possessed of like feelings, he observed (Sura X., v. 67) that God from all eternity was sufficient in Himself,—heaven and earth belonged to Him, and therefore He did not require a son."

It was against this false doctrine that he had conjured up for himself that Mohammed protested:—"They say," he exclaims in the 19th Sura,* "they say the Merciful hath gotten offspring. Now have ye done a monstrous thing. Almost might the very heavens rend thereat and the earth rend asunder, and the mountains fall down in fragments, that they ascribe a son to the Merciful when it becometh not the Merciful to beget a son. Verily there is nobody in the Heavens nor in the earth that shall approach the Merciful but as a servant."†

Mohammed preached his doctrine of the Unity of God not only in the sense of monotheism against Arab idolatry, but also in the sense of the modern Unitarians against what he supposed to be the Tritheistic errors of the Christians. This was the full meaning of his creed, *La illahá il 'Alláh*,—There is no God but God. Round this central doctrine he grouped others

* "On the Relation of Islam to the Gospel," p. 10.

† Mr. Bosworth Smith remarks upon this passage:—"It is certain that the notions conveyed to Mohammed's mind by the words he so often uses, 'begetting and begotten,' and which called forth this torrent of indignant invective, were such as might well do so; and such as he also, under the circumstances, might not unnaturally (?) attribute to Christians. A learned critic to whom I am much indebted, Dr. G. P. Badger, points out that the word *Walada*, used by Mohammed throughout the Sura quoted just now, does necessarily involve notions of sex and of physical paternity; and it was doubtless against these that Mohammed hurled his anathemas. On the other hand, Dr. Badger remarks that the equivalent of this word is never used in the New Testament to express the Christian doctrine of the Divine Sonship; and that the term 'Word of God' is applied to Christ as much by Mohammed and the Koran as by S. John in his Gospel. If this can be made evident to Musalmans, it is clear that one great cause of misconception will be lessened or removed; and even if it cannot, it is still fair to remember that for centuries the battle of ecclesiastical warfare in the East had been raging round the words which should be used to express the idea of a relationship which it is admitted human language cannot adequately convey nor human thought conceive" (pp. 274, 275).

drawn from Judaism and Christianity : the necessity of virtue, of truth, honesty, good faith, and purity, which was to be symbolized by the outward ablutions which were always to remind the Muslims of its necessity. Prophet after prophet, he said, had upbraided men for their wickedness and called on them to submit to God. In the future life sin would be punished, faith and goodness rewarded. He has been accused of promising the believers a sensual Heaven; and there are passages in the Koran which undoubtedly bear this interpretation, and to which gross-minded commentators have still further attached it by dwelling entirely on the material side of the picture. But there are other commentators who give to all this a spiritual and allegorical meaning, as Christian commentators explain the *Canticle of Canticles*. It cannot, however, be said that there is *not* the foreshadowing of a sensual Heaven in the Koran.* The Heaven of Mohammed naturally took colour from the state of society in which he lived. There had been polygamy in the East certainly as far back as the days when Ismael, the father of the Arab tribes, was born to Agar and Abraham, and the Arab could not conceive Heaven without it. But Mohammed's Heaven is not all sensual, nor is it even mainly so.

"It is to be remembered," says Mr. Bosworth Smith, "that much that is material, and even gross, in the Mohammedan conception of a future life, is due, not to Mohammed, but to Mohammed's successors; and it is not the least of the enigmas that attach to the extraordinary and unique character of the Prophet, that his views of the future state are never more spiritual than at the time when, according to the common theory, he had most entirely and, in fact, he had to some extent, fallen away from his austere moral life. Contrast the tone of the suras referring to this subject, which were written at Mecca early in his life,† with the third, for instance, which was written at Medina many years later."

"Fair," says he, "in the sight of men are the pleasures of women and children; fair are the treasured treasures of gold and silver, and fine horses, and flocks, and corn-fields. Such is the enjoyment of this world's life. But God! goodly is the home with Him!"

"Shall I tell you of better things than these, prepared for those who fear God in His presence? Theirs shall be gardens beneath which the rivers flow, and in which they shall abide for ever, and wives of stainless purity, and acceptance with God, for God regardeth His servants. They who say, O our Lord, we have indeed believed; pardon our sins, and keep us from the torment of the fire. The patient are they, and the truthful, the lowly and the charitable, and they who ask for pardon as each day breaks."‡

Surely here, as elsewhere, and increasingly so as the Prophet drew near

* See, for instance, Sura lv.

† Suras lv. lvi. and lxxvi.

‡ Sura xiii.

his end, it is the presence of God, the knowledge of Him, the eternal Salaam or Peace with which they shall salute one another, the purity of love, and not its sensuality, which are the most prominent ideas (pp. 225, 226).

It is right that considerable weight should be given to considerations like these in judging of the Heaven of the Koran. They lessen, though they do not remove, this stain on Islam.

Judged once at his death, man will be judged again, says the Koran, at the last day. The prophecy is terribly and grandly poetical; it predicts the destruction of earth and sky, the resurrection of the dead, and the judgment of all mankind. Thus it runs:—

When the sun shall be folded up,
And when the stars shall fall,
And when the mountains shall be set in motion,
And when the she camels with young shall be neglected,
And when the wild beasts shall be huddled together,
And when the seas shall boil,
And when the souls shall be joined again to their bodies,
And when the leaves of the Book shall be unrolled,
And when the heavens shall be stripped away like a skin,
And when hell shall be made to blaze,
And when Paradise shall be brought near,
Every soul shall know what it has done.*

Hell was to him a terrible reality. "The damned," he said, "shall dwell amid burning winds and in scalding water, under the shade of a black smoke, which is no shade, neither cool nor agreeable. For they enjoyed the pleasures of life while on earth, and obstinately persevered in heinous wickedness. They shall eat of the fruit of the tree Al Zakkum, and they shall drink thereon boiling water, and they shall drink even as a thirsty camel drinketh."† In another Sura we are told how boiling water will be poured on their heads, fiery garments fitted to them; how they will be beaten with iron maces, and dragged back when they strive to escape. The avaricious will be branded with their own gold and silver, heated in the fire of hell;‡ the unbelievers will be told to go into the torments that they had denied.§

With these terrible sanctions he proclaimed his law. Five principal duties were imposed on the Muslim. First, there was prayer, the most important duty of all. With a bold but unconscious exaggeration, and a sublime ignorance of Catholic practice and Catholic writers, Mr. Bosworth Smith remarks that "it occupies a more prominent place in Islam, both theoreti-

* Sura lxxxi.

† Sura lvi.

‡ Sura xxii.

§ Sura ix.

cally and practically, than it does in any other religion.”* Like others of his *obiter dicta*, a very misleading statement. Its place in Mohammed’s system is certainly an important one, and to many Christians the pious Muslim gives an example that might well shame them into a better practice of what they believe and profess of the duty of prayer. Five times a day are the appointed hours of prayer: the first before daybreak, when from every minaret the Muezzin cries out, “Prayer is better than sleep!” In every house a niche marks the direction of Mecca, to which all faces turn at the appointed hour,† and even in the open air at his work, when he hears the muezzin’s voice, the Muslim will fall on his knees. Lieutenant Wood, in his “Journey to the Source of the Oxus,” says of his guides: “Often have I observed that the Mohammedans, both old and young, however worn-out by fatigue or suffering from hunger and thirst, have postponed all thought of self-indulgence to their duty to their God. It is not with them the mere force of habit; it is the strong impression on their minds that the duty of prayer is so important that no circumstances can excuse its omission.”‡ The prayers are not, for the most part, petitions; nor is there any trace of the Christian idea of sonship, which gives to prayer a loving familiarity; they are rather expressions of humble praise and confession of God’s power. One of the most usual forms runs thus:—

Holiness to Thee, O God !
And praise be to Thee !
Great is Thy name !
Great is Thy greatness !
There is no God but Thee !

Another from the Koran:—

Praise be to God, Lord of all the worlds, the compassionate, the merciful, king in the day of judgment. Thee only do we worship, and to Thee do we cry for help. Guide Thou us in the straight path—the path of those to whom Thou hast been gracious, with whom Thou art not angry, and who go not astray.

The giving of alms is the second duty; cleanliness, the type and monitor of inward purity, a third; a fourth, the fast of the month of Ramazan, ending with the sacrifice of a sheep on the feast of Bairam, the only sacrifice enjoined at any time, and which

* Pp. 163, 164.

† Visitors to the great mosque of Santa Sophia remark the curious effect produced by the lines of prayer-carpet running *obliquely* across the floor, in order that the faces of the worshippers may be turned to Mecca.

‡ Quoted by Mr. Bosworth Smith, p. 195, note.

is explained to mean that the sacrificer confesses that sin has made him worthy of death. The pilgrimage to Mecca is a duty not obligatory on all, the poor being naturally excepted from it, though many even of these accomplish it. Beside these precepts, there are various minor prohibitions, chief amongst which are the forbidding of wine and of gaming of all kinds, the gambler's evidence being inadmissible in a court of justice.

Polygamy was permitted. It had existed in the East for ages, the law of Moses not only allowed but enjoined it in certain cases.* It flourished unrestrained in Arabia. Mohammed, though he blotted his own character by accepting no restriction himself, imposed on the Muslims the restriction of having no more than four wives, whether free or slaves. His marriage laws in the main he took from the Jews. So far as Arabia and the Christian East was concerned, he was certainly a reformer. He never held up licence as an inducement to any one to join him, and to his countrymen he preached continence. No man of the Arabs or the Jews can have been induced to join him by the permission of polygamy, for they had already in that respect as full liberty as he could have given them. Chastity is enjoined by name in the 5th Sura. Of course it was not all the Christian understands by the word, but even this one passage is enough to prove that Islam is not a religion of sensuality. How, indeed, could a religion of sensuality exist, or exert such power for twelve hundred years? No one can, of course, close his eyes to the terrible vices of the East; but these are really the sins of men who have before them a law that they fail to keep, because they have not the fountains of grace open to them which we possess in the bosom of the Catholic Church. Their vices cannot be charged upon their creed, for it forbids them, and so far as polygamy can be charged with being in any way responsible for them, it is thousands of years older than Islam. Undoubtedly, before God the vices of the Christian West are darker than those of the Muslim East, for the West owns a higher law, and its sins are therefore heavier upon it.

Not only by faith, but by works, by avoiding sin and doing good the Muslim believes that Heaven will be opened to him by the All Merciful. He is no blind believer in destiny. The best of the Muslim doctors acknowledge the freedom of man's will as the source of his responsibility for his acts. These doctors are men of a class that is a ministry, but not a priest-

* The Jews are still polygamists in the East, and it was not until the thirteenth century that in one of their congresses it was decided that, to avoid ill-will in monogamist countries such as those of Western Europe, they should give up polygamy.

hood, for there is no sacrifice, and each man for himself can immolate the victim at the feast of Bairam. This class is that of the Imams, collectively called the Ulema, and their head the *Sheik-ul-Islam*, or head of the law, resides at Constantinople to advise the Sultan-Khalif on the legality or illegality of his acts. No war can be declared till the *Sheik-ul-Islam*, by his decree or *fetva*, has pronounced it just, and *fetvas* are issued also on many of the minor acts of government. Islam is a political system as well as a religion, but it is no rigid bed of Procrustes. The Ulema recognize the fact that practical measures have to be altered to meet altered circumstances, and that it is only principles that are necessarily to remain unchanged.

Mohammed foresaw the danger of outward forms becoming an empty screen for irreligion and insincerity, and protested against it:—

“There is no piety,” he said, “in turning your faces towards the East or the West, but he is pious who believeth in God and the last day, and the angels and the Scriptures, and the prophets; who, for the love of God, disburseth his wealth to his kindred, and to the orphans and to the needy, and the wayfarer and those who ask for ransoming; who observeth prayer and payeth the legal alms, and who is of those who are faithful to their engagements when they have engaged in them, and patient under hardships and ills, and in time of trouble: these are they who are just, and these are they who fear the Lord.”*

But we need not go beyond Christian countries to see that precept and practice are often widely at variance, and the Islam of to-day is in many lands something even farther from the truth than was the doctrine of its founder. In India it has contracted more than one superstition from the Hindu paganism around it; in Persia it has been infected to some degree by the old religion of the fire-worshippers; in Arabia the Bedouins, Muslims though they are in name, keep alive the blood-feuds that Mohammed forbade, and do not fear to attack the caravans of the Meccan pilgrimage.† It is, however, in the heart of Arabia, among the hills of Nejd, that Islam flourishes in its strictest observance. There, hidden from the gaze of Europe, are the cities of the Wahabis, the followers of Abdul Wahab, who in the last century strove to bring back Islam to its first fervour, and aroused an enthusiasm which for many a year filled the East with alarm. The Wahabis cling with an austere rigidity to the precepts of the Koran, and, going even beyond what Mohammed had ordained, when they occupied Mecca in the early years of the present century they stopped the pil-

* Sura ii.

† See Burton's “Pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina.”

grimage to the Caaba, as a remnant of the idolatry of "the Days of Ignorance"—the time before Mohammed. Driven from Mecca by Mehemet Ali, they retired into the hill-cities; but from Nejd in the last fifty years the Wahabi reform has spread to Afghanistan and India, and may yet play a great part in the world's history. In Central Africa, in our own day, Muslim missionaries have spread their creed to the Equator, and obtained successes which make us long to hear that our own missions are pushed rapidly on in order to anticipate them, and rescue the nations of the centre at once from present fetishism and future proselytism to Islam. It is, probably, in Africa and in the Turkish empire that the life of Islam is now most vigorous. To the Ottomans, love for their faith holds the place which loyalty to a State or a political system occupies in the countries of the West, and they have assuredly in the present war given good proof of their sincere devotion to Islam and its calif. It is strange to hear men expressing an expectation that Russian conquests in Armenia and the Balkan peninsula will contribute to the downfall of Islam in the East. In Central Asia, Russian conquest has not rooted it out, though in one district Russian extermination has destroyed Islam by destroying its professors. If a *Te Deum* were to be sung to-morrow in Santa Sophia by schismatic priests, guarded by Russian bayonets, the Muslims of Turkey and Anatolia would still be as far from Christianity as the Muslims who dwell under Russian rule in the Crimea, Georgia, and Turkestan. Conquest will not be the means of destroying Islam, though it may destroy Mohammedan States; and, on the other hand, there is always a terrible danger that unjust aggression perpetrated in the outraged name of Christianity may arouse a fierce hatred for the Faith in the minds of men who now are at least tolerant of it.

Few as have been the instances of Muslims being converted, it may be hoped that future years will see a peaceful progress of Christianity in the Mohammedan countries of the East. It is as a step towards this end, that we hope to see popular misconceptions as to the character of Islam removed. From all that we have said, it must be evident that many of the evils which afflict Mohammedan countries result not from the teachings of Mohammed, but from the vices of men who neglect the precepts they profess to obey. It must be clear too that this religion, with its wide-extended sway and its history of twelve centuries, is not entirely the thing of evil that it has often been represented to be, that there is much of good mingled with it, and of truth, from which it has drawn whatever power it possesses to elevate the lives of men. Finally it must be borne in

mind that it is a religion founded by a man who was struggling towards the truth he never reached. There is probably a real obstacle to the conversion of the East in the misconception of Islam by Christian writers, which often places them in a distinctly hostile attitude to its professors, and allows them to recognize no common ground, no sound basis for an argument calculated to do anything but repel a Mohammedan. It seems to us that this basis can be obtained, if Catholics would endeavour to realize to themselves the point of view from which the Muslim regards both Islam and Christianity, if they would consider how the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation were misunderstood by Mohammed, and are still misunderstood by his followers, and then seek to show the Muslim that the objections raised by Mohammed apply not to the real doctrines, but to false ones, which he imagined to be held by Christians. This much once gained, the reverence paid by the Koran to Jesus Christ, and the authority it gives to the Gospels, may be the means of showing to many a son of Islam that the true history of Jesus proves Him to be the "Word of God," in a sense far different from the vague meaning which Mohammed attached to the expression.* Not by fervid denunciations of the "impostor of Mecca," but by seizing on and sifting out whatever of truth there is in Islam, by arguing from this to Christianity, and by showing that all that is good in the Koran is to be found in the teachings of the Church, which in their entirety form a body of doctrines superior to it,—will Christianity ever appeal with success to the Muslim mind.

But it is sad to have to say that there exists another obstacle to the progress of Catholicity in the East, in the schisms which to the Mohammedan seem to divide Christianity into equal and rival parties, on whose opposing claims he cannot decide; and it must be confessed too that there is yet another obstacle in the bad example and the worthless lives of many who are Christians only in name. We fear that not until the Christians of the East form a united body under the headship of the Sovereign Pontiff, will Christianity begin to leaven the great mass of Mohammedanism. Already the united prayers of the West are offered up for the healing of the schism, and our own people have taken their part in this apostolate of prayer. Now that

* Among the works of St. John Damascene (who wrote in the eighth century, and had an intimate knowledge of Islam, his father Sergius being a minister of the Khalif Almansur) there is a dialogue between a "Saracen" and a Christian, in which the latter argues for the truth of Christianity from the agreement on many points between the Koran and the Gospel, or, as the Christian is made to say, "between my scriptures and your scriptures" (See Migne's edition of "St. John Damascene," vol. iii. col. 1335-1348).

political events have riveted the attention of so many on the East, it might be easy to organize a similar apostolate for the conversion of Islam, and most fittingly would the initiative of such a work come from England, which, with its forty millions of Muslim subjects in India, rules over a larger Mohammedan population than any other state in the world.

ART. VI.—THE DOUAI DIARIES.

The First and Second Diaries of the English College, Douai, and an Appendix of Unpublished Documents. Edited by Fathers of the Congregation of the London Oratory. With an Historical Introduction, by THOMAS FRANCIS KNOX, D.D., Priest of the same Congregation. London : David Nutt. 1878.

WITH this handsome volume is commenced the work of editing a selection of the historical documents from the archives of the diocese of Westminster, such being chiefly the still extant records and remains of the English College of Douai; the centre of English Catholicism for more than 200 years. The "Douai Diaries" have long been looked for. In reading Bishop Challoner's "Missionary Priests," no one can have failed to notice how continually, at the beginning or the end of each memoir, the venerable compiler appeals to the "Douai Catalogue," and how it is said of almost every priest that he made his studies at Douai, or, at such a date, was sent out from Douai to England. Bishop Challoner had the Douai diaries before him when he wrote. It was from these brown and worn manuscript volumes that he took his dates and leading facts. The originals he did not use, for they never left the College until the great Revolution; but the transcripts of them, which were made for the Bishop by Alban Butler, are still to be seen in the archives of Oscott. In a preface to the volume before us, the Editors give a brief history of the fortunes of these precious MSS. It seems almost a miracle that we have even a few scraps and relics of the literary treasures of Douai College. Nothing could have been more systematic and complete than the destruction which ensued during the first days of the Revolution. "The whole treasure of our inestimable manuscripts, consisting of original letters and correspondence with Rome

and England, authentic memoirs and other precious documents,"—all, according to the account of an eye-witness, were dispersed and destroyed. This statement is, no doubt, not literally correct. Most of the diaries have survived—and in the town library of Douai there are one or two MS. volumes and a large number of printed books. The splendid library of the Benedictine monastery of S. Gregory at Douai shared the fate of that of the English College, and it is strange and melancholy when the visitor finds among the MS. treasures of the town library the book of the minutes of the "councils" of S. Gregory's—each meeting signed by the Prior and Secretary, among the signatures being such names as F. Leander Jones and F. Rudesind Barlow. But it is almost more than one can patiently bear, to know that the priceless original records of the deeds and sufferings of our fathers, the vouchers and authentications of a time which will evermore grow more heroic as it recedes, were used to make the cartridges and kindle the fires of senseless revolutionaries. At the same time, there is much to be thankful for. Just as the Maurist monks, during the 150 years which preceded the Revolution, explored every corner of France and printed in many a history of city and province innumerable documents which were destroyed in that unsparing fire, so a watchful Providence raised up our own Bishop Challoner. It is he who has saved the English records of Douai College. The "Missionary Priests" is compiled almost exclusively from manuscript materials, transcribed and sent over to England. The work which has been undertaken, at the desire of the Cardinal Archbishop, by the Fathers of the London Oratory, is to lay before the public what remains of the treasures of Douai. Their materials, though scanty in comparison to what has been lost beyond redemption, are not inconsiderable, and, it need not be said, of extreme interest. What they comprise we learn from the prospectus of the undertaking, and also from a more definite statement in the preface to the present volume of Diaries. There are a number of documents of various kinds, lists, reports, letters, relating to the history of the College and the persons connected with it. There are narratives concerning the martyrs; and it is most interesting to learn that there are many manuscript narratives, principally in the form of letters written by fellow-prisoners or eye-witnesses of the executions, which have never before been printed. Some of these documents were unknown to Bishop Challoner, or not made use of by him; others, though made use of in his "Memoirs of Missionary Priests," have never yet been printed *in extenso*. A volume containing a complete collection of the letters of Cardinal Allen is in

contemplation. When we hear the announcement that no less than seventy of the Cardinal's letters which have never been printed are in existence, it is easily understood that this volume will be, perhaps, the most important of the series. Cardinal Allen was the founder and the inspiring spirit of the English College. He was a man of very definite individuality, full of the fear of God, winning, indefatigable, talented, and, one might almost say, gifted with genius. The collection of his letters, and the historical commentary with which the Editors will accompany them, cannot fail to present us with a portrait which will be in many important respects entirely new, and which will be a valuable addition to the series of lives of great English Catholics. Then there are the Diaries themselves. There are, or were, seven of them; one cannot now be found. Altogether they form a sort of irregular log-book of the College from its foundation in 1568 to the year 1778, a period of 210 years. It appears that no scheme of formally recording the daily life of the seminary was ever established. Each President in turn made such memoranda as seemed good to him, and put things down briefly or diffusely, or not at all, as opportunity offered or fancy suggested. In some places the Diaries are very full and minute. For instance, in the "*Diarium Secundum*," under the date October 3, 1590, there is an interesting circumstantial account of a solemn visit paid to the College (then in exile at Rheims) by Cardinal Henry Cajetan, the Papal legate, accompanied by Marshal St. Paul and other military leaders, when no less a personage than Francis Pancirolo, the master of S. Francis of Sales, and the "first preacher in the world," was present at the reception, and when Dr. William Gifford delivered the address of welcome (p. 235). More frequently they are very meagre, consisting of pages of names with dates, precious to the historian, but not attractive to the general reader. At intervals we have periods of several years entirely passed over, without an entry of any kind. Yet there are certain matters connected with the seminary which imperatively demanded an accurate record; such as, for instances, the names of those who went and came, who took the College oaths, who were ordained, and who took their degrees. No doubt it was the intention to preserve a strictly accurate and complete registry of all these names. Other matters might be entered or might not; would that a more Boswellian spirit had guided the pens of the several generations of Rectors! We could, perhaps, have borne the loss of lists of doctors and entries of matriculation, if we could have had some more information about some of the familiar names which garnish the prosaic pages of the Diaries. We know, for example, how

Cuthbert Maine, the proto-martyr of the College, died at Launceston; we have the record of the miraculous light in his cell, of his gentle words, and his constant prayer; but when we find that his name in the Diaries is put down under the year 1573 as a student of theology, in 1575 as "ordained priest," in 1576 as sent to England—put down with no note or observation except "Exonien," or belonging to the diocese of Exeter, in a list of other names unknown to fame—we cannot forbear wishing the impossible wish that the President had been gifted with prophetic insight into the future, and had said something more about the college life of the glorious martyr of the West. Roger Cadwallador, the Leominster martyr, was a Greek scholar—he translated Theodoret's *Philotheus*—and a skilled controversialist. We know something of his work in Herefordshire and of his verbal contest with the Bishop of Hereford, who examined him; we are even told of the "little silk point which tied his hose about his knee," and the pharisaical scandal of Bishop Bennet thereat. We should have been glad to know something about his family, and about his studies at Rheims. The Second Diary mentions him three times. First it tells us how "Rogerius Cadwalitor," of the diocese of Hereford, was made sub-deacon on September 21, 1591, in the chapel of Holy Cross, in Rheims Cathedral; next, how, on February 24, 1592, he was ordained deacon in the chapel of the Cardinal's palace, near the church of St. Mary; and, lastly, it records that August 21, of the same year, he left Rheims for good, and set out on his journey to Spain (to Valladolid). Thus, it will be seen that the entries in these Diaries are somewhat meagre and unsatisfying. Not the less certainly are they invaluable and indispensable.

The last entry in the "*Diarium secundum*," now before us, under the date August 8th, 1593, records that two of the servants of the College were "sent to Douai." The College was about to return from Rheims to Douai. It will be seen, therefore, that these two diaries embrace a period of about twenty-five years. The College was founded at Douai in 1568; it was driven out of Douai by the revolutionary party in 1578, and took refuge at Rheims; it returned from Rheims to Douai in 1593, after an absence of fifteen years. The able and lengthy historical introduction prefixed to this edition of the Diaries by the Rev. Father Knox traces the history of the College down to this date, and gives with the fulness of a history the details of its foundation, object, daily life, struggles, and vicissitudes. Running through the narrative, as might have been anticipated, is the thread of the life of Cardinal Allen—his external and

active life, that is to say, for his spirit and interior have still to be traced (and we trust by the same hand), when the promised collection of his letters is given to the world.

There is nothing more melancholy than to compare the strenuous and splendid stand which the noblest of the staunch English made after Queen Mary's death to save their country from falling into heresy, with the total failure of their sacrifices and efforts, as observable, for instance, about fifty years ago, when Catholic emancipation seemed to loosen the last ties that bound families and whole districts to the ancient Church. We can see now that, without an extraordinary interference of Providence—without a Francis Xavier or a Francis de Sales—it must necessarily have happened as it did. On the one side was the secular government, bearing with systematic and calculated pressure on every parish in the land, making unsparing use of stake, gibbet, and fine, until generations of the people had been born and come to maturity without knowing a Catholic priest. On the other side was a chivalrous band of learned and enthusiastic men, able to convince, and ready to die, but whose numbers were never, perhaps, large enough to have sufficed for the spiritual wants of London itself. Both the early success and the final failure of the English missionary crusade are easily explained. Queen Elizabeth ascended the throne in 1558. The first missionaries from Douai came to England in 1574. During the intervening sixteen years the people of England were, of course, Catholic, as a people. Very many of them, both priests and people, conformed outwardly to the State religion; priests were found who said a private mass early in the morning, and read the service of the Common Prayer-book afterwards; the gentry would attend the established services, and the mass of the people said their Catholic prayers, and knew not what to think of the changes that were succeeding each other. No sooner did the first Douai missionaries, in 1574, begin their work in England, than an immediate and most remarkable revival in fervour took place. We have testimonies from the Diaries, and from various quarters, dating from 1576 to 1580, which show unmistakeably that England might and would have been restored to the Catholic unity with the greatest ease, had the Protestant Government ceased to exist. Sixteen or twenty years were not sufficient to obliterate the beliefs, the customs, and the prejudices of a people. Father Knox is inclined to think that between the accession of Elizabeth and the arrival of the first Douai missionaries the clergy, chiefly the secular clergy, ordained in the previous reigns, laboured hard and successfully in keeping up the Faith among

the English people. He thinks that the outburst of fervour to which allusion has been made was in great measure owing to their labours.

But who were they to whom this change in the English Catholics was owing? For the first sixteen years of the schism, from 1558 to 1574, it was due to the priests, some regular, but mostly secular, ordained in the previous reigns, and to them alone. Some of these, as Bishop Watson, Abbot Feckenham, and Dr. Nicholas Harpsfield, from the prisons to which they were confined for the remainder of their days, bore witness to the Catholic faith for which they suffered. Others, exiles from their native country on account of their religion, aided from abroad by their writings the Catholic cause in England. But a large number, especially of the parochial clergy, remained steadfast at their posts, and through the long night of danger and persecution watched like true pastors over their flocks. Such a one, for example, was the Rev. John Peel, of whom the Diary records, on the occasion of a visit which he paid to Douai in May, 1576, that "he had laboured for sixteen years in England at the peril of his life, reconciling to the Catholic faith those who had gone astray, and animating others to perseverance." And many more there were whose names have not been recorded, and whose quiet labours live only in their fruits. For though there were some among the ancient priests, such as Allen has described in words which have been quoted above, it would be unjust to assume that the great majority of them had gone astray. If it had been so, there could not have been that revival of fervour among the Catholics which we know to have taken place during those sixteen years, when they, and they only, exercised the pastoral office in England. . . . Even so late as in 1596, it was calculated that forty or fifty of these ancient priests were still labouring in England. If so many remained after thirty-eight years of persecution, their number must have been very large indeed during the first sixteen years of the schism. ("Historical Introduction," pp. lxi. lxii.)

Our materials for forming a judgment on this point are scanty. It is natural, perhaps, that more of the bad should be recorded than of the good; but it seems impossible that, among the number of the Catholic clergy, very many should not have remained at heart staunch to the Church. Moreover, we know that the Government did not prosecute wholesale, if the expression may be used. This would have been too rash, and would have provoked more serious disturbances than the rising of the North. District by district, county by county, the penal laws were put in force, the steadfast clergy rejected, intruders put in their places, the Prayer-book established, and the Churches "purified." England was, therefore, still substantially Catholic when, in 1574, the College of Douai sent the first-fruits of the missionaries trained within her walls. But it is no wonder that, as soon as they began to work, and

in proportion as they and the *confrères* who followed them began to be known in the country, fervour began to revive, and Catholics to pluck up courage and indulge in hope. A considerable number of the influential Catholics placed their chief hope in political intervention. Under the despotism of the Tudors there was no medium between rebellion and abject submission. This explains why the one or two bold measures which were taken abroad with reference to Elizabeth—for instance, her excommunication, and the expedition of the Armada—were supported, even politically, by no small number of the English Catholics at home. It was not that their patriotism was less, but their despair was great, and their faith was dearer to them than their country. The establishment of an actively-aggressive seminary, under the auspices of the Pope, and in the territory of Philip of Spain, was an event which made English Catholics feel that the Continent was making efforts for them. They had every hope that, if the storm at home could be weathered for a few years, fair weather would return. When the Douai missionaries came among them, it seemed as if the troubled sky was beginning to clear; and the feeble were strengthened, the fallen repented, the erring came back. In the very year after the first missionaries were sent out (1575), a priest writes to Allen: "The number of Catholics increases so abundantly, that he who almost alone holds the rudder of the State has privately admitted to one of his friends that for one staunch Catholic at the beginning of the reign there were now, he knew for certain, ten." When the writer goes on to say that Walsingham was so thoroughly persuaded of this that he was thought to be not unwilling himself to embrace the cause which was going up, provided his own safety could have been secured, we think we recognize one of those reports of the marvellous and incredible which have so much fascination for retailers of news. But there is no doubt that the abundance of the harvest was such as to surprise the missionaries. Another interesting testimony to the same effect is furnished by a letter of Allen, written from Paris in January, 1577, to his friends and disciples at Douai. The president was writing chiefly for the purpose of saying that a great number of English Catholics were waiting at Paris for an opportunity of joining the College, but were prevented from undertaking the journey by the troubled times, the wars of the League keeping the country at the time in a state of constant disturbance, and the Flemings being in revolt against the King of Spain. Allen says, that, by the reports of those members of the College who had returned from England to Paris, the number of English brought back, as time went on, to Catholicism was so great as

to be almost beyond belief.* Six months before, a deacon of Queen Mary's reign, a confessor of the faith, had arrived at the College for ordination. He brought a letter from the Rev. John Payne, a Douai priest, then in England, in which was mentioned the great increase in the number of conversions, and the wonder of the heretics thereat; and then the writer goes on to say that the Anglo-Douai priests are now known all over England, that their very name exceedingly disturbs the heretics, whilst it is proportionately consoling to the Catholics, who all hope that the day of the restoration of Catholicism cannot be far off.† The hopes of the Catholics rose still higher when, in the year 1580, the Society of Jesus, represented by the famous names of Parsons and Campion, entered on the labour and danger of the English Mission. In the month of October of the same year Campion writes to the College that within two days of his arrival in London he had confessed at least forty penitents; whilst Parsons, in a letter of the same date testifies to the "amazement" with which he beheld the devotion of the Catholics during the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, and how he wept himself to see how they beat their breasts when the name of the Pope was pronounced, and shed tears at the elevation of the Sacred Host.‡ "For the moment," says Mr. J. R. Green, "their success was amazing. The eagerness shown to hear Campion was so great that in spite of the denunciation of the Government he was able to preach, with hardly a show of concealment, to a vast audience in Smithfield. . . . Wherever the missionaries went the zeal of the Catholics revived. The list of nobles reconciled to the old faith . . . was headed by the name of Lord Oxford, Burghley's own son-in-law, and the proudest among English peers. The success of the Jesuits in undoing Elizabeth's work of compromise was shown in a more public way by the unanimity with which the Catholics withdrew from attending at the national worship."§ Thus, about the year 1580, twenty-two years after the accession of Elizabeth, it would have been easy to reconcile the English people with the Catholic Church. But the cause of God and of the Church had opposed to it one of the ablest and most determined secular governments that it has ever encountered. The reply of Elizabeth and of her advisers to the crusade of the missionaries and the Jesuits was the Statute 23 Elizabeth (1581) against the "seminaries." This statute made it high treason to "reconcile" anyone in England, and also to "be reconciled." This enactment was hardly a novelty; for Cuthbert Maine

* "Diarium Secund.," p. 114. † Ibid., p. 107. ‡ Ibid., p. 171.
§ "History of the English People," p. 401.

had been charged, four years before, with having in his possession a "bull of absolution." What was new in it were the provisions intended to destroy the English Colleges of Douai (Rheims) and Rome. The second diary notices this statute on the 12th of February, 1581. It is interesting to observe how those enactments which are the most deadly and terrible are not even referred to, whilst the provisions regarding the registering of youths sent beyond seas, the recalling them to England, the depriving them of all assistance if they refuse to come, and the illegality of all business and money transactions in behalf of seminarists are recorded at length. "Such," concludes the diarist, "such and so great is the ardour of the Queen of England in propagating 'religion'—'true religion,' she calls it—Calvin's religion, rather, or her own, or nobody's, or no one knows what—or, more truly, not religion at all, but the most pestilent heresy."* Four years later, in 1585, came a still more stringent Act of Parliament. The Diary becomes very meagre after 1581, and we have no record of the sanguinary enactments of the 27th Eliz., nor comment upon them. But the entries bear traces of the effects of the statute. One of its mildest clauses orders all Jesuits and seminary priests ordained abroad to leave the realm at once. Accordingly we find that at the end of January twenty-one priests were sent out of England, and that in October a second body of priests were sent into exile, and arrived at the College. Of the latter company it is expressly said that they were driven out of England by the "cruel edict" of the queen. Eight years later, still another devastating penal statute was levelled at the unfortunate Catholics. This time it was rather against the faithful in general than against the clergy or the Jesuits that the stern legislation was aimed. The Act placed every Catholic under a sort of police-inspection, or "forced domicile"; and virtually sentenced all the poorer Catholics to banishment or to a felon's death. These statutes, says F. Knox, "justified the English seminaries abroad." They were not required for such a purpose; but had it been necessary they certainly would have done so. F. Knox calls them, or one of them, a "clumsy expedient" on the part of the Queen's advisers. But there seems little doubt that they were as perfectly successful as the English Government wished them to be. What they effected was nothing less than this; they held captive in heresy a whole nation, in spite of the fact that the nation was in the mass warmly attached to Catholicism. After the temporary

* "Diarium Secund.," p. 176.

"revival" during the first years of missionary effort, the number of Catholics steadily decreased in England down to a time within the memory of living persons.

When we say that the mission and work of Douai College, and of its sister, the English College of Rome, ended in failure, we must be understood as speaking in a very narrow and limited sense. No true work, done according to the rules of the work of Jesus Christ, ever fails. And we shall presently have something to say of what has been really effected by Allen's great movement. It failed in keeping England Catholic, though England was not hostile to Catholicism. Doubtless, England, left to Elizabeth's dealing, would have ceased to be Catholic in a much more complete sense than it has ever yet done. And it is unquestionable that the only possible means for preserving even the shreds and seeds of Catholicism was to keep up an active propaganda from without, and to spend labour and pain and blood. What the queen and her laws did was to make the labour, the prayers, and the blood in very great measure, and in comparison with results which should have followed, ineffectual and useless for the time. Persecution, in those days, was able to do that. The sword of the persecutor always and invariably promotes the growth of the Church; but the sword of such a persecution as was possible in the sixteenth century naturally lays the Church in ruins for a time. The present volume of the Diaries and the period (1558 to 1593) covered by F. Knox's most interesting introduction afford us no opportunity of considering the whole effect of the seminaries upon English Catholicism. But having briefly noticed in what sense their work has failed, it is agreeable to turn to the history of the institution of the College of Douai, and to dwell upon some of the numerous points in respect of which they have perfectly and gloriously succeeded.

A great historic past is one of the most powerful sources of noble resolves and courageous actions. We may call it emulation, or contagious sympathy; or encouragement; it is certain that the realized, monumental presence of a grand past has the same effect on the emotional part of our nature as the presence of living heroism, or the companionship of noble and sympathetic hearts. The past is always with us; it stands still to be studied, to be questioned; it never falls below its name and reputation, or disappoints us when we approach it too closely. When there is a past which we can call our own—which is linked to our own present by bonds of faith, of country, or of family, we have an additional guide and assistance in life, a second guardian-angel to warn us and to lead us in paths of duty and honour. And it is when a past has been after God's

heart, and modelled on God's rules, that it has power during the ages which follow it. There is a dead past and a living past. Among the many figures and groups in the long vista of silent shapes which make up history, there are some that are finished with for ever. There are empires dead and gone, kings and rulers standing solitary and apart, splendid triumphs that have no living consequence, systems of thought that are merely curiosities, periods of society, in this country or in that, which are historic and nothing more. But the living past, monumental as it looks, works, and is fruitful still. The spirit which has moulded its form and lineaments is a spirit which cannot die. The only truly living history is that which is the history of the counsel and the thought of God. Men of Christ, their words and the deeds, share the immortality of their Master. It is a law that Almighty God's past—that is, the lives and deeds of His servants—is not merely an example, or a lesson, but a power which He uses, as He used His own human Nature in the Incarnation, for the saving and the perfecting of the world. Such is the great truth developed in lyric parallelisms in the opening verses of the forty-fourth chapter of Ecclesiasticus. The saints of Israel's early times were men whose "godly deeds have not failed," "good things continue with their seed"; "their children for their sakes remain for ever"; "their bodies are buried in peace, and their name liveth unto generation and generation."

It will be seen, by many, perhaps, for the first time, in the Introduction of F. Knox, what a true race of Christian heroes we possess in the men who first founded the English Colleges of Douai and Rome, and who, during the first twenty years of their existence, formed their spirits within their walls and went out from them to preach Christ and to shed their blood. In the pages of the "Missionary Priests," a work which in English homes and seminaries has always held in love and esteem a rank little inferior to that other work of a seminary priest, Alban Butler's "Lives of the Saints," we have come to know their learning and their constancy, their spirit of prayer, their courage, and their truly spiritual deaths. But it was hardly known what sort of a mother was the Alma Mater which sent them forth. To the reader of Bishop Challoner, Douai College is but a name; it is a place where men came from, and where the manuscripts which describe their life and death were reverently kept. But the "Catalogues" and the "Diaries" have an air about them of remoteness and dimness equal to that of the "book of the days" or "the wars" of the Kings of Judah, and the name of Douai is as empty and ineffectual as Ur of the Chaldees, of which all that is known is that Abraham lived

there and went forth from it. Thanks to F. Knox, we have now a living picture of the spirit and life of Douai College in its very first beginnings.

When William Allen, a native of Lancashire, who had been a fellow of Oriel and Principal of S. Mary Hall, Oxford, first formed the idea of founding a College for the English exiles in the Low Countries, it is not clear that he had any intention to form a great missionary seminary. Yet he was a born missionary and controversialist. In a letter of his own, preserved in the English College at Rome, and here for the first time printed, we have an account of his labours and success in England during the first years of Elizabeth's reign, when it seemed still possible that the tide of evil might be stemmed by efforts within the country itself. He tells us, in terms which are probably literally correct, but which certainly have an external resemblance to those of self-praise, that a wonderful revival of fervour took place through the conversations which he held whilst staying at the houses of many of the gentry and nobility in England. He "demonstrated by irrefragable notes and tokens" the authority of the Church and the Apostolic See, and "proved by popular but invincible arguments" that the truth was to be found nowhere else save with the Catholics. Hence it was brought about in a very short time that "a vast number of our countrymen" not only came to hold right views about religion, but abstained altogether from the communion, churches, sermons, books, and all spiritual communication with heretics. He preached the strict duty of holding aloof from heresy, even in outward signs; and such was the success of this holy severity, that there were now more confessors and genuine Catholics than "with all our indulgence and connivance" there had been concealed Christians. But his success had the effect of making the country dangerous to him. He removed from Lancashire to the neighbourhood of Oxford, thence in a short time to Norfolk, and finally to the Low Countries. It was about three years later that he formed the project, in conjunction with his great friend, Dr. Vendeville, a professor in Douai University, afterwards Bishop of Tournai, of founding a home for the English exiles. We give, in his own words, penned about ten years after the foundation of his College, the motives and expectations with which it was undertaken.

"The way," he writes, "in which our association was originally formed at Douay, in 1568, and our design and intention in the matter, no one knows better than yourself. It was you who well nigh presided over the whole undertaking, and procured for it the first means of support, when as yet our countrymen had contributed but little, not conceiving that so insignificant

a college would be of much avail for the conversion of a kingdom. And, to confess the truth, however far your foresight may have reached (for perhaps, with regard to its fruit, end, and object, your thoughts may have taken a wider range than those of many others who approved the work and aided it; and certainly God's decree and disposition respecting the whole matter was somewhat different from what we thought) our first purpose was to establish a college in which our countrymen who were scattered abroad in different places might live and study together more profitably than apart. Our next intention was to secure for the college an unbroken and enduring existence by means of a constant succession of students coming and leaving; for we feared that, if the schism should last much longer, owing to the death of the few who at its beginning had been cast out of the English universities for the faith, no seed would be left hereafter for the restoration of religion, and that heresy would thus obtain a perpetual and peaceful possession of the realm, there being no one to make reclamation, even though an opportunity should offer at the death of the Queen or otherwise. For we thought it would be an excellent thing to have men of learning always ready outside the realm to restore religion when the proper moment should arrive, although it seemed hopeless to attempt anything while the heretics were masters there. Moreover, we conceived that it would be to God's glory, and our duty as Christians and citizens, to snatch from the jaws of death as many souls of our countrymen as in a very few years might be educated in this society of ours. And, certainly, if nothing else had been effected, our labours and the contributions of others would not have been useless in the Lord, since from that time till now more than five hundred persons have been at different times instructed in religious knowledge in this college, and God only knows how many more there will be in the future."—(Hist., *Introd.* xxvi.)

We have here the avowal of three motives—first, to provide the English exiles with an academic home; secondly, to furnish a succession of learned men capable of filling the places of those who had been trained in the English universities, and so prepared to re-establish Catholicism in Europe, whenever a favourable chance might offer; and thirdly, to offer an opportunity of Catholic education to those who could not hope for it in their own country.

The University of Douai had been established only eight years. The very first college that was founded under its protection was the English college. It was a bold venture, and one which none but a man of Allen's determination could have hoped to carry through. The little society lived in a hired house, and they depended upon alms. Allen relates how they were indebted to the benefactions of "certain abbots" (the abbots of Anchin, S. Vaast, and Marchiennes), and of one or two others. It may be noticed that each of these abbots, or their successors, founded colleges themselves afterwards, the

abbot of S. Vaast, of Arras, establishing the Anglo-Benedictine house of S. Gregory the Great. Allen's college grew and increased amid poverty and straitened circumstances of every kind. Let us hear, from himself, what kind of work it did during the first ten years of its existence :—

"Seeing therefore," he writes, "how much hope there was through Christ of gaining fruit in our island, and that so great a door was open for winning souls, we began more diligently to animate our people to the work, to procure alms from our country, to summon the choicest wits from the universities (though many of all ranks were flocking to us of their own accord), and to instruct the comers more carefully in every part of the Christian religion, but especially in controversies. Moreover, we admitted into the number of those who were maintained at the common charges of the seminary all who were students of theology or on the point of becoming such, and whom Christ had touched with the thought of taking holy orders. The rest who came, gentlemen's sons, who were studying humanities, philosophy or jurisprudence, and who, either of their own accord or through the exhortations of Catholic relations and friends, had been moved by the fame of the seminary to seek here a Catholic education, were kept by us in the college for a time, but at their own, not the common charge, until, according to their age and condition, they had been duly catechized and reconciled to the Church by penance for their previous life and schism. There came at the same time not a few who were simply heretics, and even heretical ministers and preachers, all of whom being moved to penance through our instructions and conversation were not only sincerely reconciled to the Church, but after a year or two spent under the college discipline desired to become priests, and when they had obtained their wish zealously devoted themselves to the English harvest, one of them ending his life with a glorious martyrdom, and the others still labouring there with great fruit. Besides these, all who came to Douay on business with the English students (and many came for many reasons ; and travellers too on their road to France, Italy, or Brabant, often turned aside to see their friends or the seminary, about which there was already much talk), all these men, who were for the most part devoid of all religion, or at least schismatics, were pressed to remain a few days with us ; and many consented to do so. And if they were poor, we caused them to be kept at the college expense for thirty days, until they knew the chief heads of the Catholic religion, had learned to confess their sins properly, and were reconciled to God. Thus we acted towards many persons with great fruit ; and they returning home glorified God for the things which they had seen, and persuaded many others to leave all and come to us at Douay, or at least to come once to hear and see us, as some heretics had done. We also wrote sometimes to the more learned heretics, whom a faulty education had misled, praying them to make one trial of our mode of life and teaching, and promising them, so long as they remained with us, such courteous entertainment as befitted their dignity. We likewise invited from England some of the

elder priests who had been ordained many years before, and were labouring in the Lord's vineyard, but were insufficiently instructed for the necessities of the present time in all the duties of religion and the Church's censures. This we did that they might receive, while with us, an ecclesiastical training and a somewhat more appropriate instruction, and then return to the holy work on which they were engaged."—(Hist. Introd. xxxiv., xxxv.)

The first thing that strikes the reader in this stirring programme is a certain courageous vastness of conception, as of one who looked upon the reconversion of England as an event sure to happen, and soon. There are men who live more serene lives the more they contend, and Allen was one of these. Who but he would have dared to invite to a hired house at Douai, and to a board that was bare enough and yet was spread by means of alms, "the choicest wits from the universities," "gentlemen's sons," "heretical ministers and preachers," "all who came to Douai on business with the English students," "travellers, for the most part devoid of all religion," "the more learned heretics," and "the ancient priests" who were not abreast of the times in the matter of controversial armament and preparation! From a most interesting letter of Dr. Gregory Martin, Dec. 20, 1875, written to F. Campion, we obtain a curious and charming view of the very interior of the college, before it had been in existence seven years. It must be premised that, in the spring of the same year, Pope Gregory XIII. had made the seminary practically independent by promising a monthly pension of 100 gold crowns. "Now it is really a college!" exclaims Dr. Gregory Martin, whose ornate Latin, carefully elaborated for the perusal of one who wrote Latin plays with all the idiom and much more than the poetry of Seneca, we venture to translate :*—

Now it is really a College! The mere report of such munificence is bringing over from England swarms of students—they do not come, they fly—and not students only, but theologians and candidates for the priesthood. When I was there a short time ago I witnessed a most pleasing sight. In that refectory where in our times some six of us used to sit, at a single table, I saw nearly sixty men and youths of the greatest promise seated at three tables, taking so pleasantly a little broth, thickened with only the commonest vegetables, that you would have sworn they were eating stewed raisins and prunes, English delicacies. Meanwhile the reader recites in a loud voice from a pulpit that portion of the Old Testament which comes in its order in the Roman Breviary, adding the parts omitted, so that the whole Bible is easily gone through in one year. Twice a day, at the end of each meal, they still have the usual explanation of a chapter; only it is done

* Using freely, however, F. Knox's admirable translation.

more perfectly than formerly, not merely on account of the pains which Richard Bristow takes, and his knowledge, which was always very great, but also because of the increased authority and maturity which is implied in the degree of doctor in divinity lately conferred on him. But there is one admirable novelty. Every Saturday and vigil of a saint's day, at one o'clock, a sermon, or rather exhortation, is delivered in the refectory, to which all our country-people come from their lodgings in the town; and among them Bristow's mother and sister, with her husband and brother . . . Allen, Stapleton, and Bristow take the lead in this function; then come the bachelors, then the others, but I believe only those who are priests, of whom, however, as their number increases every day, many are sent forth. But whither? you ask. Seek not to know. They are sent forth, O Campion, sent forth at the third hour, at the sixth, the ninth, the tenth, the eleventh hour; they plant, they water, they sow, they reap, and it is God Who giveth the increase; Whose fatherly kindness towards this His little flock I cannot express in words, but only marvel at, and cry out, The mercies of the Lord will I sing for ever! (Appendix, pp. 310, 11).

We learn, from Allen's own letters, that, some ten years after the foundation of the college, there were within its doors generally not less than one hundred students, of whom about one quarter were priests, and the rest candidates for holy orders. In ordinary years about twenty were advanced to the priesthood, and as many were sent into England. During the first ten years between a hundred and a hundred and sixty priests had been sent out to England. Hard and serious study went on during the precious years which could be afforded for preparation. The intellectual training all converged on controversy. The students were taught to be familiar with the text of Holy Scripture, and to have at their fingers'-ends all those passages which are used by Catholics in support of their faith or misused by heretics in opposition to the Church. All the controversial passages in the Bible were carefully copied out by the students, treated in lectures by the professors, disputed about in free discussion, and woven into continuous polemical discourses.* They were carefully taught to quote the Holy Scripture in *English*. The heretics "plumed themselves exceedingly" on their greater power and grace in the use of the vulgar tongue. The "more learned Catholics" could quote in Latin, but when obliged, on the spur of the moment, to translate some passage into English, they often did it "inaccurately and with unpleasant hesitation." (Here Allen utters a fervent prayer for a Catholic translation of the Bible, and promises

* All these particulars are condensed from the long letter of Allen, quoted in the Hist. Introd., pp. xxxviii. sqq.

to undertake it if the Pope allows it. It is well known how this promise was carried out.) In controversial divinity, strictly so called, authors were rare in those days. Robert Bellarmine had only just begun to teach in Rome. The text-book at Douai and Rheims was Thomas Waldensis, whose meagre refutation of Wickliffe was all the formal teaching they could find to prepare themselves to contend with men like Jewel and Peter Martyr. But the truth is the Douai and Louvain students were often masters themselves. Many of them were university men of the highest standing, and at Douai, Louvain, and Rheims they were in constant contact with a system of theological teaching which was exactly fitted to produce first-rate polemics. It is only necessary to mention the names of Harding, Stapleton, Bridgewater, Gregory Martin, Parsons, Campion, and of Allen himself, to prove, not only that the men of the time could deal with controversial questions, but that there was no name on the other side likely to give them much trouble. The want of a formal text-book was, therefore, of less consequence when men lived in the very heart and centre of the best controversial training of the day. But what assistance books could give was eagerly sought for. Thus Venerable Bede's history was read for the purpose of being able to show how the Catholic religion was the old religion. "This is a very telling argument with the more sober sort," says Allen. The polemical works of S. Augustine were carefully studied, for the purpose of obtaining acuteness in discussion, knowledge of the heretical temper of mind, and skilfulness in dealing with heretics. Many treatises of S. Cyprian, of S. Jerome, and of Vincent of Lerins, were also read and explained. And a considerable feature in the polemical training of the Douai men was the pains taken to inspire them with "a lively and just indignation" against the heretics. Allen calls this their "first and foremost study." He and his assistants thought that the future missionaries ought to be made to "detest" the men who were bringing such wrong to English hearts and homes. They would point out the majesty and beauty of the Catholic Church, her ceremonies, and her public worship; the dignity of the holy Mass; the devotion and diligence of the people in coming to church, to Mass, and to sermons, as it could all be witnessed under their very eyes in the Catholic countries of their exile; and then they would present to them the mournful contrast at home—the utter desolation of holy things; England, once so religious, now stripped of all religion, a land once so holy, now a prey to impiety; their friends and kin, their dear ones, and countless souls besides, perishing in schism and godlessness; every gaol and

dungeon filled to overflowing with Christ's priests and servants, nay, with their own parents and kinsfolk. No pains were spared to set before their minds what these heretics were. By frequent familiar conversations they made the students thoroughly acquainted with the chief impieties, blasphemies, absurdity, cheats, and trickeries of the English heretics, as well as with their ridiculous writings, sayings, and doings. The result was, in Allen's words, that they not only "hold the heretics in perfect detestation" ("a zealous and just indignation, as far as God permits"), but they also "marvel and feel sorrow of heart that there should be any found so wicked, simple, and reckless of their salvation as to believe such teachers, or so cowardly and worldly-minded as to go along with such abandoned men in their schism or sect, instead of openly avowing to their face the faith of the Catholic Church and their own." Among the authors mentioned as forming part of their more general studies is S. Thomas of Aquin, on whose "Summa" there were two lectures a week. Their text-book in moral theology was the "Enchiridion" of Navarrus. They were taught Greek and Hebrew, so as to understand the Scriptures in the original, and so save themselves from being entangled in the sophisms which heretics extract from the properties and meanings of words. As practical missionaries, they were given the Catechism of Blessed Peter Canisius—the famous manual of the Jesuit Van Hond, which turned the tide of the reformation in Germany—and they were taught how to teach the saying of the Rosary; for Allen and Bristow and the other founders of Douai knew well that the Catechism and the Rosary are as necessary in order to convert a people as the accurate discussion of the Bible. The students were brought up thoroughly sound and Roman in their doctrinal views. They were taught to understand the "marvellous" power and authority of the Sovereign Pontiff; "for it is the exceeding neglect and contempt with which this was treated by pastors and people alike that God has punished with the present miserable desolation." They all heard Mass together every morning at five o'clock, after having first said the Litanies for the Church and the conversion of our country. Every Sunday and on the greater feasts they confessed and communicated, and almost all of them said the canonical hours every day. The priests celebrated daily. On the feasts of S. Gregory, S. Augustin, Apostle of the English, and S. Thomas of Canterbury, they all met together for High Mass, at which the laity communicated, and prayed for Pope Gregory XIII. (their "founder," as they called him), for the conversion of England, the peace of the whole Church, and of the place where, by

God's providence, they lived in exile. They fasted twice a week for the same intention; and their prayers never ceased for their suffering brethren in England, who were in bondage or affliction for religion's sake. Allen presided over everything, and with wonderful dignity, constancy, and authority governed the whole college, nay, we are assured by a contemporary, "through the college almost all the Catholics of the nation," and by his firm and prudent rule kept them all to the fulfilment of their duties in the greatest charity, peace, and concord.

We see here the secret of the life and death of Maine and Cadwallador, Paine and Crow, Nicols and Yaxley. To them the English mission was the field of glory, to be won by labour or to be fertilized with blood. While they prayed and handled their Bibles at Douai and Rheims, they longed to be in the midst of the work of the Lord. They knew the risks, not of death merely, but of prisons worse than death, of judicial torture, and of want and starvation. But they could not be kept back. When the news of the Act of 1581 arrived at the College, some superiors thought it was hardly prudent to send out more men to England. But the students took the matter into their own hands. They would not be denied; it was for such times and such chances that they were there preparing; and nineteen of them took orders the following week. They seemed, as an eye-witness wrote in 1583, like men striving with all their might to put out a fire; they could not be kept back from England. And to England they went. Saying a brief goodbye to the sympathizing hearts with whom they lived, prayed, and studied, they passed away to Paris, probably first, and thence to some sea-port, Dunkirk, Havre, Dieppe, or Dover, where they found the means to sail to England in a trading-ship. Landed on a London quay, they stood friendless, unknown, and probably without money, on the soil of the country they had left in earlier youth, and which they loved so well. There was no one to welcome them; if a friendly hand pressed theirs in the crowd it was to enjoin secrecy and to lead them away by remote and unfrequented paths to a poor lodging. There was danger in their very presence. The character of their priesthood was deadly treason; the breviary or the rosary, the Agnus Dei, the printed papers, the letters of introduction they bore upon them, any single one of these would hang them; their look betrayed them, and the very shoes on their feet, recognized as of foreign make, were enough for the eyes of the ferrets who were on their track. In London they lived in poverty, in hunger, in cheerlessness; yet they laboured with fruit. Venturing out into the crowded streets, they mingled, disguised, with the lawyers, the shopkeepers, the labourers, the poor;

and they did what priests know how to do, they instructed, they confessed, they bore the Lord's Body from the attic where they had said their mass, they anointed the dying and blessed his last sigh. In some rich man's house they spoke sternly or sweetly to men with great English names who had bowed to idols and forgotten their God. They went far into the country in every kind of dress and character. They lay hidden in great country-houses. They wandered over Yorkshire moors, from village to village in the pleasant shires of middle England, from cottage to cottage in the hills of Wales. At last they were seized by the brute force which held the country in its chains. Then came the noisome gaol, the rack, the scaffold, and the quartering-block. It was all as they had thought it would be. They had seen it at Douai, not in their dreams, but when they lifted their eyes from the black-letter casuist, or the ancient "Bede," or the cramped dictate, and mused with an uplifting of the heart upon the future. They knew, as we know, that the country of their love must be won back to God some day. The further the day is off, the brighter will it be when it comes. Their deeds live; their lives will never die. Their records are our mirror. True and fruitful apostleship means prayer, frugality, simplicity, and labour. The priest and the laity who are still to carry on England's conversion must understand the beginnings of Douai. Understand them indeed they do; for their living tradition has been handed down. But any additional help to make them thoroughly our own is welcome.

ART. VII.—ARCHBISHOP TRENCH ON MEDIEVAL CHURCH HISTORY.

Lectures on Medieval Church History: being the substance of Lectures delivered at Queen's College, London. By RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin; Chancellor of the Order of St. Patrick. London: Macmillan.

THIRTY-SEVEN years ago, F. Newman, then still an Anglican clergyman, pointed it out as a grave danger of the day "lest, from total ignorance of history, we should be obliged to determine every action and every principle by the only test which will practically be left us—the test of visible expediency."* His words had particular reference to the history

* J. H. Newman's "Essays, Critical and Historical," vol. ii. p. 253.

of Christendom, and occur in the introductory portion of his article upon a book which he rightly judged to be a meritorious contribution towards the remedy of the evil complained of,—the late Mr. Bowden's "Life and Pontificate of S. Gregory VII." The reception that learned, candid, and well-arranged work met with was not encouraging. Certainly it was not fortunate in the time of its publication. The Tractarian movement was then culminating, and the minds of those among whom Mr. Bowden might have expected to find his most appreciative readers were engrossed by present, all-absorbing perplexities, doubts, conflicts, and duties, fatal to the tranquillity necessary for the fruitful study of the past. Again, the point of view from which Mr. Bowden wrote, in all candour and sincerity, as is manifest from every line of his book, was not quite satisfactory. Sympathy with the spirit of St. Gregory VII. was hardly compatible with loyalty to a communion which is the very embodiment of the principle he lived and died to combat, and which, in one of its authoritative* documents, by a grim pun, styles him "the Brand of Hell." And Mr. Bowden belonged to a school which really strove hard to be loyal to the Anglican Establishment, to reverence its words, to catch its tone, to honour and obey its Bishops, to see in it a living body with a divine right to teach, and a power of determining truth. That school received a fatal blow by the breaking up of the Tractarian party, and may now be said to be extinct, for Dr. Pusey and its few other living adherents have drifted very far from its position. In the author of the "Christian Year" its last considerable representative passed away.

Much has been done since Mr. Bowden's book was published for the promotion of the study of modern history in this country, and particularly of those centuries of modern history to which he was especially drawn. But it has been done from a point of view very different from his. Messrs. Freeman, Bryce, and Stubbs, to mention the three most considerable names of living writers among us on the Middle Ages, belong to quite another school of thought. Although not without ecclesiastical sympathies and antipathies—the antipathies, it must be owned, are more strongly marked than the sympathies, at all events in the case of Mr. Freeman—their bias is essentially secular. That, perhaps, is the best way of marking the fundamental difference between them and the writers who dealt with historical subjects under the essentially religious influence of the Tractarian movement. And here we must guard ourselves against misconstruction. We do not mean to hint a doubt that these highly-gifted and accomplished scholars remain, as

* "The Book of Homilies."

the "Bidding of Prayer" still in use at the English Universities expresses it, "in sincere and conscientious communion with the Established Church." Why should they not, when the Established Church, carrying the principle of religious individualism farther than any other religious body, practically allows every man to fix for himself his terms of communion—to say what he thinks, and to think what he pleases? But the Established Church can hardly be to them as it was to the school of Mr. Keble, the mother upon whose "kind, upholding arm" they lean; nor, we feel convinced, does it occur to them to see in an Anglican prelate, however exemplary, "an apostle true, a crowned and robed seer." Not to them; probably not to any one now. The day for such illusions must be gone for ever.

In the book, of which we are about to give some account, we have the latest contribution of Anglican scholarship to the better understanding of the Middle Ages. It is a book which is noticeable, both on that account and on several others. Then it is interesting as evidencing the increasing popularity of a study, which the Catholic Church has ever fostered, and which her foes—among whom, alas! must be reckoned, according to the Evangelical word, some of her own house, the less wise and courageous of her children—have dreaded and discouraged. Again, it has an intrinsic worth of its own, not indeed, as presenting anything very new to the advanced student, but as an introduction, in many respects excellent, to a great field of learning, and full of instruction in its very errors and defects. And once more, it is of importance, because of the high claims upon our respect of the very accomplished and deeply religious mind from which it proceeds. In Archbishop Trench the old academical traditions of the days when Commissioners and University Reform Acts were not, are united with exceptionally wide modern culture. Equally at home in the ancient classical writers, and in the masterpieces of German, Spanish, Italian and English literature, profoundly read in more than one of the greatest of the Fathers, and with no contemptible acquaintance with the treasures of philosophy and poetry left us by the Middle Ages, possessing a very considerable poetic faculty and a mastery of clear stately and vigorous prose, Dr. Trench is, perhaps, the most illustrious living ornament of the Anglican Communion. More than this. We must reckon him one of the chief and most successful labourers for the advancement among us of sound popular education. His little volume of "Lectures on the Study of Words," first published twenty-six years ago—a volume as modest and unpretentious as it is scholarly and able—has, perhaps, done more than anything else to revive and diffuse the philosophical culture of philology, and to

promote a sense of the responsibilities which attach to the great gift of articulate speech. We quite agree with him that for many a young man, "his first discovery that words are living powers, has been like the dropping of scales from his eyes, like the acquiring of another sense, or the introduction into a new world." And we are persuaded that he uses no exaggeration in saying that the subject of studies in language is "one to which it is beyond measure desirable that their attention, who are teaching, or shall have hereafter to teach, others, should be directed, so that they shall learn to regard language as one of the chiefest organs of their own education or of that of others."*

In the volume now before us, as in his other writings, Dr. Trench puts into practice the lesson he thus enforces, and certainly the precision and exactness which ordinarily mark his language, and the occasional pauses which he makes to define the meaning of some word which he has occasion to use or to evolve its full significance, are not the least of the merits of these lectures. They are twenty-nine in number, and were originally delivered, "a good many years ago and more times than one," to a class of girls at Queen's College, London. But they do not stand as they were originally composed. "Much has been re-written, something withdrawn, not a little added." "Little by little," he observes, as he was revising them for publication, he became conscious that his "present estimate of persons and things was not always what it once had been, that later books demanded to be read and later knowledge used; not to say that it was one thing to address a class of young ladies, who, however little one might know oneself upon a subject, were tolerably sure to know less; and another to be oneself open to the criticism of all comers."† And so the lectures assumed their present shape. The period with which they deal extends from the Pontificate of S. Gregory the Great, at which, though not without hesitation, Dr. Trench dates the beginning of the Medieval period, and ends with the eve of the Reformation. It must not be forgotten that the volume does not profess to be a history, but merely a set of discourses upon history. The author, therefore, very wisely subordinates the chronological order and the succession of events to the higher interest of his story. "I shall endeavour," he writes, in his Introductory Lecture, "so far as this may be, to have one central fact or idea in each of my lectures, to group my materials round this, recapitulating what may be behind, anticipating what lies before, refusing altogether, so often as a higher interest seems

* Trench "On the Study of Words," Pref.

† Pref., vi.

to demand this, to play the part of annalist or centuriator, and seeking to marshal my materials, according to quite other laws than those of time. Of course, as events happen in time, and as the time when they happen often gives them their chief significance, time cannot be altogether ignored. I shall not, however, care to string the events which I care to record on the thread which it offers, but shall often prefer to arrange them and combine them, according to inner affinities of their own." (p. 6).

This is the task to which Dr. Trench sets himself. Let us quote from his pages a few specimens of the way in which he has achieved it. Passing by the second lecture, called the "Middle Ages Beginning" (we shall have occasion to revert to a portion of it hereafter) and the two immediately following it, on the "Conversion of England" and "Islam" respectively, we come to Lecture V.,—the "Conversion of Germany," where we have a very good example of Archbishop Trench's method. The figure around which he groups his facts and observations is of course that of S. Boniface. After describing in a few pages of very clear and interesting narrative the condition of Germany before the advent of its Apostle, and paying a just tribute to the labours of the earlier missionaries, he continues:—

Yet for all this, and recognizing that in a certain measure Boniface entered on the labours of others, we need have no scruple in admitting the title of Apostle of Germany, which has been often claimed for him. Winfrid, or Boniface—whether Pope Gregory II. gave him this second name, or how he got it, is not clear—was born near Kirton, in Devonshire, about 680. Fair prospects could not detain him at home, with so glorious an enterprise as the winning of Germany to Christ beckoning him to take his share in it. Some distinguishing features of his work are worth your attention. Thus, all efforts for the conversion of Germany which preceded his had been more or less unconnected and desultory. With him the organization of the enterprise, as a whole, began; laying, as he did, first foundations where it needed to lay them; building on the foundations which others had already laid, where such existed; strengthening what was weak and tottering; supplying things which were lacking; reviving things which were ready to die; recalling to Christian order and discipline populations which had relapsed into heathen practices; bringing the clergy together in synods, which were hitherto unknown, or which, having once been used, had fallen into desuetude and neglect; everywhere working upon a plan (p. 64).

Dr. Trench then goes on to point out how the early missionaries, not content merely to conquer territories for Christ, were careful to secure their conquests by impressing an abiding character upon their work: how, not relying for this upon any vague sentiment which their preaching had aroused, they were

diligent, by the aid of the churches, schools, and monasteries, which they founded, to hold with a strong and permanent grasp all that which they had made their own.

Among many eminent for this (he observes) Boniface stands out pre-eminent. What an unerring eye was his for the discerning of the fittest spot for a monastery, with its cloistral school attached—Fulda, so long the centre of the theological culture of Germany, and notably his choice, is a signal witness to this—or for the dividing out of some land newly gained to the faith of Christ, into dioceses, and selecting the spot where the Bishop's see should be planted. And what he saw as best, he was able as Apostolic Legate to carry out. Changed and modified as the ecclesiastical divisions of Germany have subsequently been, there is much in them which still attests his practical wisdom, his far-seeing outlook into the future. The Church has had few with a talent of organization such as his ; fewer still who have had the opportunity of exercising this talent on so vast a scale (p. 65).

This is his account of the Saint's death :—

And a noble life had a not less noble close. Archbishop of Mentz—he would himself have preferred Cologne as the Metropolitan See of Germany—he might have claimed a peaceful close for so stormy and laborious a life. But no ; he cannot forget how, in his onward, victorious march, he had left behind him one fortress of heathendom untaken. His heart yearns after the Frisians, whom in the early days of his mission he had sought to bring to the faith, but in vain. He lays down his dignities, is the simple missionary once more, revisits with a small band of fellow-workers the scene of his baffled labours in other days. Many are now converted, while others are only the more embittered hereby, and at the hand of these he receives the martyr's crown (p. 67).

Some of our readers may be aware that certain among the more advanced German rationalists have of late laboured to quench the halo which for more than a thousand years has encircled the brows of the Apostle of Teutonic Christianity. On this subject Archbishop Trench writes as follows :—

Until within the last few years, there was in the land which owed to Boniface so large a debt, a very hearty and unquestioning recognition of his work, and this on the part of Roman Catholic and Protestant writers alike. With some among the latter, all this is now changed. Attacks of an inconceivable bitterness upon him and upon the whole character of his missionary labour follow fast one on another. Not the conversion of the heathen—for about that, they say, he concerned himself very little—but the overthrow of the Cuddee or Altic Churches in Germany, guilty of the unpardonable sin of declining to acknowledge the supremacy of Rome, was the life-task which he set before himself, and which he accomplished with only too fatal a success. Shameful intrigues at the court of Charles Martel and his sons, which should help forward this object are laid to his charge, and this without a tittle of historic evidence to sustain the accusation, as the accusers themselves

are compelled to own. Even his martyrdom is denied. The authors of his death, we are now told, were a wild robber horde; and Boniface only got what he merited, seeing that, if he had not neglected his proper duties, as a missionary Bishop, to curry favour at courts, these would in all likelihood have been converted, have become good members of society, and so have done him no wrong. Surely it must be in other interests than those of historic truth that all this is so persistently and passionately urged (p. 68).

From the conversion of Germany, Archbishop Trench passes in his next lecture to the Holy Roman Empire. Here we have a masterly and, upon the whole, a fair picture of the illustrious Frankish monarch whose real greatness is not less, although less romantic, than that with which the legends of the Middle Ages invested him. Dr. Trench is particularly happy in his remarks upon the view, so often put forward, that Charlemagne's work died with him, that all he really effected was to scatter for a moment the darkness, which upon his death closed in again and swallowed up all. He observes—

There is only partial truth in this statement. The cloister schools which he had founded lived through the tenth century, generally acknowledged as of the Dark Ages, the darkest of all. In these schools were cherished, and from these proceeded, those new activities of the human mind which were to issue in the scholastic philosophy, the University of Paris being in direct lineal descent from the Palatine school at Aachen, of which Alcuin was the founder. And if the reign of Charles does stand out as an isle of light with a night of darkness encompassing it on every side, so far from diminishing, this rather enhances the importance and significance of that brief season of refreshing, that breathing time thus obtained for arts and sciences, which might else have perished, unable to live at all through the dreary centuries which were before them (p. 83).

Passing over much in this lecture which might well tempt one to linger, and over the two on "the Iconoclasts," and Monasticism which immediately succeed it, and with which we are less in sympathy, we come to Lecture IX., which is devoted chiefly to a sketch of the life and work of S. Gregory VII. It is a difficult subject for a Protestant prelate to handle, yet it must be confessed that Dr. Trench writes with very considerable fairness, and with a profound admiration for the heroic Pontiff whose testimony of himself, that he had "loved justice and hated iniquity," is now, after the lapse of so many centuries, admitted as true by those who are the furthest removed from his faith and principles. Here is Dr. Trench's account—and it is a very good example of his power of graphic summary—of the contest between this Pope and the Emperor Henry IV. :—

Little by little the relations between the two became more and more strained; the Pope complaining of the king that he nominated bishops hostile

to the Roman See, that he retained among his confidential advisers excommunicated persons, that his rule was an intolerable tyranny, and his own life a shameful outrage on all decency; and in the end citing him to make answer for himself in person to these charges. We have a glimpse here of the wonderful reversal which two or three centuries had brought about in the relations of Pope and Emperor, that such a citation should have been possible. Henry understands what it means; that the Pope is claiming the right to depose him; that in all likelihood he will exercise this right. He snatches at whatever weapons of defence are at hand. Hastily calling together a Diet, he hurls countercharges against the Pope, sorcerer, simonist, fautor of heretics—this, no doubt, with reference to Berenger—with whatever other accusations a blind rage can suggest, and will prevent his own deposition by a declaration of the Pope's. And now the Church's thunders do not sleep. Henry is pronounced under ban; to have forfeited his kingdom. This ban of the Church had not yet lost its terrors. Henry's adherents fall from him. He himself, as "a man forbid," loses heart and courage, makes abject submission (the well-known scene at Canossa); but, once restored to the Church's communion, repents his repentance, takes up arms again, and displaying energy and conduct for which none had given him credit, wins back the larger part of Germany by arms. An anti-Cæsar, raised up by Gregory—such in these ages are almost as plentiful as anti-popes—perishes in battle; Henry carries the war over the Alps, and, various causes helping, compels the Pope to abandon Rome, and to seek the protection of the Normans. Norman adventurers, as I shall have occasion again to observe, had recently founded a kingdom in South Italy, which on this occasion and on others proved an opportune refuge to Popes in the days of their adversity. Here, at Salerno, Hildebrand dies (1085) in exile and defeat; to all appearance the vanquished champion of a lost cause; but indeed, as the issue proves, not the conquered, but the conqueror in that mighty duel which was now fairly begun—that tragedy in several acts, played now on Italian, now on German soil, and now on both, whereof this was the opening act (p. 126).

The next lecture is on the Crusades, and is certainly one of the ablest in the volume. We do not know where to find in any language so good a popular account of these armed pilgrimages. As Dr. Trench remarks, the day is passed when such an ignoble verdict as that of Lord Chesterfield, that they were "the most immoral and wicked scheme that was ever contrived by knaves and executed by madmen and fools against humanity," is likely to be adopted by any writer of credit; but their real significance is still often missed by not unintelligent persons, who see in them only generous, but unfruitful manifestations of the spirit of chivalry. In the following passage a far truer and profounder view is set forth with a certain amount of stately eloquence:—

A mighty tempest of elevating, purifying emotions swept over Christendom. It is not easy for those who have never known, to understand what it must

be for an age receptive of noble impressions to have a purpose and aim set before it, which claim all its energies, meet all its peculiar conditions ; while, at the same time, lifting it above the commonplace and the mean, they are far loftier than any which men's minds have hitherto entertained. Such a purpose and aim were the Crusades, during well nigh two centuries, for Europe ; and the answer which Christian Europe made to the appeal is a signal testimony of the preparedness of the Middle Ages for noble thoughts and noble deeds (p. 135).

Of course there must be dark colours enough—they have been made sufficiently familiar to the world—in any true picture of the Crusades. But the regenerating influence which they actually exercised upon society most certainly has not been enough dwelt upon. It is well brought out in this lecture.

Not a few who before had been bitterest foes now embraced and were reconciled, and as brothers in arms set forward for Palestine together. Many who had hitherto been plunged the deepest in worldly lusts,—men violent, impure, profane, sacrilegious, with hands steeped in blood,—seemed suddenly to be awakened to a nobler life, to leave their former selves behind them, and setting forward to the earthly Jerusalem, to have become pilgrims also to the Heavenly, whose towers and pinnacles shone, as it were, through and behind those of the earthly city. This was eminently the case, S. Bernard tells us, with the Knights-Templars, a valiant order of soldier-monks, founded for the defence of the Holy Sepulchre ; and in the main recruited from men such as these ; so that, as Bernard, with perhaps a faint touch of irony observes, the world was not less benefited in losing than the Church in gaining them (p. 134).

And the more permanent results of the Crusades are thus touched upon :—

To them, to the high thoughts which they kindled in so many hearts, to the religious consecration which they gave to the bearing of arms, we are indebted for some of the fairest aspects of chivalry, as it lives on a potent and elevating tradition to the present day. Thus to them we owe the stately courtesies of gallant foes able to understand and to respect one another, with much else which has lifted up modern warfare into something better than a mere mutual butchery, even into a school of honour in which some of the gentlest and noblest of men have been trained. The "Happy Warrior" of Wordsworth could never have been written, for such an ideal of the soldier could never have been conceived, except for them. What Europe gained by them we may best measure by considering what it evidently lost by their ceasing. It is not too much to say that with their ceasing the whole physiognomy of the middle ages changed ; their romantic, poetic, ideal aspect in the main disappeared. To a thirteenth century, with all which it had of grandeur and beauty, a fourteenth with its meanness and poverty succeeded (p. 144).

We should observe in passing that, while fully agreeing with Archbishop Trench as to the ever-increasing decline in the tone of medieval society which is traceable from the beginning of the fourteenth century, we can by no means subscribe to the view that this decline is attributable to the cessation of the Crusades. Its cause must be sought far deeper: namely, in the decay of the dominant idea of the earlier, the true, middle ages—the idea of Christendom. The Crusades, in fact, came to an end because the spirit which had inspired them was losing its sway in the world. But this is too large a subject for more than these few words of bare reference here.

We have dwelt so long upon these first ten Lectures of Archbishop Trench's that we can only give one extract from the succeeding nineteen. It shall be from that on 'the Earlier Schoolmen, whose work is thus described:—

The arranging and marshalling in due order of the enormous amount of materials which the medieval Church had inherited or acquired, adjusting parts and proportions, bringing in the end complete "sums of theology" to pass,—this was neither all, nor nearly all, which these new champions of the faith took in hand as a task worthy of their best endeavours. This much patient industry could have accomplished; but their aims were higher and more ambitious. What the schoolmen set before themselves was nothing short of an attempt to justify to the reason that which had at first been received by faith. Observe, they did not say, "We will only believe that which we have first understood." Such shallow rationalism would at once have put them in contact with the Church and with Scripture. But what they did say was this: "The truths which we receive by faith can never be unreasonable. They may be, they often no doubt will be, beyond and above our reason; they can never *really* be contrary to it; and it cannot be displeasing to God, who has given us these reasoning faculties, that we reverently seek to understand not merely *what* He has done, for that is the object of faith, but *why* He has done it,—in the search of which last reason must serve as our guide.

This reconciliation of faith and reason by the giving of its due rights to each; this inauguration of supernatural rationalism in the Church, was certainly a glorious undertaking: I speak of it in its ideal perfection, and not as, in the carrying through, it was more or less marred by the fault of men. Such a reconciliation was not indeed then and by these for the first time attempted; for it has always been recognized as a principal office of theology. But the schoolmen set the obtaining of this object before them with a more perfect consciousness of what they were doing, and strove to carry it out through the whole region of Christian dogma more systematically, than any before them had done. Nor did these spiritual freemasons leave off until there had risen up under their hands structures as marvellous in an architectonic completeness of their own, as the magnificent domes and cathedrals which, at the selfsame time, were everywhere covering the face of Europe with novel forms of grace and beauty (p. 200).

So much must suffice by way of sample of the many excellences of these lectures. We now address ourselves to the less pleasing task of pointing out some of their blemishes and faults. And first, we must say that with all its breadth of knowledge and charm of style and religiousness of thought, the book leaves upon us a sense of deficiency and purposelessness. We remarked in this REVIEW a year ago, "To the Catholic, history, whether it records the triumphs of truth and justice, or their momentary defeat, whether it exhibits the especial witness from God in the world as faithfully fulfilling their divine mission, or as prostituting their powers and gifts to the vilest uses, is a sacred record of the dealings of the Most High with the human race."* It is this to the Catholic; it can hardly be this truly or fully to any one else. There is a remark of Dom Gueranger's, "the unbelievers of the day say they want proofs of the divine origin of the Catholic religion. What is history but a succession of proofs?"† It is true. But it is not a truth which all men can receive. For its reception a special preparation of mind is wanted. Nor is it enough that the mind be religiously disposed. Archbishop Trench's is certainly a religious mind, but he has not the key of the enigma; and hence he is vague, uncertain, and perplexed. The problems of history are insoluble to one who has not grasped in its fulness the idea of the Catholic Church. There is the "light propitious," which alone avails to direct the explorer on the great ocean of human existence. Archbishop Trench ventures upon an expedition into the tempest-tost centuries of the Middle Age blind to the only load-star which can guide him in that most dangerous sea,

Out of dark straits and many a grievous thing.

And so, driven by the wind, and tossed, the sport of conflicting currents and contrary winds, he moves

Round many a trembling mouth of doubtful gods
Risen out of sunless and sonorous gulfs,
Through waning water, and into shallow light.

We shall have occasion to revert briefly hereafter to this subject. We break off from it at present to say a few words of criticism upon two or three passages in these Lectures, which we have marked as especially calling for it.

And first we think we may fairly object to such a sentence as the following, which we find in Lectures XI. "The Pope, who at first had been content as Vicar of S. Peter, to be recognized

* DUBLIN REVIEW, vol. 28, p. 395.

† "Liturgical Year,"—Lent, p. 163. Eng. Tr.

as the foremost in rank and dignity among the Bishops of the Church, demanded now" (viz. temp. S. Gregory VII. or Innocent III., it is not quite clear which), "as Vicar of Christ, to be acknowledged in some sort as its only Bishop; making no scruple to name himself Universal Bishop, a title which Gregory the Great had repudiated as inconsistent with the rights of the other members of the Episcopate" (p. 157). Now, no doubt the several propositions here enunciated, when taken separately, are unimpeachable. "Vicar of S. Peter"* is a very ancient and venerable title of the Roman Pontiffs, met with in documents earlier than those in which the appellation "Vicar of Christ" occurs. The primitive Popes undoubtedly were recognized as "first in rank and dignity" in the Episcopate; it is true that Innocent III. made no scruple to name himself Universal Bishop; it is equally true that S. Gregory the Great had censured the assumption of the title by one member of the Episcopate as inconsistent with the rights of the others. All these propositions taken separately are true; but they are only half truths, and together they leave an impression on the mind of the ordinary reader which is not true. We do not think we err in saying that the notion which most persons would derive from this passage—we do not for one moment say that Archbishop Trench meant them to derive it—would be, that S. Gregory VII. or Innocent III. was the first Pope who assumed the titles of "Vicar of Christ" and "Universal Bishop," that very title of "Universal Bishop" having been rejected for himself by S. Gregory the Great. Now we are quite sure that Archbishop Trench would at once admit—it is simple matter of historical fact—that the title "Vicar of Christ" is found as early as the fifth century;† and that there is very strong authority as old for the designation of the Roman Pontiff as "Universal Bishop."‡ Nor can we think he would deny—what writers like Milman and Neander admit—that the view formerly taken by Protestant controversialists of the action of S. Gregory the Great, with regard to this latter designation, is untenable. On this subject F. Newman, in the new edition of his work on the "Prophetical Office of the Church," has

* Vicarius stands for the Greek *τοποτηρητής*, locum tenens (locum Petri tenens, the Pope is called even by S. Cyprian, Ep. 52, regens locum Petri, by Innocent I., &c.), and Vicarius is in general, qui gerit vices alterius. Thus it is synonymous with successor. (Hergenröther, "Catholic Church and Christian State," vol. i. p. 276, note, 7. Eng. Tr.)

† The Pope is styled "Vicarius Christi" as early as the fifth and sixth centuries. See Hergenröther's "Catholic Church and Christian State," vol. i. p. 276, note, 6. Eng. Tr.

‡ The Council of Chalcedon applied this term to the Pope (A.D. 452).

a note, so admirable as a full, candid, and dispassionate statement of this question, that we venture to reproduce it in its entirety. He writes:—

I used to consider the passages of St. Gregory here quoted* as forming one of the strongest arguments adducible against Papal Supremacy; but, on carefully considering his circumstances and his drift, I take the view of Neander and Milman, neither of whom discern in them that special polemical force which Anglicans assign to them in controversy. There are two patent and important facts which are preliminary conditions of a just appreciation of them.

1. The Fourth General Council, A.D. 452, called the Pope by the title, as Gregory himself observes, of Bishop of the Universal Church, as S. Cyril, at the Third, A.D. 431, had called him "Archbishop of the World," i.e. universal Archbishop.

2. St. Gregory himself went far towards exercising, in fact, such universal ecclesiastical jurisdiction over Christendom.

It follows that in the passages in question he objects, not to the thing, but, 1. to the name; and, 2. to John of Constantinople as claiming it. His own prerogatives were undoubted, and did not come into question. He himself

* They are the following:—*"Si ergo ille [Paulus] membra dominici corporis certis extra Christum quasi capitibus, et ipsis quidem Apostolis subijci partialiter evitavit, tu quid Christo, universalis scilicet ecclesie capiti, in extremi iudicii et dicturus examine qui cuncta ejus membra tibi met conaris universalis appellatione supponere? Quis, rogo, in hoc tam perverso vocabulo, nisi ille ad imitandum proponitur, qui, despectis angelorum legionibus secum socialiter constitutis, ad culmen conatus est singularitatis erumpere, ut et nulli subesse et solus omnibus præesse videretur? Qui etiam dixit, 'in cælum conscendam, super astra cœli,' &c. Quid enim fratres tui omnes universalis Ecclesie Episcopi, nisi astra cœli sunt?"* (Greg. Ep. v. 18). *"Triste tamen valde est ut patienter feratur, quatenus despectis omnibus, prædictus frater et coepiscopus meus solus conatur appellari episcopus. Sed in hac ejus superbia quid aliud nisi propinqua jam anti Christi esse tempora designatur? Quia illum videlicet imitatur, qui spretis in sociali gaudio angelorum legionibus, &c."* (ibid., 21). *"Per sanctum Chalcedonensem synodum pontifici sedis Apostolicæ, cui Deo disponente deservio, hoc universitatis nomen oblatum est. Sed nullus unquam decessorum meorum hoc tam profano vocabulo uti consensit, quia videlicet, si unus Patriarcha universalis dicitur, Patriarcharum nomen cæteris derogatur"* (ibid., 43). *"Si unus Episcopus vocatur universalis, universa Ecclesia corrumpitur, si unus universus cadit"* (vii. 27). *"Ego autem fidenter dico, quia quisquis si universalem sacerdotem vocat, vel vocari desiderat, in elatione sua Antichristum præcurrit quia superbiendo se cæteris præponit. . . quisquis iste est qui solus sacerdos appellari appetit, super reliquos sacerdotes se extollit."* "What makes these passages more forcible," F. Newman remarks, "is that Gregory altogether recognized the application of the texts above quoted (in Matt. xvi., &c.) to the Bishop of Rome. Vid. Ep. v. 20, 'Cunctis enim Evangelium scientibus liquet quod voce Domenica sancto et omnium Apostolorum Petro principi Apostolo, totius Ecclesie cura commissa est, . . . et tamen universalis Apostolus non vocatur,' and he admitted that the title Universal had been applied to the Roman Patriarch at Chalcedon, yet he does not treat its use as resting on an Apostolical tradition."

was far more than a patriarch ; but here was a Bishop exalting himself above his brother patriarchs, making himself sole Bishop in the Church, and using a title which even Gregory, who might have used it, thought unbecoming in one who was "*Servus servorum Dei*."

Milman writes thus : " He heard with astonishment and indignation that John, Patriarch of Constantinople, had publicly, openly assumed the title of Universal Bishop—a title which implied his absolute supremacy over the Christian world. . . . The pretensions of the successors of S. Peter were thus contemptuously set aside. . . . Is this a time, chosen by an arbitrary prelate to invade the undoubted rights of S. Peter by a haughty and pompous title ? . . . Let all Christian hearts reject the blasphemous name. It was once applied by the Council of Chalcedon, in honour of S. Peter, to the Bishop of Rome ; but the more humble Pontiffs of Rome would not assume a title injurious to the rest of the priesthood."

Neander : " Eulogius, Patriarch of Alexandria, had addressed Gregory as '*Papa universalis*'—a title which the great Bishops used to apply to each other ; but Gregory found it offensive. . . . On the same principle, he found fault with John of Constantinople when he assumed the title of Universal Bishop. . . . True, he was so blinded by his passionate zeal for what he supposed to be the injured honour of the Roman Church as to make an important matter of it." *

It seems to us that this argument ought to be conclusive. We submit to Dr. Trench that, unless he has a very strong answer to it—and we venture to think he cannot have—the passage upon which we are commenting should be much modified in the next edition of his Lectures. Nor let it be said that our criticism is out of place with regard to a volume of a popular rather than a scientific kind. The very fact that the book is addressed to readers the greater number of whom are quite unable to investigate for themselves the statements which it contains, and will receive them, more or less implicitly upon the ipse dixit of the author, appears to us to impose a special obligation to exactness and candour.

We press this point upon Archbishop Trench with the greater confidence because from an earlier Lecture—the second—it would seem that he, in fact, judges S. Gregory the Great to have held, as Pope, substantially the same position as S. Gregory VII. and Innocent III. subsequently held. " Whether for good or for evil," he writes, " Gregory the Great must be accepted as the founder of the Medieval Papacy" (p. 22). But here, again, we must pause. This sentence is undoubtedly true in itself ; that is, it is susceptible of a true interpretation. The Papacy did unquestionably receive a very considerable development under S. Gregory the Great, and began to assume that

* The "*Via Media*," by J. H. Newman, vol. i. p. 188.

external form in which it was to exist for so many centuries as the centre of the political order of Europe. But is this the meaning which the words "the true founder of the Medieval Papacy" are intended to convey? It would seem not from what follows. Archbishop Trench goes on to say, "It is the source of infinite confusion, and throws back the historic existence of the Papacy to a period at which, in its later developments, it did not exist at all, when we speak of a Pope before his time. None, of course, would deny that the Bishop of Rome bore that title before; but he only bore it as all other Bishops did. It was not until the beginning of the sixth century that the title began to be restricted to one Bishop of the West, this restriction being, no doubt, an indication that the difference between him and other Bishops was making itself so felt as to demand its expression in words" (*ibid.*). Here are propositions, vaguely stated, which, as they stand, are, to say the least, very misleading. It certainly would be the source of infinite confusion if the later developments of the Papacy were attributed to its earlier period. But it would be the source of far greater confusion if it were supposed that S. Gregory the Great was the first Roman Pontiff who was Pope in the sense which the word ordinarily bears—that it was only in his time that the difference between the successor of S. Peter and the other members of the Episcopate was clearly felt, expressed, and acted on throughout the Christian world. Such, however, seems to be the view indicated by this passage, without so much as the slightest hint that it is even impugnable. And yet the fact is patent, that the evidence existing on behalf of the Papal Supremacy during the centuries of the Christian era prior to S. Gregory the Great forms a body of proof so weighty, so uniform, so cogent, that it has sufficed to lead to the Papal Church of this day, in spite of the most potent temporal motives to hold them back, many minds whose learning, singleness of purpose, clearness, and power, Archbishop Trench, we are sure, would be the last to question. It would require far more space than we have at command here to set down even the heads of that evidence. Nor is it necessary. It is as accessible and as well known to Dr. Trench as it is to us, while the reader who has not the time or the scholarship which would enable him himself to trace out for himself the original authorities, may find them collected and arranged in Mr. Allies' very learned and masterly volume on the "See of S. Peter."* We are not saying that this evidence alone is absolutely conclusive on the matter

* See especially the section entitled "The Church's Witness to the Primacy," pp. 152-221. Third Edition.

in question; but we do say that it is so strong, and has been felt by powerful and earnestly sincere minds to be so strong, that it is not fair to ignore it, to write as if it did not exist; and that, as it seems to us, is what Archbishop Trench has done.

Of course the proof derivable from this evidence, at whatever its strength may be reckoned, is of the constructive kind, and that perhaps would hardly recommend it to Archbishop Trench, whose method is essentially destructive. With so much that is excellent and admirable in the volume before us, as may be seen from the passages we have quoted, so much that breathes a profound sympathy with certain aspects of Catholic truth, with particular deeds of Catholic Saints and heroes, with the poetry and fragrance of the Catholic faith, the tone of the book is not "yea, yea," but "nay, nay": its ethos is Protestant; and when did Protestantism ever construct, carrying within itself, as it does and must from its negation of a living authority, "the active principle of discord, division, and dissolution"?* Still, even thus, the book has a sad value. It is valuable as illustrating the narrowness, inconsequence, and contradictions necessarily attaching, even in the case of the wise and good, to the theological position which it is the author's infelicity to hold. Nor, as it seems to us, is it possible to read far without coming upon something which directly invites attention to the untenableness of that position. Thus, opening the volume at random, we find a lecture upon the "Eucharistic Controversies of the Middle Ages," and turning over a page or two we read, "Berenger, while rejecting the gross carnal error of Paschasius, rejected with it (so it seems to me) part of the truth on which that error had fastened itself, the true doctrine of the Eucharist meanwhile retreating out of sight, there to tarry until better times should come round." Such a passage gives rise to reflections which it is hard to utter without—what we do not desire—the appearance of satire. One naturally asks, Whither did the true doctrine retreat? When did it reappear? Where is it now to be found? Archbishop Trench, it would seem, holds that it retreated to the "inner consciousness" of the Church; that it was again delivered to the world five hundred years after by the "Reform" effected by King Henry VIII. and his associates; and that we have it

* De Maistre has well expressed this truth:—"Les sociétés Protestantes," he writes, "constituent l'esprit dans une indépendance absolue; et l'Écriture livrée à l'interprétation de la raison particulière, variable en chaque homme, ne lie pas plus que la raison elle-même, c'est en religion l'état de nature, c'est à dire l'absence de tout gouvernement, de toute loi, de tout tribunal, et de toute police; et par conséquent la destruction de toute société" ("Du Pape," tom. i. p. 90).

now in the teaching of the Anglican Communion. But in the Anglican Communion there are at the least half a dozen doctrines taught with equal reason, as expressing its "mind" upon the Blessed Eucharist; and even admitting, for the sake of argument, that the particular variety of teaching, be it what it may, which approves itself to Archbishop Trench, is the genuine doctrine of the Church of England, what ground is there for believing it to be true? What certitude has Archbishop Trench himself of the truth of his opinion? He does not pretend to infallibility; his Church does not pretend to infallibility. Who bears witness to him? He can attain to nothing higher than verisimilitude. To characterize any theological view which obtains his preference as true, is surely, in a high degree, temerarious. Nor, having no warrant for believing himself to possess the truth, is he justified in pronouncing another to be in error. Far wiser and more congruous is it for an Anglican writer to observe the rule laid down for his clergy by Bishop Watson:—"I think it safer to tell you where they (the Christian doctrines) are contained," that excellent and distinguished prelate observes, "than what they are. They are contained in the Bible. And if, on reading that book, your sentiments concerning the doctrines of Christianity should be different from those of your neighbours, be persuaded, on your part, that infallibility belongs as little to you as it does to the Church."*

We would venture then to beg Archbishop Trench, in the next edition of these Lectures, to make a clean sweep of all utterances of a dogmatic or quasi-dogmatic character,—they are not indeed numerous,—as inconsistent with the modest self-distrust and tolerant indifference which are the truest notes of Anglicanism: characteristics pleasingly distinguishing it from the more vulgar Protestant sects. Such omissions and the judicious modification of a few one-sided and untenable statements on matters of historical fact, like those which we have instanced,—shreds and fragments from the older and less scrupulous Protestant controversialists,—will very greatly improve this book, already so admirable in many respects. Even with the removal of these blemishes and excrescences, indeed, the original sin of the work will still remain,—its want of consistent and logical idea. There are only two really reasonable ways of looking at the religion which Jesus Christ founded, and its career in the world. Either the Church is a supernatural fact, the tabernacle of God among men, the centre

* Bp. Watson's Charge to his Clergy in 1795, quoted in Lammenais' "*Sur l'Indifférence*," vol. ii. p. 189.

and the measure of all history, or she is a mere human institution, the accident of a bygone period and "time's slave": now, at the best, but "*magni nominis umbra*; an antiquated cause, noble in its time, but of a past day; nay, true and divine in its time, as far as anything can be such, but false now: . . . bent with the weight of eighteen hundred years and tottering to its fall."* Such are the only two views logically open to any man who looks the facts fairly and fully in the face, and boldly follows them out to their legitimate consequences. Archbishop Trench halts painfully between these two views, asserting, in one place, the divine character of the Church,† while in another he laments her defectibility.‡ But, in truth, it would seem as though he had not really apprehended the conception of the Catholic Church upon which the Saints whose names are mentioned in his pages lived and worked: S. Gregory the Great and S. Martin, S. Boniface and S. Anselm, S. Bernard and S. Thomas, and that earlier Doctor whose "*City of God*," as he has noted (p. 82), was the favourite reading of the great monarch to whom, with Leo III., belongs the glory of the foundation of Christendom. Once grasp in its full significance the idea of the Catholic Church as these and all its Saints and Doctors have ever written of it, and as its little children have ever received it,—as the visible kingdom in this world of a Present but Invisible King; the Oracle, Prophet, and Judge of religious truth unto the consummation of all things; gathering, in every generation the elect into a polity in belief of that truth from which, by the very law of her being, the oath of Him who cannot lie, she may not swerve, although vessels of clay, fragile and full of imperfections, are the depositaries of her treasure; unceasingly warring with the world which lieth and always will lie in the wicked one; ever witnessing to men, whether they will hear or whether they will forbear, of "justice, chastity, and of the judgment to come;"—once really apprehend all this as essential to the idea of the Church, One Holy Catholic and Apostolic, and there is logically no alternative between Catholicism and Scepticism. He who apprehends it and rejects it as false, re-

* Newman's "*Discourses to Mixed Congregations*," p. 240.

† "For us, who believe the Church to be a divine foundation in the world, it must be a success, even as it shows itself to be such, by many infallible proofs" (p. 12).

‡ "It was inevitable that, sooner or later, the Church would have to pronounce what it meant by this [Eucharistic] presence. . . . How immense a misfortune it was that the Church had not long since been called dogmatically to declare what she held and what she condemned, in a matter so high and so difficult," &c. (pp. 182-184).

jects with it the only idea of Christianity as a divine revelation which is historically or philosophically tenable. He who apprehends it, and humbles himself to receive it, is not far from the kingdom of God. For there is little danger at the present day that any one who has been led thus to think of the Bride of Christ should mistake for her any of the schismatical sects of the East—withered branches, long severed from the true Vine, and foul with the decay of a thousand years; nor will any of the Protestant communities, mere fungus growths of yesterday, without root in the past or promise for the future, long avail to withhold him from placing himself

“under Mary’s smile,
And Peter’s royal feet.”

And this is the judgment of the orbis terrarum. It is only in England that it is possible for a learned and pious mind, such as that of the author of the book of which we have been writing, to walk in so vain a shadow. The influences which hold religious Anglicans where they are, influences not only of inbred national prejudice, of life-long routine, of grave human authority, of literary and academical associations, but also of the large fragments of Catholic truth which the Established Church in this country has retained and enshrined in the majestic English of its formularies, are little understood upon the Continent of Europe. We in this country know—many of us have too good reason to know—how powerful such influences are to blind the judgment. Nor is it for us to use words of acrimony and reproach against those of our countrymen,—less happy than ourselves,—whose eyes are holden that they see not the Spiritual City. *Tu autem quid judicas fratrem tuum aut tu quare spernis fratrem tuum? Omnes enim stabimus ante tribunal Christi. . . . Itaque unusquisque nostrum pro se rationem reddet Deo.*

ART VIII.—ENGLAND AND RUSSIA.

Correspondence respecting the Preliminary Treaty of Peace between Russia and Turkey, signed at San Stefano 3rd March, 1878. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty. London : Printed by Harrison & Sons.

THE peace of the world appears at this moment to depend immediately and absolutely on the goodwill of the mob of Constantinople, which to some may seem like saying that it is in the case of a powder-magazine set on the verge of Vesuvius. But in truth the mob of Constantinople, though capable of violent movements and liable to seizures of fanatical exaltation, is in its ordinary mood more staid, self-controlled, patient, and patriotic than the mob of any Western city, Paris and New York not excepted. Man perhaps loses not merely fire, but phlegm, as he follows the setting sun. If London lay, as it might have done before now, like a nut in the nut-crackers, between a Dutch fleet in the Medway, and a French army which, having occupied all England, except Lancashire, Wales, and Cornwall, had restored their national independence to Scotland and Ireland, and, refraining magnanimously from entering London, stood encamped on the surrounding heights from Shooter's Hill to Sydenham, and from Gipsy Hill to Highgate, we fear we should need a great posse of special constables to keep our roughs in order. But all seems for the moment to be still in the streets of the city that has once more become the very centre of the world. The tension of temper must nevertheless be very great there. They are a proud people; they do not fear death; poverty and pain probably trouble them less than any other race in Europe. Not quite two years have passed since a popular rising in Constantinople, headed by the Softas, deposed and abandoned to destruction Abdul Aziz for having allowed himself to be directed in the government of the Ottoman Empire by the Russian Ambassador. A few months more, and his successor was declared a lunatic, perhaps correctly, more probably because he was not a sufficiently effective organ for the popular policy of the time. Later came the Conference of Constantinople, foredoomed to fail, if for no other reason than that it was held under the influence of the genius of the place—a place in which not very long before half a cabinet had been assassinated by a single fanatic, and, as if by way of contrast, the most powerful minister of recent days in his nation suddenly seized by order of the Sultan, and sent

to sea with as little hesitation or ceremony as if he had only been an impertinent court jester. There is something sublime, but also ominous in the grim calm of such a city in such a crisis. One more movement of the almost forgotten Softas now, such as used to agitate all the foreign offices once a week only two years ago, a cry for the recall of Midhat, a military *pronunciamento* by Osman, the preaching of a great mollah, a more than ordinarily involved or violent court cabal, any accident at that place in these days would be apparently spark enough to fire the train of a war, whose echoes would reverberate far as the nethermost dungeon valley of Siberia, far as the happy homesteads that begin to scale the free New Zealand Alps. For certain it is, that if any such movement should occur to-morrow in Constantinople, the Russian army would instantly attempt to occupy the city and seize the Bosphorus; and in such an event the English fleet no doubt has its orders to keep the water-way of the Black Sea open at all risks. In such a case all risks reduce themselves to one, which is war.

War is a great calamity, as are famines, earthquakes, tornadoes, the cholera, the locust, which are, humanly speaking, unavoidable, while mankind flatter themselves their governors could always avoid war if they only chose. But it needs very little knowledge of history to be aware that wars are generally in the last resort made by what we are pleased to term accidents; and that when the spirit of nations has become inflated by the pride and ambition of which war is the appointed chastisement, man ceases to be (what is called in commonplace times) "master of the situation," and events seem to escape control and occur of their own accord. The circumstances immediately preceding the war between France and Germany in 1870 are the latest, and one of the most striking, illustrations in history of this law. That war not merely abolished the French and improvised the German Empire; it opened the road for Russia to Constantinople; it made Prince Bismarck arbiter in the affairs of several neighbouring States besides his native Prussia, now, unfortunately, growing daily more difficult to govern. Austria and France have had again and again to bend before the pressure of his brutal will within the last eight years. Italy has been his most obedient satellite. Spain, only through the protest of the Czar, escaped his violent intervention during the Carlist war. What he might, could, would, and should do with Holland and Belgium to-morrow or next day were subjects of speculation only a few weeks since. Suddenly all is changed, so changed that Prince Bismarck may hereafter see much reason to regret that the resignation of his great office, which

he for inexplicable reasons tendered on the 3rd of April last year, and for reasons still more inexplicable withdrew on the 8th, was not accepted. It is only ten weeks since he made the speech of which one phrase at all events will long linger in the memory of mankind, the phrase *Beati possidentes*. Somehow the twang of insolent triumph with which that phrase resounded throughout Europe has completely oozed out of it since. The Russian position in possession of Bulgaria and Roumelia—with the English fleet in front of Constantinople; with English armies moving towards Gallipoli from both Portsmouth and Bombay; with outraged Roumania, and armed Austria, its policy falling daily more and more under control of the Hungarians, in the rear; with a popular insurrection spreading along the line of the Balkans; with Osman and Mukhtar, commanding 90,000 men behind what remains of the defences of Constantinople which even yet are certainly stronger than those of Plevna originally were—this, on the whole, is a position the possession of which can hardly present itself in the light of a beatific vision to the Czar. Suddenly, silently everything has changed. Within a period of a few days, England has risen in the sense of Mr. Grattan's words of 1815, "Remember, your empire cannot be saved by a calculation, and when you cease to be first you are nothing"; and on the instant the centre of political gravity has transferred itself from the banks of the Spree to the banks of the Thames. It is an ugly result for two great statesmen to stomach; and, under all the circumstances, who can wonder that Prince Gortchakoff has had an access of fever, and Prince Bismarck an attack of the shingles?

The word Christendom has ceased to have any political meaning. The phrase "balance of power" has disappeared from the Mutiny Act. But there is as yet a collection of States retaining many of the elements of Christian civilization called Europe, connected by a public law embodied in treaties. Russia is at this moment, by a combination of unscrupulous fraud and brute force unparalleled in history, endeavouring to destroy not so much the mere power of Turkey as a nation, as the very principle of the obligation of all the treaties that bind States together. Having, by her own arbitrary act, violated the Treaty of Paris in 1871 by declaring void its Black Sea clauses, she was obliged before that attempt on public right was condoned to subscribe to the principle that no treaty could be altered without the consent of all the co-signatory Powers parties to it. She has lately made what she calls a treaty with Turkey, which is, in its every clause and in its whole scope and spirit, not so much a violation merely as an annulment of the treaties of 1856 and 1871. We are asked to indorse

this impudent swindle. Certainly England swarms in these latter days with fantastic sciolists, with political professors, with thoughtful writers ever rapt in the engaging pursuit of paradox, with statesmen even who seem to have, in regard to national honour, views almost as vague as a Fenian's or a Nihilist's. But, after all, as Mr. Burke was fond of saying, "a nation is a moral essence"; and if on the scutcheon of England's policy there are not a few blots, she is still conscious that her true imperial and historic grandeur is due to the fact that she has again and again, against heavy odds, without, as readily as with, allies, stood forward as the champion of liberty and justice in Europe. Her old strength comes back to her to-day because she vindicates not merely her own rights, but those of every nation in Europe which is conscious that it has got a cowed or a corrupt government at its head. Much affected complaint is made in the Foreign Offices of St. Petersburg and Berlin as to the difficulty of satisfying Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury in what are mere matters of formula. The issue is no idle question of form. It is a very tough matter of fact. If we may trust a telegram from the St. Petersburg correspondent of the *Times*, which is published on the eve of our going to press (April 27), the real purpose of England's action is beginning at last to dawn on the reluctant consciousness of Prince Gortchakoff's Chancellery.

The truth is (says this abundantly well-informed writer) these discussions about forms and formulæ cover more important matters. There are two possible issues out of the present complication: the one consists in undoing much that Russia has done, and giving to the rest a European instead of a specifically Russian character; the other consists in what is called here "the principle of equivalents"—that is to say, that Russia should retain what she considers the legitimate fruit of her victories, and that the other Powers interested should indemnify themselves for the extension of Russia's influence by extending the sphere of their own. This latter solution is the one which Russia desires, while the British Government seems resolved to insist upon the former one. Such, I believe, is the real question at issue, and perhaps it would be well to ascertain before going into Congress how far a compromise with regard to that essential question is possible.

Incredible as it may seem at St. Petersburg, there is no compromise possible between these solutions. Russia's solution is more robbery, England's is merely to do what is right.

Mr. Disraeli, in a very picturesque passage of his brilliant speech, when moving the thanks of Parliament to the army which invaded Abyssinia, alluded to the motley array of races and arms which, at the bidding of British policy, had scaled the mountains under which Johnson imagined the Happy Valley of

Rasselas. After the holidays his eloquence will be not less tempted to the fine panoramic effects, pointed by fantastic touches of contrast, which the movement of an Indian army to Malta will suggest. The Asiatic mystery of his youth may well seem on the verge of solution, when the Hindoo and Mahometan, the steadfast line of Madras, the dashing cavaliers of Bengal, lithe Sikh, and wiry Goorka shall be seen swarming in the city of La Valette and on the battlements of Ricasoli, before marching, with the sympathy of all that yet retains the pristine and incorrupt faith of ancient Christendom, at the bidding of a Venetian Jew, to the rescue of the Grand Turk. Certainly the world may well seem to have come to a strange pass when the great citadel of the order of Saint John becomes the head-quarters of an army of heathen and paynim destined to defend Constantinople against the grandson of the Grand Master, Czar Paul. But it may be well remarked here that the rights and liberties of the Church of Rome, for whose defence, and by whose authority alone the Knights of Saint John bore the sword, are to-day as well assured throughout Turkey as they are in England, while in Russia they are the subject of continual and ruthless persecution. In Turkey liberty is possible, in Russia it is impossible. In Turkey, indeed, Catholics are liable, as they were in England within the last century, and in Ulster within living memory, to furious outbreaks of mob violence. But in Russia no Christian outside the great schism can call his soul his own. He is liable, even to this day, to be flogged or bayoneted into conformity with the creed of the Czar.

The bringing an Indian army corps to the Mediterranean at present is not merely a brilliant illustration of the armed strength of the empire, it is an act of profound policy. It has satisfied Europe at once that the English government is absolutely in earnest. It has amazed Europe by the illustration it gives of the enormous military power from which England can levy in the event of war. A week before the fact was known in London, the Calcutta correspondent of the *Times*, speculating on the possibility of Indian regiments being employed, wrote :—

In view of the probability of their being employed in a European war, the state of the native army has occasioned considerable discussion. The Indian press has little doubt that if England so willed it, the native military force might, in a comparatively short time, be recruited up to the strength of a million. If fully and efficiently officered, it would in fighting qualities be second only to an army of English soldiers, while in respect of endurance and power of bearing privations, it would be second to no military force in the world. An auxiliary army raised in India would give England a military preponderance in any European war in which she might be engaged.

This is the fact which has suddenly disclosed itself to the

intelligence of Continental statesmen and commanders, accustomed to count the British army by the thousand, and to suppose that the limit of its strength would be reached when forty or fifty battalions had been put in the field. England will enter upon this war, should war be forced upon her, with the most numerous, best disciplined, and best equipped army that was ever commanded by an English general. It is a war which in its cause and character affects the whole extent of the empire, and it is right that it should be fought by its entire armed strength, East as well as West. If it be indeed in the scheme of Russian ambition to attempt one day the conquest of Hindostan, it will be no disadvantage to the soldiers of the Czar to have a preliminary example of the valour and skill with which the Sepoy can help to roll back an invasion even in Europe. After that experience, a generation or two must be allowed to pass before Russian intrigues will obtain much acceptance at native courts. No such navy ever ruled the waves, not merely in actual but in relative strength, as that which will occupy the Mediterranean and Baltic this summer. War is costly, but the wealth of England has more than quadrupled since the battle of Waterloo was fought. Mr. Giffen, of the Board of Trade, estimates the value of the capital of the people of the United Kingdom at 8,500 millions sterling, whereas it was only 2,000 millions in 1815.

With all these circumstances before her, it is to be hoped that Russia will submit to necessity; will consent to allow the treaty of San Stefano to be cancelled in every particular in which any preponderance is assured to her as concerns the independence of the Porte; will quietly agree to all the modifications of that document, suggested in Lord Salisbury's admirable circular despatch. It is not possible that Europe, or, if there were no Europe, England should allow such a flagrant outrage on public right as that treaty to stand on record. England has a right to demand that it shall be so modified as to reconcile its policy and provisions with the sense and the spirit of the treaty of Paris of 1856; and also with the lofty language of the Czar on the eve of the Conference. He was very anxious then to appear as the mere mandatory of Europe, and to disclaim all ideas of territorial aggrandisement. He is no longer dealing with the Khan of Khiva now. To encounter England alone is not a light task even for the Autocrat of all the Russias. But if it should so happen that England, Austria, Turkey, and Roumania were to take the field together, there must follow such a ruin of the power of Russia as might be only imperfectly paralleled by the destruction of Napoleon's army in 1812. Already, it is estimated that since the declaration of

war the Czar has lost 90,000 men in battle, and 250,000 by disease. With an English fleet in the Black Sea, and an Austrian army dominating the valley of the Danube, that might happen which has hardly ever happened in war hitherto. A great army might be obliged to surrender through the danger of starvation—an ignominious but not inappropriate end to a campaign, announced as the generous enterprise of a crusader, and closed with a brutal abuse of force worthy of a footpad.

Whether Russia really can retreat from the false position which she has assumed, is, however, very doubtful. If she could by possibility obtain favourable acceptance of the Treaty of San Stefano by a Congress of the great Powers, we presume it is safe to say that she could easily borrow, say a hundred millions of money, the following day, where it would be a matter of extreme difficulty for her to raise ten millions now. Again, her internal state is full of danger. The acquittal of Vera Sassoulitch, it has been well said, is "like a flash of lightning suddenly revealing an abyss." If, in the Court of Queen's Bench, Dublin, the murderer of Lord Leitrim were to confess his crime and justify it on the ground that he regarded the dead man as an incarnation of all the worst qualities of an oppressive system of property; if the Judge were to listen to the daring avowal with tears of tender sympathy, and the Jury, half composed of Castle tradesmen, to give a verdict of acquittal without leaving the box, which should be hailed with bonfires and bell-ringing throughout Ireland,—we might be able to form some slight conception of the shock which this young girl's mad act has given to the Government of the Czar. That Government will not find it any the easier to allow itself to be ordered away from Constantinople by England (so the result will present itself to the rough sense of the Muscovite populace) and to surrender the better part of the trophies and spoils of the war to mere menace without a shot fired. But such is and ought to be the penalty of making an unjust treaty, and of endeavouring to maintain it by brute force in one direction, ungrateful insolence in another, dishonest subterfuge and equivocation in a third. England is in no hurry to go to war, but day by day the standards of her invincible regiments cluster together, her fleet spreads its squadrons to every sea where commerce tempts her flag. If it be necessary, she will make war, not with a light heart, but with a fixed will that Justice shall prevail, after no matter how many campaigns, at the end.

In the preface to the *Annual Register* for the year 1772, Mr. Burke (there is no mistaking his hand), speaking of the great changes which the events of that year had produced in

the political system of Europe, especially by the partition of Poland, said :—

The breach that has been now made in those compacts that unite States for their mutual benefit establishes a most dangerous precedent ; it deprives in a great measure every separate Power in Europe of that security which was founded in treaties, alliances, common interest, and public faith. It seems to throw nations collectively into that state of nature in which it has been supposed that mankind separately at one time subsisted, when the security of the individual depended singly on his own strength, and no resource was left when it failed.

There was question then, as now, of an oppressive treaty between Russia and Turkey. Osman Effendi and Prince Orloff were negotiating near Bucharest. Russia stipulated that the Crimea should be erected into an independent state, just like Bulgaria now ; that Azoph should be ceded to her, that she should have an unrestricted right of navigation in the Black Sea, that she should be paid an indemnity of eighty millions of livres. There was great difficulty about getting a congress assembled to ratify these terms ; and then it so happened that the triple alliance of the day, the Empress Queen, the Czar, and King of Prussia, found Poland quite sufficient to occupy their energies for a time. Writing to a Prussian gentleman later in the same year, when Poland had been already partitioned, Mr. Burke concludes his letter thus :—

Pray, dear sir, what next ? These powers will continue armed. Their arms must have employment. Poland was but a breakfast, and there are many Polands to be found. *Where will they dine ?* After all our love of tranquillity and all expedients to preserve it, alas, poor Peace !

If we may continue Mr. Burke's metaphor, dinner was delayed by an untoward accident. Napoleon Bonaparte invited himself to luncheon at Berlin, Vienna, and Moscow in succession. His hosts lost their appetite for a long time afterwards. Had he used his power to restore the kingdom of Poland, as he might have done, it would have been well for France and well for Europe. Prince Bismarck would not nowadays be pronouncing *Beati possidentes* as his idea of a suitable grace before meat. Alas, poor Peace ! We seem to be on the eve of a long war ; but a long war is the only way of escape from an armed peace, and there are eight millions of armed men now engaged in keeping the peace of Europe. Russia, with her despotic dominion continually spreading, now covering half Europe and half Asia, and yet insatiate, is the original cause of this awful evil. If she emerges from the conflict she is challenging, as it is exceedingly probable she may, bankrupt, dismembered, and revolutionized, it will be well for the rest of the world.

ART. IX.—ITALY AND LEO XIII.

Il Moderno Dissidio fra la Chiesa e l'Italia. Da C. M. CURCI, Sac.
Firenze : Bencini. 1878.

Breve Esame dell' opuscolo del Sac. C. M. Curci. Roma : 1878.*

Pio IX. e il Papa Futuro. Di RUGGERO BONGHI, Deputato. Milano : 1877.

Le Comte de Cavour. Par C. de MAZADE. Paris : 1877.

MIGHT we give ear to the journals that are most widely read and have gained the largest share of public attention in England and Germany, we should fear that the Catholic Church was on the eve of an irreparable calamity. For weeks past the air has been full of rumours, many of them vague in their indications, others circumstantial down even to minute details, but all professing to give assurance that a change was taking place in the Roman policy, and that we should hear, after a brief interval to be spent by the authorities in making secret preparations and precautions, of a Concordat, entirely novel in its principles, but fully agreed upon between the new King and the new Pope. The Holy See and Catholicity itself were to be reconciled with Italian Liberalism. Leo XIII. was to baptize and consecrate the accomplished facts upon which his predecessor, in the exercise, as it would seem, of his full apostolic prerogatives, had laid a solemn anathema. The Syllabus and all its propositions were to become a mere dead letter, for at length the mode had been discovered by which Catholics might close with the doctrines of progress and civilization, and, in short, with the nineteenth century. For the sake of so general a peace, the time-honoured claims upon the Roman principedom were tacitly to be relinquished. Italian unity was to be recognized. King Humbert was to be made welcome at the Vatican. Leo XIII. was to forget that he inherited the throne of a long line of monarchs, and to concentrate his interest upon the inhabitants of Rome, instead of burdening himself with the care of all the Churches. As Pius IX. was dead, his principles were to be buried with him in complete oblivion; for, "New men, new manners," and his conduct and policy had but led to misfortune after misfortune. And thus the reconciliation, so reasonably dreaded by an Ultramontane minority, so earnestly desired by the silent but discontented

* This work is by a father of the Society of Jesus.

majority, was now coming to pass, to the joy of all moderate and well-disposed persons, whether in the Church or without its pale. How plain did it not seem that the sole hindrance to this long-desired solution of difficulties had been the peculiar temperament of Pius IX., or, perhaps the secular and unbecoming aspirations of the great Cardinal Secretary, whose career had terminated such a little while before his master's!

Thus far the newspapers. It is not to be wondered at if the events that fell out in Rome after so dramatic a fashion last February have awakened in politicians and the general public a keen curiosity to surmise what might be the sequel to them, or if rumours have come thick and fast during a period of excitement like that in which we live. Nor is it otherwise than usual that the suspense, the calm deliberation, the slowness and the silence which mark, of necessity, the beginnings of a new ruler—and especially of a new Pope—should be construed into a promise that the former state of things is not to continue. But if reports must be set going, surely it is only fair that they should obey the canons of probability; to distract us with “sickly dreams” is not, in our opinion, the office of cautious editors, or of correspondents that have access to trustworthy sources of knowledge. Nay, as we have hinted, it might deserve praise for the ingenuity of the thing, if one of these gentlemen “feigned like truth.” But, it must be confessed, “they imitate Nature abominably,” and seem to take not even ordinary pains to be consistent. This, in writers of experience, we must think is a grievous lapse from the veri-similitude which even fable demands; and that the wish was father to the thought will not altogether excuse it. Have these men read the Past to so little profit as to imagine that a single individual can revolutionize the Roman Church, and annul the principles that for centuries upon centuries have guided her in dealing with society? Let them turn to the classic passages in Macaulay which they once knew by heart, and let them study the Church more and prophesy less about her.

In a proclamation to the people, soon after Victor Emmanuel had gone to his account, the new sovereign, Humbert IV., was made to say, “Italians, your first King is dead; but his successor will prove to you that institutions do not die.” It was a bold speech to utter upon Italian soil, where the very dust is an heirloom from ruined empires, and every city has a story to tell of its decline and fall. All institutions that are the work of man must share the fate of man; and we know not who would anticipate a long future for the kingdom of Italy. But we can enter into the feeling that prompted such words. National existence never is bound up with the life of one man;

it reposes upon a foundation that many ages have contributed to establish, and is the result of causes and conditions which, in comparison with an individual's energy and influence, may be looked upon as permanent. The thought, however, has a wider application. Religion, when embodied in a visible Church, is—as Mr. Martineau finely observes—one of the most enduring forms of activity in the world. It must be so, until man sinks down from the grand height of free-will and morality to the level of the mere scientific animal. But what institution, sacred or profane, has equalled in energy, in perseverance, and in unconquerable vitality, the Catholic Church? She is not exhausted after all her vicissitudes of fortune, and we may leave it to her latest assailants to say whether their efforts at dividing or subduing her have had the success they hoped for. Since the Revolution, if we ought not rather to say since the Peace of Westphalia, the powers of Europe have leagued themselves against Rome; all the strength has been on their side, all the weakness on hers. And yet it is as clear as the sun in heaven that Rome has not yielded a single principle, and that her unwavering truth to herself and to her doctrinal decisions—many of which affect important temporal interests and civil enactments—has become the despair of leading men, who regard all other churches simply with contempt. Where, then, is the ground for supposing that Leo will grant to the Italian or to the German Liberals the very same things that former Popes refused to Joseph of Austria, to Napoleon, to the Tsar Nicholas? It is far harder to resist a despot than a democracy, and there is more to be gained by submitting to him. But the Church is free by her very constitution, and free she must remain until the end.

Therefore, it does not matter what view we take of the Catholic Church, whether we believe with all her children that she is the new creation of God and the dwelling-place of the Spirit, or with critics like Ranke and Guizot that she is but a masterpiece of human invention; in any case, we shall think it unreasonable to assume that an individual Pope can abrogate the laws by which she has hitherto existed. Quite the contrary. For as the Pope is Head of the Church, in like manner he may be said to gather up in himself and to represent in his action the spirit that animates the Church. He confronts hostile kings and senates as one in whom the rights, the desires, the resolutions, of the whole society which he governs are to find a voice and to make themselves heard. He protects all Christians as a father protects his family against the stranger. His prerogatives are the most sacred and the most absolute that a mortal can possess in this lower world, but, by their very

nature, they are "*in ædificationem et non in destructionem.*" And they are given him for the good not of a single nation, not even of Italy by itself, but of all that have been baptized and are subject to him "from the rising to the going down of the sun." He is the Œcumenical Bishop, and therefore he cannot act as if he were only a local ordinary possessed of an Italian see.

In any question that may arise here is a consideration that must be allowed its full weight. The Pope treats with friends and enemies as chief of the Universal Church, and in that capacity he enters into the solemn engagements involved in a Concordat. He does not govern at his arbitrary good-pleasure nor according to his own caprice, but as one having regard to the laws and statutes laid down by the King of Kings, which no man may touch.

Historians have taken notice, without knowing how to account for it, that the political and social conduct of the Church appears strangely consistent with itself as we view it through the ages. Popes seem rather to have been instruments in the hand of an over-ruling Providence, while kings whose law was their will have by their personal peculiarities visibly changed the character of the government they carried on. Remarkable men, not a few, have sat in S. Peter's chair and have made it famous to all time. But as we pass from S. Leo in the fifth century to Hadrian I. in the eighth, and from Hadrian to S. Gregory in the eleventh, and from S. Gregory to Innocent and Honorius in the thirteenth, and from these to Martin V. after the Council of Constance, and from Martin to S. Pius V. after the Reformation, and from S. Pius to Clement XI. at the close of the Jansenist controversy, and so down to Leo XII. and Pius IX., we might be reading the biography of one and the same individual, so strikingly do the same principles force themselves upon our view, and the same broad undeviating policy. Each of the great Pontiffs is for his own day, and grasps the meaning and interprets the real tendency of the movements around him; but all have a wonderful similarity to each other in their manner of judging, all show the same gentleness in their behaviour to such as repent and submit, the same steady attachment to principle, the same majestic firmness in what they decide once for all. So that the line of the Fisherman's successors will supply us with another application of the oft-quoted words, "*Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos.*" The Popes have been willing to make any and every sacrifice to human weakness, but they have been gifted with an unexampled sense of the deep truth—so soon overlooked in mere diplomacy—that principles are beyond man's jurisdiction. In the clearness of their dominant

thoughts there is some of that strength which we ascribe to angelic creatures, and this though we freely grant that the Popes are not exempt from the defects that cling to our lower nature. They have, even in the world's account of them, added a fresh dignity to the annals of mankind, and the cause of their glory is, more than aught else, that they have given judgment in the Light of God and as if in the chancery of Heaven. They never have made terms that would take its austerity from the Christian faith, nor have they trafficked with iniquity when it sought their approbation in exchange for its advantages. They have exercised a prophetic office amongst men, and we see no reason to imagine that they will ever lay it down. Certainly Leo XIII., our beloved and revered Holy Father, has given Europe no ground to think such evil of him as that he is, or can hereafter be, intent on betraying the sacred interests confided to his care. Men admire him now for his rare personal qualities. But we know what they will say when a few years are past and they listen to him as he repeats the "*Non possumus*" that sheds a lustre on the memory of his heroic predecessor.

Now, let the reader ask himself dispassionately whether any one of the Pontiffs we have cited from history could have made a compromise of principles, or any permanent treaty of alliance, with such a party as that of the Italian Liberals. For if this could not be done in the past, just as little can it be done now. Leo XIII. is not more likely to teach us anti-Christian politics than Leo I. was to teach the heresy of Eutyches. And even non-Catholics, who do not believe in the infallibility of Pontifical teaching, may nevertheless see how certain is the truth of our statement. The contest has lain in Italy between forms of government that are the outcome of antagonistic principles in religion, morality, and life. Common experience tells us how impossible it is to smooth down the animosities of persons when they differ in that inexplicable manner which we refer to temperament; but differences of natural disposition are as nothing by the side of religious differences. Principles, from their very nature, must always strive to get realised in fact; and when they are thwarted the result is a disturbance of equilibrium which cannot be adjusted by simple compromise. It is surely an idle thing to recommend us self-denial in what we cannot control. If men differ inwardly they will show it outwardly, and the dissension thence ensuing is likely to be vigorous in proportion as the interests at stake are thought sacred. The Roman question brings us into the presence of conflicting ideals, of obstinate and age-long traditions; and it requires us to review and to understand the past not of

one European nation, but of all. The temper and endowments of Pius IX. cannot account for knots in a problem that vexed many minds before his name was known. "Intrigues of the palace" may have a present consequence, but it is only narrowness of vision that permits us to see in them the cause of a whole nation's perplexity. Is it not clear that the Roman question concerns forces that move the world, such as Catholicism, and Democracy, and Liberalism? Why should the English press display an eager longing for concessions on the part of Leo XIII., were it not convinced that the Ultramontane theory would be thereby discredited? Principles of the first importance to mankind are in the balance, and the controversy has historic and momentous issues bound up with it, else it would never draw the eyes of the whole world to Rome: and it should be treated as a great subject deserves. The slightest things in nature have their own significance; but what shall we say of Pontifical decisions addressed to the Church of the whole world, and touching almost all the interests of modern Europe?

We are sorry that, in his recent volume—which we know not whether to call treatise or pamphlet—F. Curci should have chosen a method that is below the dignity of the matter in hand. Personal explanation was, to some extent, indispensable. The author, no doubt, felt himself bound to defend his good name from censure, and to record his motives for so unusual a step as he took some years ago in putting a remonstrance before the Supreme Pontiff. Moreover, he had quitted his religious profession, and his superior had given as a reason for consenting to let him go, the grave differences of opinion that existed between him and his brethren: F. Curci insisting that not only the Society of Jesus, but the whole Church was involved in a disastrous misconception regarding the civil principedom of the Popes. As things stood, F. Curci had a right to be heard, provided always that he would abstain from committing against others the injustice of which he declared himself a victim. If he had been maligned and his conduct unfairly traduced—and we do not think he has made out his case—that gave him no leave to speak ill of persons in authority. His reputation would not have suffered in the esteem of impartial lookers-on even if he had used an excessive and scrupulous delicacy in matters so liable to be misunderstood. Honour was due to the Head of the Church, to the Sacred College, to the General whose subject he had been for long years; it was due to the Catholics of Italy, since, whatever their faults, they have kept the faith, and in many ways have had a price to pay for their loyalty. The modern world is only too ready to mock

at Christian zeal, and to judge of the Catholic religion as if it were all an exaggerated devotion to the Pope and a show of "galvanized activity," with nothing in it solid or durable. It does not become an ecclesiastic to furnish material for unbelievers to scoff, or to credit the "enlightened laity" with every kind of wisdom, whilst the clergy are spoken of in general terms of disparagement and sometimes with open contempt. But F. Curci has spared no dignity in his ardour to defend himself and to advocate his views. Much of what he has written is in the style of invective, and from first to last he abounds in irony, in sarcasm, in satirical hints, in epithets, and in descriptions, the effect of which is a painful feeling of his injustice towards all that differ from him. An Italian Liberal, Signor Bonghi, whom we shall quote for another purpose by and by, remarks that "F. Curci is now intemperate in criticizing his fellow-Catholics as he formerly was in resisting the Government and the nation." His language upon occasion is almost violent, perhaps because he wrote in haste; but something else must have persuaded him into his incessant use of mockery, and his method of explaining principles by persons, and the course of history by particular incidents.

For this is the error that vitiates his treatment of the Roman question, and takes the force out of his rhetoric when it might otherwise affect us for good. He cannot see, in the whole story of these thirty years past, any causes of trouble except a Liberal faction on one side and an Ultramontane faction on the other. He is much occupied with "a current," or "a tendency," or "a party" that has gained the ear of Pius IX., and is represented in journalism by the *Civiltà Cattolica*, and in diplomacy by Cardinal Antonelli. From the notes that he supplies us with we may gather that the object of "the party" is temporal, to bring back all that the clergy have lost in honour and emoluments; and that its method is implicit obedience to "the Vatican," and a sort of political pietism such as is best viewed in the French Legitimists. It is this party that "has made a silence in the Church which it calls peace." And at its door must be laid the misery and the disaster that have befallen not only the Roman States but the whole country. Liberals are innocent and innocuous by comparison with his and their adversaries. There might be genuine peace if this fatal tendency to ineffectual resistance could be anywise checked. For the people are satisfied with the rule of Savoy and have the kindest sentiments for the Pope. A reconciliation would cost no sacrifice of principle, would not endanger the Church, and most of all, would save religion, which may perish entirely if the discord unhappily existing continues in

the future. The one thing needful is frankly to accept what has occurred, and to convince the Italians that the Pope wishes them well, and is willing to lay his claims aside.

F. Curci, in saying all this, will appear in the eyes of many readers to have indulged his indignation and his fancy till they have got the better of his reason. He cannot with that storm of passion have aimed seriously at persuading Catholics that they ought to trust him; for any one, after a little quiet thinking over the relative feelings and opinions and historical antecedents of Liberals and Catholics, may convince himself that personal motives are no sufficient cause of the dispute between these combatants, and that whoever was Pope in times like the present must have acted pretty nearly as did Pius IX. Let his honour as a sovereign have been engaged in resisting to the end, it is still true that he resisted from spiritual motives, and because he judged it was necessary for the Church that he should be firm under illusory offers from her enemies. He stood out against the Liberals, on the ground that the Roman See had never been leagued with impiety like theirs, and because the greatest of his predecessors would have at once condemned their principles had they been promulgated in days gone by. His sacred office, and not his private wishes, obliged him to publish that the Piedmontese were guilty of robbery and sacrilege in usurping Rome, and that the city could never lawfully be taken from S. Peter to become the secular capital of a kingdom founded on injustice and revolution. How was he to keep silent when the interests of the universal Church were urging him to speak? Nor was the quarrel with Italy of his making. Even if the civil Princedom hindered the legitimate unity and was a menace to the freedom of the Peninsula—which he never thought, and the thing in itself is far from evident—still had not the same disunion and danger, if there is any, lasted for ages, had not the Roman Princedom found its place in the system of Europe, recognised by all? How then could it have been the peculiar qualities of Pius IX. that gave rise to the Italian problem? The Cardinals chose him to watch over the spiritual and temporal prerogatives that the Church had vindicated to herself long ere the monarchical consolidation of Italy was even thought of. It does not seem very just to lay all the blame of what has happened upon Pius IX. when his only assignable fault was a sacred determination never to surrender that most solemn trust.

This, in a wavering, uncertain fashion, has impressed itself even on F. Curci, and he sometimes allows that difficulties have had an existence which are distinct from those that make the staple of his accusations. Without denying her very *raison*

d'être, the Church is unable to set her seal upon anti-Christian principles in any department, not of thought only, but of action as well. Quite right, he says, the statement is more than true—it is a truism; but I fail to perceive its bearings on the present controversy. We can assure him a little reading in our English journals would acquaint him with its seasonableness. Liberals look forward in their day-dreams to what they call “a reforming Pope;” they have never seen one yet, but would willingly purchase the gratification at a great price. They can think of nothing so delectable as an infallible Pope reversing some of the infallible decrees that they have learned to dread as at first they hated them. Did the Roman Church only once contradict her own teaching, they could die happy. For it is never to be forgotten that the sure mark of a Liberal is opposition to Rome. He prophesies that she will turn out a liar in her speech; but appeals to the future because he has gained no decisive argument from the past. It is not Catholics that need to be told of the Church’s inflexible constancy to her creed; but as the world desires to think the opposite, we must never tire of recalling the fact to its memory. Why may we not repeat that the Church is indefectible when scientific teachers may repeat that nature is uniform? Again, F. Curci thinks the Pope cannot surrender his title to a genuine sovereignty, or to the territories he held before 1870. But either these words have no meaning or they concede the point in dispute. Reconciliation is as far off as ever unless by explicit or equivalent agreement the Pope consents to be a privileged subject of the Italian King. So long as he claims Rome the new state of things will be insecure, the secular government will feel itself constrained to watch his policy with suspicion, and to keep loyal Catholics out of official positions where they may help towards a restoration that can never be quite hopeless; there will be no friendship between Pope and King, but only at the best an armed neutrality. If Leo XIII. does not sincerely and without reserve acknowledge Italian unity he will be just as much its enemy as was Pius IX. Nor must we forget that the King of Italy has obligations of his own, that he cannot abdicate the possession of the Roman States, perhaps cannot transfer the seat of government to another city; that the time is gone by when he could stoop to be temporal viceroy of the Holy See, and that it is incompatible with the dignity of a king to recognise a rival who must be either the true sovereign or a pretender. The House of Savoy means to abide in Rome, and will never be on terms of amity or alliance with the Pope so long as its possession is contested at law. Moreover, were the Holy See to permit its rights to fall into

abeyance indefinitely, that would be the same thing as giving them up. And they cannot be given up, since they are necessary for the spiritual independence of Pope and Bishops. Therefore compromise is in this matter a word with no meaning. For whilst any Pope protests against the Italian occupation of Rome there must be dissension between the Quirinal and the Vatican. And did the Pope cease to protest he would find himself at the mercy of a "Law of the Guarantees," which, as is undeniable, in any single session of Parliament might be greatly altered, and, in course of time, abolished. Given a majority in the Chambers, we do not say of republican deputies, but of such "National Liberals" as have for years supported the German Chancellor, we ask whether much outcry would be made if the Pope were told that the laws of the country must be the same for all, and that it was not consistent with Liberal institutions to bestow exceptional immunities upon any citizen, even upon him? That nothing else than this would be the result of trusting an Italian Government is, we think, sufficiently probable to bar advances in the direction F. Curci points out.

This, too, F. Curci will almost grant. The Pope cannot make peace with such ministries as have ruled in Italy since Cavour died. With whom then was Pius IX. to enter upon a treaty? With earnest Catholics it would appear. We will discuss this point more largely in the sequel; all we need say now is that there will be civil war and fierce persecution of the Church at Rome before the Liberals yield up their tenure of the supreme command. Are they likely to stand by and see Catholics taking the place they are obliged to vacate, and not make any effort, through the law or against the law, on behalf of the liberty they prize? F. Curci is very simple if he thinks so. No wonder his scheme for the promotion of Catholic interests by non-Catholic methods has had scanty praise from his countrymen. The *Breve Esame* well says: "F. Curci's pamphlet is not so bad as to find acceptance with Liberals, nor is it so free from fault as to please Catholics. It has accordingly been rejected by both: *à Dio spiacente ed a' nemici sui*. As regards Catholics, the fact is proved by their unanimous outcry against him. And as regards Liberal opinion, it will be enough to quote the *Perseveranza* of Milan, which, in common with the other journals of the party, remarks that 'Curci will find no compensation for the reproaches of his former friends in the praise or the approval of the laity. These will be wanting to him, and with reason. For he does indeed advise the *clericals* to present themselves at the poll, and does all he can to quiet their consciences as to the duty of such a course; but he will

not go beyond this. He has repented of nothing, he still is incapable of understanding anything, and the end he has in view is that the *clerical* vote may be made available to destroy, if not the kingdom, at least all the fruits of civil liberty we have so far gained by it.'"

In curious contrast to F. Curci's manner, and in almost constant opposition to his thought, is Signor Bonghi's work on Pius IX. and the Conclave. The man is a Liberal, a modern, and an apostate from the faith; and yet he has taken a view of the situation that is far more accurate than Curci's. It stands to reason that he fails on the whole to appreciate the genius and the work of Catholicism; but he carefully eschews violence, and aims at leaving the impression of his simple impartiality upon his readers. Impartiality, in some sense, he has,—the result, we suspect, of acquaintance with various aspects of life and thought, and of a languid indifference to religion in the concrete. He inclines to some dim indefinite faith in "the divinity that shapes our ends, rough-hew them as we will;" but cannot bind himself down to the teaching of a particular Church. The Christian religion, he would affirm, is showing signs of decay, perhaps of dissolution; at the same time he does not perceive any new faith strong enough to grasp the sceptre that has fallen from the hands of the Pope. No Church has so much vigour left in it as the Roman; but even the Roman Church has entered upon a condition of things to which past ages afford not an exact parallel. The hierarchical principle, which is at the root of Catholic political and social organization, he considers to be directly opposite to the principles of equality and individual freedom. This is a question we will not enter on at present: Signor Bonghi's view is plausible, but false; and he would find by the aid of a little more reflection that the facts he is relying upon prove him to have mistaken the conclusion they really suggest. But to return. He thinks the Catholic Church is about to undergo a vast transformation, a change in her policy and methods; he looks for a close union between the clergy and the poorer classes of society instead of the union that has hitherto subsisted between Church and State. But he says distinctly: "Those writers who inform us that the Italian government wishes to be reconciled with the Roman Pontiff do not know what they are talking about. A *reconciliation*, if this term be taken in its precise meaning, cannot be sought by either party, and is impossible. The Pope may maintain his dignity as an oecumenical power, and his authority as such, only on condition of neither being nor seeming to be bound up with the Italian government. The day that he was thought to have linked himself with these

men, he would cease to possess the loyal confidence of Catholics in the rest of Europe and in the world at large. Just now it is more impossible than ever that he should run such a risk. For at present it is the Conservative part of society that is in alliance with him; and these have all set themselves against the political tendencies of Italy. So that once the Pope even seemed to agree with the Italian government, the Conservatives would leave him, or would give him a much weaker support than they do now."

Signor Bonghi has here touched upon various motives for continuing the policy that Pius IX. adopted. We need not examine them all; but the first is important. Why does he say that the Pope would lose his authority in Christendom if he took the offers that Italian statesmen are supposed to be making him? The answer is not far to seek. Friendship with modern governments, especially with that of Italy, would expose the Church to dangers more terrible than any she has yet encountered, for the spirit of Liberalism, which is the spirit of the age, aims directly at religion, and is always of necessity bent upon destroying it. Signor Bonghi will prove this likewise.

Nothing, he says, can be more confused than the notions upon which, for quite a century past, political parties have gone in their church legislation. The ruin they have brought about is great, nor is it due, as F. Curci would have us think, to the bigotry of the faithful; it is the consequence of legal enactments in which thus far the world has met with success. But the effects, though disastrous to the *ancien régime*, have been strange and unlooked for. Catholicity, whilst losing much, has gained not a little, and the Pope has gained most of all. The religious sentiment in many places is more active and ardent than it was before the Revolution, and the number of those that call themselves Catholics is greater than ever. Pius IX. may have done a great deal without intending it to hasten the present crisis, but to him also is due the larger expansion of Catholicism, and its vigorous revival in these latter years. All this certainly must be disappointing to the secular rulers, who had planned a very different ending to the course they began in the time of Joseph II. and Leopold of Tuscany, to whom we may fairly add Frederick of Prussia. The end, in plain terms, was and is in the motto which Voltaire invented. *Écrasez l'infame*, destroy the Church that forbids us our pleasure and our profit, had a meaning in the eighteenth century which it has not lost now, although manners have changed and it is generally recommended to abstain from hard words against religion. The danger at this moment to Churches is extreme, and we feel quite sure has not been sufficiently

brought home to the intellect of all those that might stave it off or in some degree lessen it. Voltaire is still appreciated by Liberals everywhere, and many Englishmen admire him warmly because he describes their creed for them with inimitable clearness and gaiety. Imagine him at the head of a state, and then ask if the Roman Pontiff would do wisely to make a concordat with him, and to surrender the civil Princedom into his hands? Now, in fact, the Church has to be on her guard against men whose malevolence is as great as Voltaire's ever was, whilst their experience and their fertility in devising schemes to weaken religion are much greater. They have also what is called public opinion at their back, for the voice of public opinion is heard in the newspapers, and these, as we see every day for ourselves, and as F. Curci admits with regret, are intensely secular in the views they recommend. Can the Head of the Church submit himself and his children patiently to laws that have been formed in the spirit of Voltaire? Yet such laws are daily voted by more than one European legislature. The more ancient are Erastian, the more recent are Hegelian. Voltaire would be satisfied with either system. We will explain this thought in the way Signor Bonghi has himself employed.

Some statesmen during the last hundred years have believed in Christianity as a religion. But none, none at least whose influence has been permanent upon society, have held what we may call the Papal theory as put into definite shape in the Bull *Unam Sanctam*. The most sincere Catholic of them all may have been Prince Metternich; yet the character of his religious policy plainly shows that he did not believe the Church should be free from secular interference, or that the King had not some power of dealing with spiritual concerns, as Joseph II. had done. Metternich was tinged with the Febronian, or, as, after the English usage, we have termed it, the Erastian heresy. This doctrine supposes that the nation is the highest conceivable organism in the social scale, and denies the Universal Church with its divinely-appointed centre of unity. It makes the King the fountain of all jurisdiction, so that without his consent no spiritual act can be lawfully performed within his realm. The Pope becomes "a foreign prelate," and his exercise of supremacy "a usurpation." And thus it is clear that an agreement between Church and State on the principles of Erastianism must amount to a revolt from the Catholic faith, and leads to the substitution of a department of police for the living authority of S. Peter's successor.

But Erastians of the Anglican formation have now become rare, or perhaps we ought to say they have "developed" into Liberals, for a state religion provokes scepticism in those who

have made intimate acquaintance with its character. There is nothing divine in the royal supremacy, nor has the Crown in council any claim upon the interior assent of the meanest among its subjects. National formularies are but human traditions, and are fit material for private judgment to examine and condemn. The correlative of a State Church is liberty to choose one's religion, and, if it seems convenient, liberty to choose no religion at all. For the duty of submitting to a heaven-sent teacher, as inculcated by the Roman Church, is substituted the privilege of "always learning but never arriving at the truth." A few years of such perfectly free discussion may, and commonly do, convince men of a secular turn that religious truth is unattainable, that the Catholic Church is the most mischievous of impostures, and that Catholics are involved in a network of fable and of lying tradition, which no sensible government should tolerate more than it can help. To put difficulties of whatever sort in the way of Catholic teaching, to lessen the numbers of the clergy, to minimize religious education, to hinder by legal and technical embarrassments the founding of churches, monasteries, seminaries, and the like, all this will seem to be incumbent on the statesmen whom the nation may have trusted with power. The one thing sacred and holy will be one's country, not a Church of the newest or of the oldest fashion. And all treaties with Rome will be masterpieces of diplomatic craft, by which the Pope shall be made to surrender some of his authority, and to receive in exchange for the power he has added to the State what are called in Latin *bona verba*, that is to say, promises that mean as little as possible and are never to be kept. There should always, if possible, be a concordat with the Church, since open hostility would only strengthen the orthodox tradition; and the danger to government from a formal agreement can hardly be very serious, since Rome is politically weak, and when it suits ministers' consciences they may denounce the treaty.

O bella libertà!—What fine freedom is this!—we may surely say with Elizabeth Browning, though she as a Ghibelline poet must have meant it otherwise. *Now* we know what the Italians desire of the Holy Father. They would have him consent to let the principles of Liberalism eat into the life of Christianity. But Signor Bonghi tells us that whilst all good Liberals aim at converting mankind to their side, they have begun to dispute as to the nature of the means they should employ. The explanation of this difference, which every day grows more tangible, is that all moderns are not equally attached to the principle they profess. When we turn to their

books, as, for instance, to the standard treatise composed by J. Stuart Mill, we find liberty is taken to signify "the restriction of public authority in all that regards the acquisition and the manifestation of opinions, religious, moral, and whatever other kind there may be." This, it seems, is the proper sense to put on the word in the modern dialect. Such liberty should be the *form* or ruling spirit of every civilised state. But another, derivative, sense has lately been attached to this unfortunate vocable. Liberty may point out to us, not a method, but a doctrine; it may be simply the *creed* that Liberals accept. Private judgment, the principle, when applied under certain conditions of life, has definite results, and these are the tenets of Rationalism. When the Liberal school was in its earlier stages, the principle, as we may suppose, claimed the most unqualified homage; and the universal conviction was that as soon as men had freedom to mould their own thoughts they would cast off the weight of tradition, and especially of the Roman tradition, which had pressed so heavily upon them. That anyone would use his new-found freedom only to declare that Catholicity seemed to him as true as ever, did not enter even into the dreams of Liberalism. But this has actually come to pass. Freedom to think as one pleases has not made an end of what the moderns account to be a deadly superstition. Reason still discovers over against her the ancient faith, and it is but natural that the question should once more be asked, "How may reason become sole and supreme?" The elder Liberals answer with Count Cavour that liberty alone can establish reason; they would let the creeds struggle for existence, holding that the fittest, which must be Rationalism, will survive, and that traditions will in course of time be exterminated off the earth. But Liberals of the present generation say they cannot afford to wait, and they do not see how the persons that make use of liberty to propagate superstition have any clear right to the privileges they abuse. Besides, they have lost the confidence that their ancestors had in the unconquerable force of reason; they sometimes say reason is effective only with reasonable men; and events have led them to fear that peaceable discussion may strengthen the hands of Catholics, and perhaps give them opportunities of preparing for a medieval restoration. It should therefore be provided by law that men may think and write freely, on condition that they express "their highest self," and cultivate the theories that enlightened good sense may warrant. But, in so far as they hold by tradition, they should be made to understand that liberty is not for them. Since, as Mr. Matthew Arnold has often assured us, it is society's duty "to make reason and the will of God pre-

vail." Freedom is but machinery, the one thing we all must attain is perfection, and if freedom does not give us that, it is a snare and is no better than licence. It is by no means requisite that all men should reach the same conclusions: reason tells us they are sure to differ; but it is simply indispensable that they should put away inherited forms of belief, and above all the Catholic Church, which is the one uncompromising enemy to free thought. The new school has made up its mind to spread enlightenment by force, and to preach as a Gospel of Salvation the liberty of all men—to agree with the Liberals. As all previous efforts have failed to eradicate Catholicism, and free institutions have only added to the vigour and authority of the Church, Government is now to be called upon as the true guardian of reason and progress to hasten a deliverance that else had been slow in coming. Mr. Matthew Arnold sees great beauty in an aphorism of his favourite Joubert, "*La force en attendant le droit*,"* and he recommends it to our acceptance. This may be taken to mean that if Catholics are not quickly argued out of their ancient faith they must be made in some way to feel the lash. And thus it is manifest that Liberals have gone asunder and are tending to range themselves in opposing ranks, according as their hatred of restriction or their love of Rationalism happens to be the stronger. Signor Bonghi hopes we may return to the recognized freedom of the earlier time; he thinks we shall do so. But he admits that the present condition of Europe is not such that liberty can thrive in it, and he dreads the foolish, and as he esteems them, the fruitless, efforts of the modern State to control the future developments of the Catholic Church. For he judges rightly that it is now too late in the day to change her constitution or breathe into her a new spirit.

We gather from these opportune confessions that Leo XIII. is asked to submit himself and the Church throughout Europe to a thinly-disguised Erastianism or an openly-proclaimed Rationalism. He may come to terms with men like Prince Bismarck, men whose personal notions of religion are not allowed to interfere with their political disbelief in God and a future judgment, and who would rather cast away from them all revelation than receive it at the hands of the Roman Pontiff. Or he may betake himself to the disciples of Cavour, and put the Church completely into their power to do with it as they will. Statesmen of either type are looking forward to a halcyon period when they shall no more be vexed at the sight of a spiritual kingdom in their midst, acknowledging only Christ

* He translates, "Force, until Right is ready."

for its king, and the Pope for His vicar. The spiritual majesty, they would like to believe, will some day cease to cloud the splendour of material greatness, and the Prime Minister of a State will indeed rule the destinies of the nation. And to this end they direct their engagements with the Church, for in whatever courtly phrases their intention may be wrapped up, it is evident they think themselves permitted to extend the civil authority till it has subdued all persons, rights, and privileges to its own control. In England we have hitherto not experienced the centralized despotism that has for so many years existed, for example, in Republican and Imperial France, and we are naturally slow to understand what the controversy means which the Church is carrying on abroad. Else it can scarcely be doubted that Englishmen would have heartily applauded Pius IX. in his unflinching resistance to *Diabolus Cæsar* and his State religion. When Cæsar professes to believe in God his inevitable temptation is to enter the holy place and offer incense, and to dictate articles of faith to his subjects. When he has given up believing in God, he feels high indignation at the claims of a religious body to exist within his borders, and by force or by fraud—since these are the instruments of atheistic Liberalism—he proposes to bring it to an end. What should we think of the rulers of such a body did they know all this, yet enter into a compact with Cæsar? Yet nothing less than this; as Signor Bonghi informs us, is involved in the conciliation of interests now suggested. We put it to the calm sense of the reader to decide whether—even apart from the Holy Ghost's promised assistance—Leo XIII. could dream of entering into such a nefarious transaction. Bonghi warns us gravely that "the dangers actually threatening the Church are to-day far greater than ever they have been. For the present adverse power is not like a passing tempest that bends the tree without breaking it; rather, it is like a large and steady stream, constant and sure, that every day is loosening the earth about its roots, and is leaving it bare of its most tenacious support." To the tender mercies of a great and growing Liberal spirit the Roman See is invited to trust herself, and at the same time she is warned that Liberalism will be, and intends to be, her destruction. Is there any precedent in past ages for so insane a capitulation on the part of that "*astute Church*" which has had the longest experience of institutions now extant? What is required from Leo XIII. is that he should set his name to a creed practically Febronian, and in Italy itself atheistic.

It may be objected that the Popes have at different times granted large jurisdiction to Christian princes, that they have signed concordats which were really articles of establishment,

and that Humbert of Savoy is not so very much more an enemy of the Church than was the Napoleon of whom we have just spoken, or the other Napoleon who kept up the authority of the Pope at Rome. And history may be cited in proof that former Popes have tolerated the royal supremacy, for what was Louis XIV. but head of the Gallican Church? In all this there is nothing plausible. The Concordat with Napoleon I., so far as it was ratified by the Pope, acknowledged not one iota of secular interference with spiritual things, and any one who will study its provisions in Crétineau Joly may convince himself with his own eyes that this was so. When, by and by, the French Emperor desired to have the Pope for the first subject in his realm, we know what was the consequence. The lapse of Pius VII. only gives emphatic testimony to the view we are taking, that the Church must claim her independence, and must have it, let the powers of the world make what threatenings they will. As regards Louis XIV., he was, with all his faults—and we desire not to explain away their guilt in a single detail—a Catholic at heart and in profession, and he did not imagine it possible to reform or to destroy the faith. He never looked upon himself as head of a National Church—as the history of Gallicanism closely examined will show—but took the view that Constantine and Charlemagne had taken before him. He desired to be a nursing-father to the Catholic religion, and in many respects such he was. In his day Liberalism was not born, and Erastianism (except in England and Germany) was cast out as a heresy. The French clergy were not members of an establishment; they were a distinct corporate body, paying due respect indeed to their temporal sovereign, but not invested by him with their sees, nor acknowledging any supreme head except the Pope. Certainly the State protected and favoured them; but they were not so much as harassed by a minister of public worship. If King Humbert would give the Italian bishops such a position as the clergy enjoyed in the time of Bossuet there would remain for Italy only the question of the Civil Princedom to grapple with. We are certain that Europe would not then attribute an anti-Christian policy to the King's Government; the accusation would be that the Liberal cause had been betrayed.

But are we not unjust to the Italians who urge a compromise when we represent them as wishing to ruin the Church? They, it will be said, have taken liberty for their watchword as did Count Montalembert, and are only too anxious to follow out the grand maxim of freedom in every department of the free Church and free State. In so perfect a condition of society every man may affirm that he is, morally speaking, a sovereign,

for his spiritual life is untrammelled by external authority. And the Holy Father would have distinct guarantees for his own liberty, his sovereign privileges would be a part of the solemn statute which has secured the independence of Italy. This is the new order that Leo XIII. is entreated to bless. It has made the nation great and honoured, it has put an end to the rule of the stranger and to domestic weakness, and now it will secure the future of the Holy See. Protests enough have been issued against the necessary violence which ever accompanies change, and the Papacy ought now to surrender itself into the arms of its loyal children.

F. Curci shall tell us what to answer: "Do you imagine," he wrote a few years ago, "that the Italian Liberals, who keep so close to their worthy master Machiavel, are desirous to rid the Pope of his Princedom merely that they may complete united Italy and give it a capital? I tell you it is quite otherwise. Believe me, the union of Italy is a matter of small importance to them, and of no importance at all to the foreign Liberals who have joined in their chorus. Their end in taking away the Pope's sovereignty is to weaken and embarrass, and, since they think it possible, to reduce to nothing his spiritual action in the world."* And, as we have seen, Signor Bonghi considers this to be a chief aim of Continental Liberalism. Nor must we be led away by the specious formula of Count Cavour. If what that statesman desired was the genuine liberty of the Church, why did he not adopt the simple expedient of leaving the clergy to their own devices and abolish the ministry of public worship? Such a minister, in the modern State, is the official persecutor of religion, and his historic ancestor, we must ask leave to think, is "the Roman governor" before whom Christ was brought for condemnation. M. de Mazade, who is a Liberal of the milder school, gives us in an instructive passage Cavour's real mind as to Church legislation. The one thing that he could not endure was a clergy supported, as in Ireland, by the people. Such a clergy, he said, was always ultramontane. The word had a definite sense in his vocabulary: it meant attachment to Rome, loyalty to the Vicar of Christ, and belief in the Christian theocracy. Cavour would not disestablish the secular clergy lest they should cast themselves on the devotion of their flocks; he wished that there should be no corporate influence except that of the State, and would have been loud in praise of the Anglican system, which ignores the principle of organic or living unity. To him society was no rising scale of corporate ener-

* "*Della Natura e della Grazia*," vol. i. p. 263.

gies, he saw in it only the State or the single individuals. He would willingly have treated the Church as non-existent, as invisible, at any rate, and intangible, could he have assured himself that it was likely to become so. What he could not tolerate was the *imperium in imperio* which the German lawyers had argued against since the time of Frederic Barbarossa, and he desired nothing better than to see the Roman supremacy ignored by all secular governments. His successors have gone much further, and have persecuted the Church in detail with unflagging zeal; they have impoverished not only bishops but even the most humble amongst the clergy, and we can scarcely doubt that they will confiscate what remains of the ecclesiastical possessions. Every bishop's house, beginning with the Vatican, is considered to be national property, clerics are liable to conscription for the army, every chaplain has to pay a tax upon his daily mass. Monasteries, churches, colleges, libraries, every species of church property, have been made subject to forced sales, chalices have been offered as old silver to the highest bidder, mosaic pavements and altars have been broken up and exposed for purchase. And whilst a steady course of plundering has gone on for eighteen years, we are informed that the principle that governs it all is the liberty of the Church! Nor is there much reason to suppose Cavour would have known how to meet financial difficulties so as to have kept his resolution regarding Church property had he lived a few years longer.

However, there is more to be said. Leo XIII. could not approve the formula of the Free Church though it were ever so loyally observed on the part of Government. For, first of all, in doing so he would cancel one of the condemnations in the Syllabus. It is not lawful for a Catholic to affirm that the Church ought to be separated from the State and the State from the Church. True, indeed, as F. Curci remarks hereupon, the Syllabus is concerned with principles and with the ideal of Christian politics, and does not seem therefore to immediately affect a given practical question. But the Church holds that a society of Christians ought to be a Christian society, and this is the precise antithesis to Cavour's formula. It may be asked indeed whether we can charge him and his successors with the immoral doctrine that God is the God of individuals, but not the God of civil society? May he not have intended in this phrase to indicate what he thought the best course for Italy as things now are? F. Curci would perhaps say yes. Our own impression, we must confess, is that he held the principle itself. But, secondly, however that be decided, we deny that the maxim has an application to Italy, though it may have, in a certain sense,

to some States, as, for instance, to the British Empire. Italy is a Catholic nation; Infidels and Protestants are, even at the present time, the merest handful, and have no reasonable claim to consideration as permanently established amongst the Italian people; for it is well known that conversions to Protestantism are usually impostures, and that Italian Infidels seldom die without wishing, at any rate, to make their confession, and to return to the faith which they have not entirely given up. Such a nation has a distinct and solemn duty of professing its religion before the world: if the people are Catholic, the State must be Catholic too, and the Pope cannot ratify a public renunciation of duties that lie in the nature of things. It is no mere hypothesis that may be verified or not, it is, on F. Curci's own showing, a plain fact that the Italians thoroughly believe in the faith, and so it is not a mere hypothetical obligation, but a real and urgent one, that they should possess a Catholic Government. And this brings out all the more vividly that Liberalism is simply intolerable at Rome and Florence, for the people could not be Liberals unless they ceased to be Catholics. The Pope, therefore, cannot accept any of the alternatives offered. He can give no countenance to political atheism or to the Free Church. He can do nothing that would strengthen the hands of Liberals, or perpetuate the inability of the Italian people to have a true and genuine Catholic government set over them.

But once more F. Curci entreâts a hearing. Why, he begins, should not this very method, principle, or call it what you will, of non-interference with religion, bring about the desirable result? Let Catholics take their share of the public honours, as they already are made to bear the public burdens. Throw parliament, the courts, the diplomatic career open to Catholic candidates. Government has expressed the heartiest wishes for the entry of Catholics into political life, and it is only religious scruples, and these ill-founded, that have held the nation aloof from it. He will not enter on the details of a plan; his former one was Utopian, and he does not care to defend it, but many ways are conceivable in which Catholics might gain the upper hand over the Liberal minority let them once have desired it. At any rate, there can be no sin in making the attempt; whilst continued abstention from the arena leaves infidelity triumphant, and forbids the hope of a happy future.

Before dealing with the thoughts thus forcibly recommended to us, we cannot but point out that they throw no light on the question which many will say is at the bottom of all Italian difficulties,—the question of Rome. With a Liberal govern-

ment the Pope, it is granted, cannot make terms; but we ask would a Catholic government insist upon the unity of the Italian nation as it now exists? For a sincerely Catholic power to not merely occupy Rome or keep the Holy Father a prisoner, but insist upon the possession of Rome as its indifeasible right, seems to us something inconceivable. For in such a case the Pope would have protested that he is sovereign ruler of Rome, and Catholic Italy would answer that his claim is essentially unjust. Common sense tells us that either the Pope must give up such pretensions or Italy must withdraw from her political dogma, the unity of the peninsula under one government, else genuine and final agreement there never can be. This is so clear that the word reconciliation is interpreted always by F. Curci and often by the Liberal writers as only "a provisional arrangement," a "*modus vivendi*." But expedients that serve for a time, whatever their usefulness, are not here in question. A hollow compromise is one thing; peace is quite another. We should like to hear from F. Curci what he holds on the Italian unity considered in itself. Ought it to exist as the normal constitution of the country, and not in the federative but in its present shape? We have seen, in our previous articles on this subject, that the Pope insists on his territorial independence, and it is obvious to remark that this brings with it at least a *dualism* in the sovereign powers in Italy. The difficulty will then increase if a Catholic government rules at Monte Citorio. For Catholics know that the Pope is *de jure* king, and how can they withhold from him what it is sacrilege to have taken away?

But touching the principle of abstention, we may best perhaps quote a passage out of the *Breve Esame*. It should convince Liberals that even Jesuit politicians know how to be fair. The author grants that the well-known formula, *nè eletti, nè elettori*, is matter of dispute. What, however, he says, the Catholic press has committed itself to, fully and finally, is that nothing will justify men who take upon themselves the sovereign authority to legislate in Rome. If the Holy See permits them to do so, well and good; but until it has in some way notified that permission Catholics may not occupy a seat in Parliament. Moreover, when the Supreme Pontiff, whose alone it is to judge in such questions, had given the requisite leave, would the greater number of Catholic voters,—who are a majority on the list,—avail themselves of their liberty? They were not only allowed, they were strongly exhorted to take part in the municipal elections, but how few thought of doing so? And is it so certain that to give up the policy of abstention would bring more advantage to the Church than to the Church's enemies? If we may conclude anything from their eager desire to see

such a change, we shall not readily answer yes. Signor Bonghi, in a late article, which he would seem to have written under a feeling of exasperation, goes so far as to threaten Catholics with the consequences if they continue obstinately silent. Their abstention, he says, has the air of a constant protest: it hampers the home government of the country, and weakens its diplomacy abroad. So long as the Chambers do not represent the whole mind of the nation they will remain a prey to factions, and will show little moderation in their conduct. "A State that bears within itself so tenacious, even if it be not a very valiant, opposition, may escape, indeed, causing anxiety to its well-wishers; but its enemies will hope and the indifferent will suspect that it is not sound at heart, and that the first shock may reveal the decay that is attacking it within." Now, ought we, except upon very long and very grave reflection, to help the Italian Government to such a notable improvement as would result from giving up the protest? F. Curci may think the time has come, but language like Signor Bonghi's should make us hesitate. At all events, it is not proved, and will perhaps seem unlikely to such as are well acquainted with Italy, that Catholics entering Parliament would confer a benefit on the Church, or prevent new mischief. Italy is divided against herself so long as there exists an active Liberal minority with a pliant monarch to second their designs. Suppose the two Italies brought face to face in the Chambers. Straightway the conflict would gain a life and an intensity that might lead, in but a few months, to a *coup d'état*, or a Republican *émeute*. The desired reconciliation might become more difficult than it is now. The spectre of the civil Princedom would never be laid, and it is doubtful whether the Holy Father could remain in Rome to await the issue of so perplexed a struggle.

Such reasoning is important, because of those who utter it, and has its weight. It enables us to see why the majority of good Catholics have hitherto preferred to wait in patience rather than to risk these unknown dangers. He would be a bold man who should say that their duty is plain, that abstention is foolish and criminal in the sight of God. And we may safely gather from it that even the Popes themselves may not as yet have decided on the merits of the various courses. Pius IX. at first was silent, and then recommended Catholics to vote in the elections that were not political. What will his successor do? The question is but remotely connected with matters of faith, reasons suggest themselves for and against abstention, and time alone will manifest what is the more advisable policy. But it is folly to think that change in political action always must imply a revolution in principle, and no

reflecting person does think so. Whether the Italians are permitted or forbidden to vote it remains true that the present controversy is between Rationalism and Faith, and since these cannot be reconciled Leo XIII. must ever stand where stood his unconquerable predecessors. The world hated them, it will hate him. As he loves the Faith it will be his happy portion to confess it in the presence of kings and people, and to suffer for its sake. We have the sternest of realities to deal with, principalities and powers, an uncertain future, a clouded and disastrous present. But of the evil influence we know that it is intensely active, "because its time is short." The Church, however, because she is promised an eternity of life, is patient; and her strength shows itself in a calm endurance that centuries of persecution will not wear out. The kingdom of Italy could not hold up under a single assault from the German Empire. The Roman Church has not merely survived a four years' trial under Prince Bismarck, but is living on after dynasties of kings had threatened her with death, and coalitions had come up to destroy her, and every weapon and every deceit of the temporal ruler had been forged against her peace. Which, then, of the parties to this modern conflict, can afford to wait with entire trust in the righteous Providence that guides the course of history to the "far-off, divine event" which is its final scope? That the Church can wait, we know. But Italy?

Two things we will observe in conclusion: one is, that Leo XIII. has an almost indefinite liberty of action, more than any of his predecessors for a very long time. "The old order changeth, giving place to new." Leo has not the burden of sustaining a defective system in the world around him, much evil mixed with more good, as many a Pontiff has had since the Reformation. The system has been broken to pieces, and we must now think of construction *de novo*, not of a restoration upon the ancient lines. F. Curci need not imagine that Catholics dream of going back; they desire rather to forget the things that are behind, and with the courage of a young, even of an adventurous race, to push onward, to make progress, to build up a new world in the desolate wastes that Liberalism has created since it came to the pre-eminence. Catholics have genuine principles of life, growth, and development at their ready service. And principles once acknowledged, the measures to be taken are infinite in variety and number, for science does not limit experience, but makes it fruitful and orderly. Leo XIII. has no engagements to keep that can fetter his action, for the world has almost ignored him, as it ignored Pius IX. whenever it was able; and he may, therefore,

inaugurate a policy that shall reflect his own mind and provide for the interests of the Church. If abstention from politics seem to him the wisest plan, he cannot be obliged to advise meddling in them; if activity and combination are more likely to benefit religion, he sacrifices no principle by directing the hands and hearts of Catholics to action. If, as Signor Bonghi prophesies, the Church is to put aside her former alliance with kings to rely only on the people, that may be done without consecrating the liberalism of democrats, or abetting the schemes of socialists. The resources of the Church are more abundant than superficial observers might think, for it is the spirit that subdues in the end, and not the arm of flesh. And all her resources are at the command of our Holy Father, for trouble and persecution have taught us our lesson, and we recognize now that the interests of all the Catholic nations and of all particular Churches are best defended at Rome, and no modern Febronius will convince us that it is good to be jealous of the Holy See. We have come back, after our many experiments in modes of political life and individual development, to the grand theocracy which is as far removed from irrational sacerdotalism on the one hand—from the denial, that is, of a real temporal order and of true human society—as it is and must be from irrational secularism on the other.

But all is not said. We have a divinely-ordained ruler, freedom from obsolete systems, large liberty in special acts of a political and social nature; we have inexhaustible life secured to us, and resources more than can be reckoned. But have we the light to comprehend our position, and, above all, the energy to sacrifice ourselves for a supernatural ideal? There is no higher energy in the world than free-will, if it be exercised on right principles. But do we understand what is required of us? Catholics are to win over the good of modern life to the faith; they are to overcome its evil. They are to take its *prestige* from Liberalism, and to once more imbue the common mind with religious ideas. They are to create a Catholic Christendom on the ruins of the Middle Age, and after the nineteenth century, in spirit and influence, has passed away. What is divine in the Catholic faithful is perfect; but the human is not so. How serious our deficiencies it would be long to tell: the first step towards removing them, however, is frankly to say they are there. No indolent, untrained, *fainéant* generation, though it were most orthodox, could conquer the mighty spirit of evil that is abroad in the world; and most unfair as it would be to describe Catholics in such terms, yet there is some ground of justification for F. Curci when he employs them. His book is not wholly false, nor his charges wholly unfounded.

Especially as regards the Italian character will a foreign Catholic, even if he loves Italy and its people, admit that there is much to be altered. It will take more than a day and a year to work the change ; perhaps the "chastisement," as Pius IX. so often called it will have to be continued. This is certain, that upon the enlightened and combined energies of the Catholic laity and upon the large generosity and acute judgment of the clergy much that should be in the future will depend. Nothing can come that is good except our faith be sincere, loyal, thoroughly Roman. But it must animate heart and intellect, must make us observant of the world that is leagued against us, and keen to understand what the moderns really desire. Never was danger more pressing, never were Christians required to be more noble.

ADDRESS ON SCHOOL-WORK,

DELIVERED AT AMPLFORTH COLLEGE ON THE RE-OPENING
OF STUDIES, AUGUST 28, 1877.

[Bishop Hedley has most kindly permitted us to republish this address, and has revised it on the occasion. Our reason for asking his permission was, that the subject of College Education has of late been actively ventilated among Catholics, and that we do not remember ever to have seen any remarks on that theme with which we are more entirely and unreservedly in harmony than with Bishop Hedley's.]

BISHOP HEDLEY, after expressing the pleasure it gave him to have the opportunity of meeting the professors and students at the re-commencement of their work, proceeded as follows:—You are going to begin work, then ; and being here this morning to wish you a happy and hearty beginning, I think I cannot do better than say a few words on the character of good and real school-work. The first and most essential quality of all real work is Purpose.

By purpose I mean the notion of what we are aiming at in our work. The great thing for a boy at school is to have the idea that his life at school has a purpose at all. Many boys whom I have known had no purpose, except some vague and hazy general aim. There are numbers of fairly creditable boys, who do not sufficiently see the "why" of many things. Let me mention a few classes, whom most of us have met. There is the boy who looks on school-life as "stupid." This word is one of those vague and interjectory boy adjectives, which chiefly serve as labels for whatever is in any way objected to. These words, hardly rising above the rank of

inarticulate cries, are, to boys and young men, a great saving in the expensive article of ideas; and are not "slang," only because slang expresses conceptions, however objectionably, but these words, like a howl or a squeak, are mere nervous force transformed into sound. But the boy who labels his school-life as "stupid" has generally, to do him bare justice, a more or less definite idea of what he means. His feelings are much the same as those of a busy man who has to wait two or three hours at one of those junctions where the lines join but the trains are far apart. School seems sheer loss of time. He looks round and he sees nothing that interests him. Companions, books, work, masters, all are wearisome and irritating. He does not want them. What he wants is something else. When there is a world outside where people go to and fro, do things, have things, and enjoy themselves, why should uncomfortable fate fix him a prisoner here? Why should rules threaten him, tasks intrude upon him, boundaries keep him in, bells ring him about? What he wants he does not clearly know. It is impossible that he should. The work, the bustle, the pleasures of the world, such as they are, are not for him, even should he manage to get away from his desk and his task. But he does not understand this, and therefore he is oppressed with the "stupidity" of school-life. He ought to think for a moment whether the stupidity is not chiefly the result of having no idea what purpose he is at school for. Then, again, there is the boy who thinks school not only "stupid," but unjust. This boy makes his objections more personal than the other. To him school is a prison, masters tyrants, rules slavery. He is hot, quick, and shallow, and therefore is often found railing at persons and things, protesting against points of discipline, and loudly avowing his intention of not working or not obeying. Of course there is no such boy—save in that limbo where abstractions are stored and types kept in stock. But many boys conform to him in a degree, and pass through a good deal of their time with a feeling that a large part of their work and discipline is useless, and therefore tyrannical, invented by grown-up people to embitter the existence of the young. These again fail in understanding purpose. Then, thirdly, there is the boy who takes school life quietly enough, without fuming or chafing; but who looks upon it merely as a time to pass over, a state to be lived through. To use a second railway illustration, he is like one who waits at a level-crossing for a long goods-train to pass by. The train does not concern him, except that it prevents his going through the gates. Its length, its make-up, its variety of noise, its whole appearance cause a languid interest, but the chief thought is "How long it is in going by!" So, to such boys, the fact that school-time passes very slowly is the chief fact in their life. They take no interest in their work as a whole, but only in a bit here and a bit there. If they are naturally sleepy and easy-going they mope; if they are lively they snatch at every amusement that comes in their path. They lose, without even a pang of remorse, a hundred golden opportunities every day. The best faculties of their mind and heart lie asleep, or from want of exercise never grow strong. And, since the mind and heart must be filled and fed in some way, evil comes to seek them whilst they neglect to go in search of good. To these again what is chiefly lacking is the notion of

purpose. What I would wish to urge upon even the youngest boy here is this—that in school-life there is such a noble and important purpose to aim at, that any boy who thinks school “stupid” must be stupid himself; and any one who looks on his school either as a prison or a mere necessary evil, is like a man who keeps his shutters closed in broad day, and then goes on grumbling that the sun won’t rise.

There is no nobler work, and no more essential process than education. In one sense, a man is being educated till he has breathed his last breath. But the education of school has a most important character of its own. To educate is to cultivate, develope, and polish all the faculties—physical, intellectual, moral, and religious; and to give to a boy’s whole nature its completeness and perfection, so that he may be what he ought to be and do what he should do; to form him as a man, and to prepare him to do his duty in life to those about him, to his country, to himself; and so, by perfecting his present life, to prepare him for the life to come. This is a formidable description. But really no other conception of education is at all an adequate one. This is the duty which fathers and mothers owe to their children, and this is the duty which masters of a school like this have undertaken towards those committed to their care. And as for those whom I am now addressing—I mean the boys present—this description should let them understand what is the aim and the purpose of the work which they are beginning to-day. The work is, to educate themselves; and to educate themselves means to aim at what I have very briefly tried to express. It is *their own* work. Parents and masters have their share in educating a boy, but he must educate himself. He is not a piece of marble; which a man may cut away with a chisel till he puts it into shape; he is not a canvas on which a painter can put colours and rub them out as he pleases. He is a living thing, with a free will; he can push himself on, and he can control himself; and whether he thinks of it or not, he is always growing or altering for better or for worse. So that a parent or a teacher has no chance with a boy unless he tries to educate himself. Is it not the same all through life? No one can do to another’s mind anything worth naming, unless that other does it also to himself.

My object, then, is to make you begin the year’s work with the aim and the purpose of educating yourselves. Let every boy who has come to the use of reason use his reason, and say to himself, I intend to make myself! The expression is a true one. We do make ourselves—always pre-supposing the grace of God. Just as one of you may make a walking-stick out of a hazel branch, so a boy in his young years is only the raw material of what he ought one day to become. He has to be bent and persuaded, and carved and polished, before he is what God wants him to be. Presuming that every one of you is anxious to begin at once to make himself, I think I hear some of you enquire, What must we do? For, of course, it is very evident you cannot be called upon to invent a whole plan of education each one for himself. Very few men, even with the experience and reflection of maturity, have the power to originate or work systems of education, let alone a boy who is as new to the task of making himself as a novice to his breviary. But no boy has to do this. What is this college

for, what are the books hidden in those desks for, what is this array of reverend masters for, except to show you the way? Boys have lived before you; wise men have tried systems innumerable; failures have been made; successes have been achieved; schoolboys have grown up and lived to analyse, in advancing years, the secret of the happy issue, or the disastrous issue, of their early training. And the results of much experience of the past, and of much thought in the present, are seen in the organisation of a well-conducted college. Therefore my advice is this:—Work under your masters and with your masters; but work cordially and intelligently. Fall in with the routine and the order of the school, but understand the reasons of things. Do not allow yourselves to be mere pawns upon a chessboard—mechanically pushed about by rule and regulation. Let each one be an intelligent atom of a great organism, entering with understanding and good will into all the work of the place. And it is not too much to say that to a boy who has an intelligent idea of what he is at school for, there is not an hour of his school-life which he may not turn to account in the making of himself. Study time and play time, class work, books, games, conversations, all do their part in the great process of education. A boy is ignorant, incapable, and rude, and what he wants is, information, capability, and culture.

As to information, though it is not by any means the whole of education, yet it occupies a very prominent position in the routine of school. Our minds, when we are young, are like blank paper—and, indeed, it may be said that the paper itself has to be manufactured. At school this paper, such as it is, gets written upon; the empty pages get filled with impressions from without. We are brought into contact with the past and the present. We have to learn what men have thought, what they have said, and how they have said it, during the centuries that went by before we were. We have to note and remember the things that have happened, and take to heart the touching histories, the dramas of hate and love, the play of passion, the evil and the good, that have followed each other across the surface of this ancient world. We have to study the world itself—its earth and water, its plants and its beasts, its climates and its skies. We must know something of the forces which work the changes of the hours, or of the centuries. There is nothing which exists at this moment when we ourselves exist, or which is in contact with us through records made in days gone by, which we might not know; and nothing which we can know without work; and no work which can be efficient or sound unless, in some sense, it begins at school. Except where ignorance comes from a just and necessary cause, an ignorant man is a disgrace and a failure; and, in ninety cases out of a hundred, an ignorant boy means an ignorant man. The boy with a purpose, therefore—such as I am sanguine enough to presume each of you has—wants to learn, tries to learn, and is glad to take the means to learn. He follows his classes carefully, is avaricious of his time, explores well the innermost interior of his study-books, and does not object to turn even his recreation to account in picking up information. And so he becomes in time a well-informed man, which is a good deal, though not all that he should be. But in reality he learns, as he goes on

from class to class, much more than mere information—more than Latin, history, mathematics, and physical science—he learns one or two of those mighty secrets which, like weapons, multiply a hundredfold his power for aggression or for defence ; he learns by his experience that the hardest things may be mastered by industrious labour, by repetition, by the process of little by little, by attention, by intensity, by docility. Furnished with such weapons as these, he can go forth, when he leaves his school, and conquer new realms of learning in divinity, physic, law, or practical work. But even this is not all that is required of him, nor all the work that lies ready to your hand at school. I do not wish to speak of strictly religious work, though it is true that where religious principle and practice are wanting, school-work is but a disorderly chaos, matter without form. But there are “habits” of the heart which stand under and sustain religion like the arches of a bridge ; and we learn them at school. We not only store up information, and provide the means of success in life, but we may also begin that “culture” of the whole man, which is at once so lovely in itself and so powerful in its effect on others. Large-mindedness and elevation of view mean the habit of treating trifles as really trifles, of appreciating lofty pursuits and noble motives, and loving what is true, good, and beautiful. This we may practise at school every day. Every hour we may habituate ourselves more and more to that sympathy and consideration for others which, springing from humility, and bringing with them carefulness of outward manner, are the truest description of what is meant by a gentleman. All these different matters—the acquisition of information, the formation of mental capacity and culture in its highest sense, are part of the school-work. They all go to prepare, form, and make the man. There is no such thing as a good citizen, a good neighbour, or a good man, unless these things are attained somehow ; and grace, prayer, and sacraments being supposed, they are the exercises which prepare us for our eternal destiny.

Such is your work. It is truly a work which may bring impulses of soberness and seriousness both to masters and to learners. It is a disastrous and even a horrible thing to educate a child wrongly, to spoil his mind or heart, whether by neglect or by severity, by indulgence or by evil teaching. Such a thing is not to be suspected here. Even if you and I did not know by experience what sort of bringing up boys receive here, we should be inclined to take it for granted that Benedictines know their business. I believe in the Benedictine tradition. Without claiming perfection for any system which is administered by men, and without wishing to institute inept comparisons, I am quite sure that there is a something in the school-life of a genuine Benedictine house, which belongs to itself alone, and which notably helps and suits a large number of young people. In a Benedictine house the school is still, in a sense, a part of the cloister. When you visit in its ruins, or in its transformation, some great English abbey of Black Monks, such as Durham, Westminster, or Gloucester, you may remind yourselves of the many generations of young boys who have sat, book in hand, on the stone benches of those glorious cloisters. A monastery is a family : and in a family interests are common, the

members play into each others' hands, and every one works for the good of the whole. It is one of the marked features of the Benedictine tradition, founded on a well-known passage of the rule, that even the youngest members of a community have some kind of a voice in the concerns of the whole house. Now it is most essential for education, that each boy in a school should be treated, not as a mere unit, but as a definite individual, with special strong points and special weaknesses. But whereas in most schools single masters or tutors have single departments, and no one superior has the right, or the requisite information, to treat a boy with due reference to the whole of his character, this weakness in schools is to a very great extent obviated in a Benedictine school, because, in some degree, the whole teaching staff know something and care something about every unit in the school. Not that there is any formal comparison of notes, or holding council of boys' characters, or foolish or fussy interference; but the effect is sufficiently produced by that beautiful community life of which S. Benedict drew the lines. And not only does each small plant stand a chance of being treated as it needs to be treated, but it seems to me that in a house like this the plant takes kindly to growing. The theory in such houses is that education means growing, coming out, developing; and not repression or keeping down. Nothing can grow without warmth and geniality. If boys be kept at a distance, or chilled by severity, or subjected to a too unvarying drill, you may make them hide some of their vices and faults, but neither their minds nor their hearts will grow. If the training given be chiefly negative—you shall not do this, not desire that, not imitate the other, then the boy enters the world as Dædalus launched himself upon the air, with wings ready to melt off at the first heat, and with nothing to stay his foot between himself and the depths of the sea. But a Benedictine house is a house which fosters rather than represses, which encourages the exuberance of nature, whilst it does not omit to prune and to guide. The boy is not so much subjected to the exasperating pressure of wooden rules, the reasonableness of which it is difficult to demonstrate, and which he breaks with little remorse, thereby contracting one of the worst of bad habits, an ingrained taste for licentious liberty; but experiences rather a paternal watchfulness which lets him go far enough at times to burn his fingers, but does not allow him to fall into the fire, and so teaches him by small practical experiment that lesson of all lessons, that wrong and evil inevitably carry with them their own punishment. The effect on a boy's heart is, that he has simple views about spirituality, holding for his main and guiding principle that the perfect man is he who most perfectly gives God his whole heart, and trusts to God's help and light for each hour as it comes. In a Benedictine house the problem of how to make boys love religion is grappled with and fairly solved. The monastic choir, resounding at all hours with the Divine praise, and slow and solemn vesper, the festivals of dim and far-off saints who lived simple lives and ruled men in their day, are fitted to attract young hearts. The noblest ethical education is to learn how to give God one's whole heart; and in a monastery the whole routine of life should teach this lesson, not as from pulpit or from desk, but as the

heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament His power and mighty works. Doubtless, no school can go on without a well-understood and firmly-administered system of punishment. But punishment may be used so as to heal and not to bruise, to help and not to harden. The monk understands, or he ought to understand, the effects, psychological, moral, and spiritual, of pain ; how pain, sullenly resisted, only hardens the heart the more and makes human beings into wild beasts ; and pain accepted heals the heart to a fervour of regret and of loving conversion to God which it may have never known before. The monk has himself gone through a training during which he has been more or less at the mercy of superiors whose kindness, godliness, and good intentions have not always secured them against misunderstanding him in many trying ways ; and he has learnt not to be off-hand with the mysteriousness of a soul, and to wait patiently before he thinks he can read a heart, much less condemn it. And therefore the monastic teacher has generally two good qualities—he is patient, and he speaks. This latter gift in a tutor is so valuable that, it seems to me, if a parent could only be sure that his child at school would be duly spoken to, he need be anxious about little else. By speaking, I mean saying a word to a boy when the word would do good—a word of warning, of chiding, of remonstrance, of encouragement. Speech is the appointed mode of true education. Machinery, routine, books, and exercises have their important place ; but the spoken word is absolutely essential, even for imparting intellectual training, but much more for touching, guiding, and helping the heart in its earliest efforts, struggles, mistakes, and miseries.

To such work, to such teachers, to such a tradition I leave you. Love your work, trust your teachers, and be glad that you are where you are.

Notices of Books.

The Church and Civilisation : a Pastoral Letter for Lent, 1877. By Card. PECCI, now LEO XIII. Translated by H. J. GILL, M.A. Dublin : Gill & Son.

CONSIDERING that the author of this Pastoral is now the Vicar of Christ,—one to whom all loyal Catholics tender their affectionate and reverential homage,—we should be guilty of simple impertinence if (without some very abnormal necessity) we were to make it a matter of literary criticism : and we observe with pleasure that Mr. Gill appends no comment whatever to his translation. Our present observations then shall be strictly confined to one particular, on which remark seems not only permissible, but even called for.

It has been alleged by persons who are not confessedly out of their senses—at all events who are not in confinement, for if they were they could not publish—that the doctrine of this Pastoral is discordant from, or at least not in strict harmony with, that proclaimed from time to time *ex cathedra* by Pius IX. For our own part on the contrary—if it were our business to review the treatise—our very first comment would be, that it is a singularly faithful paraphrase of Pius IX.'s "*Jamdudum cernimus*." And this latter Allocution (our readers may remember) is the one cited in the Syllabus, as authoritatively setting forth the sense in which the Pontiff condemned that proposition of the Syllabus which praises up "modern civilization." "Let things be called by their true names," pronounces Pius IX., "and this Holy See will ever be consistent with herself. For she has unintermittingly promoted and fostered true civilization; and the records of history most expressly testify that in every age the same Holy See has introduced into the most distant and barbarous lands true refinement of manners, cultivation (*disciplinam*), wisdom." This may be accounted the text of Card. Pecci's Pastoral. Moreover Card. Pecci himself (p. 34) refers to the Allocution in question, as showing the true sense in which the Pope has spoken in the Syllabus.

Another ecclesiastical authority to which Card. Pecci refers is the Vatican Council. These are the words of the Council, as he expressly cites them in p. 35, note. "Wherefore," says the Council, "the Church is so far from opposing the cultivation of human arts and disciplines, that on the contrary she in many ways forwards and promotes them. For she is neither ignorant of nor despises the advantages thence accruing to human life; yea rather confesses that—as they have their origin from God Who is the Lord of sciences—so, if they are rightly handled, they lead men towards God by the help of His grace."

Lastly, Cardinal Pecci regards the Syllabus as the Pope's *ex cathedra* teaching. In reference to this eightieth condemned error,—he speaks of the “civilization which *the Church condemns*, and with which her august Head, *the infallible Master of the faithful*, says that he can have nothing in common” (p. 34).

Here then is a writer, who builds his doctrine on an Allocution of Pius IX., and on the teaching of the Vatican Council ; while he regards the Syllabus as having been published by “the infallible Master of the faithful.” And this is the personage who has been gravely represented as discordant in doctrine from the spirit of Pius IX.

It is really difficult to see what those are driving at, who dwell on the allegation of certain supposed differences between the policy of Pius IX. and Leo XIII. Nothing can be more simple than a Catholic's position. A difference of policy between two Popes must either involve some difference of doctrine or only some difference of practical judgment. As regards the former alternative, Catholics are confident that it will never have existence. As regards the latter,—loyal Catholics have no other rule of action, than that of strengthening the reigning Pontiff's hands by hearty and humble co-operation, whatever be the course of policy which he accounts expedient and wise. It is his business, not theirs, to direct the Church's action. “And so as regards” Pius IX.'s “successors,”—said F. Newman, several years ago,—“it is our duty to give *them* in like manner our dutiful allegiance and our unfeigned service, and to follow them also whithersoever they go.” We have more than once cited with hearty sympathy these expressions of F. Newman, which indeed but express with characteristic felicity what is held by all dutiful sons of the Church.

An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine. By JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, D.D. New Edition. London : Pickering.

IT is a matter of singular felicitation both to F. Newman and the Catholic world, that he has been spared to complete the corrected edition of his works, and so place (as it were) his final seal upon them. It would be unsuitable in a mere notice to attempt any appreciation of their magnitude and value. But we may say that there is none of them with which the series could more appropriately and worthily close, than with this “*Essay on Development* ;” which may be accounted a kind of bridge uniting the two great portions of its author's theological life.

When one considers the circumstances of extraordinary excitement, and the other innumerable disadvantages, under which the original work was written, there is one fact about this new edition which impresses us as an absolute marvel. We refer to the fact that—in republishing it after thirty-three years of Catholic life—F. Newman has found no need of making any one theological retractation. This fact illustrates a peculiarity of his which is evidenced in a hundred other ways ; viz. his very

unusual power of uniting the keenest emotional susceptibility with profound and unruffled thought.

We cannot however be contented with any mere notice of a work, which will indisputably form an era in theological science; and we purpose therefore devoting an article to it in our next number. But we must not omit to say one word here, on F. Newman's characteristically graceful response to a very opportunely graceful act. The governing body of Trinity College, Oxford, did itself honour by electing him honorary fellow of the Society in which his undergraduate life was spent. Accordingly the present volume is prefaced by a charming dedication to the President of that Society.

Mr. Froude's Life and Times of Thomas Becket. By EDWARD A. FREEMAN, D.C.L., LL.D. *Contemporary Review*, March and April, 1878.

ALL lovers of truth will congratulate themselves that a writer of such accuracy, historic insight, and high moral tone as Mr. Freeman should have turned his attention to Mr. Froude's work. We have ourselves criticized that work in the present number; but we must not fail also to bring directly before our readers' attention Mr. Freeman's criticism of the same writer. And this is the more desirable, because, as Mr. Freeman justly remarks, Mr. Froude "writes with an air of quiet confidence which is likely to take in all whose own studies have not qualified them to answer him." "Never, surely, did a false prophet succeed so thoroughly in putting on the outward garb of the true."*

Mr. Freeman's criticism of Mr. Froude's general disqualifications as a historian may be summed up under four heads: ignorance, inaccuracy, a wrong motive, and fanaticism.

He accounts for Mr. Froude's ignorance by his own statement that he "had not made history the study of his life," but had taken to writing it "chiefly because he had nothing else to do. The consequence naturally was, that he rushed at a particular period without any preparation from the study of earlier periods." "Even where he does not directly misconceive everything, nothing can be more meagre than his general picture" (pp. 825, 835).

Mr. Froude's inaccuracy Mr. Freeman ascribes to

"an inborn and incurable twist," some destiny that "he cannot escape," which compels him "to tell his story in a different way from his authority." "Come what may, Mr. Froude's story must not be the story in the book. If the book calls a man by one name or title, Mr. Froude must give him another name or title. If the book says that a thing happened in one place, Mr. Froude must say that it happened in another place"; or "on one day of the week, Mr. Froude must say that it happened on another day. . . . Mr. Froude could not have been a free agent when, meeting with 'Robertus Filius Walteri,' fully and clearly described, he changed him into 'Sir Robert Fitz-william,' without any description at

* March, pp. 821-2.

all. Nor can it be supposed that a man who has been Fellow of Exeter College can really believe that 'prædictæ rationes' means 'shortened rations,' or that 'sæcularis potestas' means 'rude policemen from London.' But the necessity was upon him; as his book said one thing, Mr. Froude was bound to say something else" (p. 827).

Mr. Froude's motive in undertaking the study of this period is to deal a blow at the "modern sacerdotal party," one of whose earliest efforts "was an attempt to re-establish the memory of the martyr of Canterbury." Mr. Freeman justly remarks that "to re-establish the memory of Thomas of Canterbury may seem at least as worthy an object as to re-establish the memory of Flogging Fitzgerald or of King Harry himself. . . . It does not, like the two other 're-establishments,' imply the defence of any matter of wrong or wicked lewdness." He pays the tribute that is due to the "credible historical work" of the elder Froude. He suggests that "natural kindliness, if no other feeling, might have kept back the fiercest of partisans from ignoring the honest work of a long-deceased brother, and from dealing stabs in the dark at a brother's almost forgotten fame." But Mr. Froude's way of speaking ceases "to be startling to those who have read" his "slenderly-veiled works of fiction, and who know the key to them" (pp. 832, 822, 833).

But one characteristic goes yet further to disqualify Mr. Froude to be a mediæval historian. "This is his fanatical hatred towards the English Church at all times and under all characters. Reformed or unreformed, it is all the same. . . . It is a hatred compared to which I" (Mr. Freeman) "should think that the enmity of any Nonconformist, religious or political, must be a lukewarm feeling. It certainly surpasses anything into which an ordinary layman can throw himself even dramatically. It is, I should guess, a degree of hatred which must be peculiar to those who have entered her ministry and forsaken it, perhaps peculiar to the one man who first wrote 'Lives of the Saints,' and then 'Shadows of the Clouds.' " To this same transition from hagiography to "Shadows of the Clouds" and the "Nemesis of Faith" Mr. Freeman attributes other "very astounding performances" of Mr. Froude's:—

"That any man could venture in a civilized, not to say in a Christian, community, to put forth some of the moral theories which Mr. Froude puts forth, to defend some of the acts which Mr. Froude defends, might indeed seem beyond human belief" (pp. 828, 823).

Mr. Freeman's detailed criticism of Mr. Froude's misstatements and omissions is valuable and suggestive. He points out that Mr. Froude knows nothing about the important fact in the history of Thomas and his age, that Thomas, "born in London of Norman parents, . . . was in all but actual descent a thorough Englishman" (p. 835), and was looked on as such by both friends and foes. Thus S. Thomas is "the most illustrious example" of "the fusion of Normans and English" which was "the great work of the century."

The "grotesque misstatements" which take the place of an opening picture of the times, Mr. Freeman duly exposes. On the "very touching

story of young Henry's death, he says, "I can at least see nothing to sneer at in the deep and solemn repentance of his death-bed. I do not know whether Mr. Froude would have thought better of him, if his life had been equally criminal and his latest hours had not been equally penitent" (p. 838). The dishonest quotation as to what was said "at Montmiraux" does not escape Mr. Freeman's lash. He shows that there were among the clergy of the time, "as among other men, both good and bad. The fault lay not at all in the absence of the good, but in the toleration of the bad. The Bishops of Henry II.'s reign . . . were by no means a contemptible set of men, either in attainments or in character. . . . Some of them had distinctly risen by personal merit" (p. 839). He asks "for justice," and "that a whole class of men shall not be described from the portraits of the very worst among them." He protests against drawing a black picture from the class of writings of which those of Nigel are specimens. For "no man was so likely to draw an utterly one-sided, a grossly-exaggerated picture, as a man who was really stirred up by righteous zeal against the vices of his age" (pp. 84-12).

Mr. Freeman tells us, in an amusing style, how Mr. Froude disposes early of S. Thomas's parents; how he gives him a guardian, whose name Richer he improves into Richard, and "vacations" among "young men of rank and fortune"; and how he sends him to Oxford, probably because Merton Abbey, to which he really went, "might easily suggest Merton College," and the church of Otford, mentioned by Fitz-Stephen, suggests Oxford by "exactly the same process as that of the '*prædictæ rationes*.'"* Nor does he pass over Mr. Froude's conversion of S. Thomas's father and kinsmen from London barons into traders; nor the omission of his employment by the sheriffs, which was "a very important stage in Thomas's life, perhaps the turning-point in his own career." He also notices Mr. Froude's words, "Becket contrived to recommend himself to Theobald," whereas "it needed very little contrivance to make the archbishop take kindly to a young man of promise," whose father was an old acquaintance, and who brought introductions from common friends (p. 122). As to S. Thomas's pluralities, to which Mr. Froude "as usual" gives "a false colouring" by "a most unfair comment," Mr. Freeman proves that they were a natural consequence of the feudal character of Church offices being strongly insisted on by civil rulers, and that S. Thomas "was neither better nor worse than those around him" (p. 128).

Mr. Freeman's indignation reaches its climax when he comes to the Chancellorship. This is the stage in S. Thomas's career in which he takes the warmest interest. He says: "Had Thomas never become primate, martyr, and saint, he would still have been entitled to no small place in English history;" and naturally viewing him in a non-Catholic light, he seems to regret the "world-wide fame of one kind," which "has gone far to defraud him of a fame less brilliant, but perhaps more solid, of another kind."† He protests against Mr. Froude's picture of S. Thomas's conduct in that office. "Anything more monstrous never

* April, p. 119.

† March, p. 833.

appeared from the pen of one who professed to be narrating facts. . . . It is the crowning case of an ignorance truly invincible of the man and the times of which he has undertaken to write. . . . The Chancellorship of Thomas is so important a stage in the history of Thomas, of Henry, and indeed of England, it is so utterly and scandalously misrepresented by Mr. Froude, that I must now do something more than point out Mr. Froude's particular perversions of truth. I must attempt a picture of the kind of work which as Chancellor he had to do, and of the way in which he did it."* For this conclusion of Mr. Freeman's we indeed incur a debt of gratitude to Mr. Froude.

Mr. Freeman recognises the three sides of S. Thomas's character as soldier, minister, and primate. He points out how Mr. Froude ignores the first, and perverts a passage of Grim, because it "was convenient for his partisan purposes" "to describe him as a man stained with murder and rapine" (pp. 131, 134). As for the second, "Thomas was, for party purposes, to be described as an unscrupulous and tyrannical minister. Facts were accordingly dealt with so as to produce that picture. . . . The statement that Thomas was beloved, not only of the King but of the whole kingdom, and the facts which show how he came to win that love, find no place in the story." Instead of Mr. Froude's "ludicrously inadequate description of the nineteen years' anarchy" under Stephen, Mr. Freeman gives us a graphic picture from the *Peterborough Chronicle*. "The nobles of the land were driven from their possessions." "In every third township a den of robbers, called a castle, had been set up," and every kind of horror was done by the "devils and evil men" who filled the castles. "The royal power had vanished." "The Church alone kept up the faintest shadow of law." "When violent men did what was good in their own eyes, peaceable men cherished the Church and its jurisdiction as the only source whence ought like justice or mercy was to be had." Within three months this anarchy was transformed by the advice of the Chancellor into a state of peace, which is described by Fitz-Stephen in what "is almost a poem, or what it is the fashion to call an idyll," and which is fully borne out by more sober histories. "Surely the man who was foremost in bringing back peace and law after the great anarchy—that anarchy which has no later parallel—is fully entitled to one of the highest places in the bed-roll of illustrious Englishmen" (p. 136).

Mr. Freeman next points out that the Chancellorship is further memorable for the share that S. Thomas had in the administrative and legislative work of Henry's reign. "One of the greatest blows to feudalism," by the introduction of *scutage*, "was dealt by the hand of Thomas." "Recognitions in judicial proceedings, the greatest of all steps towards the full development of jury-trial," were "established during the administration of Thomas." Many of the early charters of boroughs bear his signature. Thus "three great changes, three great beginnings of reform and growth in our military, our judicial, and our municipal system," come within the time when S. Thomas was minister. Hence "we are fully justified in saying

* April, pp. 128, 131.

that the man whom Mr. Froude knows only as an unscrupulous and tyrannical minister, stained with deeds of murder and rapine of Mr. Froude's own finding out, is entitled to a place in the foremost rank of those who helped to give the laws of England their later shape" (p. 137).

Mr. Freeman promises us at another time a "picture—very unlike Mr. Froude's picture—of the personal character of both Chancellor and Archbishop." Looking at the subject from a different point of view, we should possibly give a picture very different from either. But we shall look with interest for Mr. Freeman's picture, being confident that it will be drawn from true historical facts in a fair and generous spirit.

La Lettre de Mgr. Csacki et le Thomisme : par le R^{év.} PÈRE P. BOTTALLA, S.J. Poitiers : 1878.

THIS little work has several points of interest for such as are reading in what is termed Catholic philosophy. For it is to this branch of science that F. Bottalla, whose name we are glad to meet once more on a title-page, has been lately giving himself; and in the present writing he undertakes to discuss, not the great theological system known as Thomism, but a portion of the Thomist theories regarding *matter*. He has much to say that many will take a pleasure in believing. Not that his aim has been to examine S. Thomas's own opinions on physical forms, their changes, and their subject. The inquiry might have proved a curious one, since it is not clear that S. Thomas was herein a Thomist. But, perhaps, we are as yet in too early a stage of criticism on the Angelic to know what precisely he did hold; and, at all events, F. Bottalla has been anxious to throw light on a much more important dispute. Accredited teachers, like Goudin, Gonet, and others of their school, have delivered to the world a doctrine which, as they assert, is the true metaphysical foundation of the physical sciences. They profess to be following S. Thomas, and his master the Stagirite, in so teaching; and it is certain that, if a sound form of words could always ensure identity in meaning, they are not far wrong. Some expressions of theirs may seem to be new; but, on the whole, what we read in the latest authorities is taken to the letter from mediæval treatises, especially from the *Summas* and the smaller works that S. Thomas has bequeathed to us. Moreover, we need not scruple to assure ourselves that, let the founder of the school have intended to say what he will, the disciples know their own mind, and have not swerved from it. Thomism is, perhaps, better understood than any of its rivals, and especially as regards the question that F. Bottalla has here mooted. *Materia prima*, *forma substantialis*, *corruptio unius*, and *generatio alterius* are consecrated phrases, the exact significance of which any text-book will furnish. But when we have come to understand them all, two very serious inquiries open upon us. Do these terms represent the metaphysics of matter, so far as experiment and observation have enabled us to judge? And is the Thomist doctrine in any way recommended to Catholics by the Church?

Were it possible to answer the second question in the affirmative we should have gone a good way towards deciding the first. Much would depend upon the kind of recommendation, no doubt, and upon the degree of it as well. But, if the Holy See or an Œcumenical Council approved Thomism in a marked manner, that theory would soon be the only one taught from Catholic chairs of philosophy; the others would fall into discredit and be forgotten. And one of the first consequences, we may venture to surmise, would be this, that modern physics and modern chemistry, as now cultivated amongst us would prove a source of continual embarrassment to men who by their calling were scientific, but who desired to show all reverence to faith and authority. One can even imagine that such perilous studies would be given up, and that a widespread decay of physical knowledge would set in. It is, to say the least, remarkable that whereas the Jesuit Fathers have mostly disbelieved in Thomism, they are and have been the chief Catholic students in what we know emphatically as modern sciences; whilst the school that has grown up devout to mediæval physics has made no reputation in this domain. Now a barren theory in physics is, on the face of it, a false theory. Did Thomism hold the secret of nature it would long since have bestowed upon us the sovereignty over nature, for here, if anywhere, knowledge is power. But, apart from such considerations, we think it obvious that in practice one of the two systems must yield to the other. And were the Church to advocate the ancient, there would speedily, so far as Catholics are concerned, be an end put to the modern.

What, then, have Popes and Councils had to say in the question of the elements of matter and the laws by which they are combined? Words have often been quoted from the Council of Vienne under Clement V. in 1311, and from letters of our lamented Pontiff Pius IX., which he wrote to condemn the teaching of Günther and his school in Germany. All the expressions taken together amount to this, that the human soul is *per se*, essentially, and immediately, the *form* of the human body, and that our human nature is made up of two partial substances, the body and the reasonable soul, which both coalesce into one substantial unity. From these statements it was argued, first, that the human body has by itself no reality or substance, but is *pura potentia*, and *materia prima*. The meaning may be brought out if we say that, on the Thomist theory, death would be not the separation of body and soul, and the resolution of organic compounds into their inorganic elements, but the reduction of the body to a state in which it could not even *exist* for one moment did not a new reality spring up to take the place of the soul. This new reality was termed *forma cadaverica*. So that man, whilst he lives, is a compound, to speak precisely, not of body and soul, but of soul and of that mysterious *materia prima* which has long held the world in admiration. Again, what the Church holds regarding man, Thomist interpreters have stretched till it includes all material things, and the elements themselves. Thus, it would follow that loyal Christians should certainly accept the Thomist theory when speaking of man, and to be consistent, should make it the exclusive pattern of their views even upon the inorganic universe,

Chemical theories, as put forth by late writers, might indeed be tolerated, but they would be contrary to the mind of the Church and to the Catholic principles laid down not only in the Middle Ages, but in the present day.

It was, therefore, a benefit to theology almost as much as to physical science when Mgr. Czacki, writing in the name of the Holy Father, published his well-known letter last year. He tells us, in plain words, that we have perfect liberty to think as we please on the composition of matter, and that no Catholic definitions have lessened the freedom which, certainly, the schools have hitherto enjoyed. The Church protests by her decisions the substantial unity of man, but has said nothing that requires us to believe in *materia prima*. And though a Thomist may feel convinced that his theory alone is consistent with this substantial unity, still, *that is merely his inference*, and he has no right to put it into the mouth of authoritative teachers.

Such is the staple of F. Bottalla's argument, though we have not aimed at giving any proper account of his book, which must be dealt with in a somewhat different way from that we have taken. He stands on the side of liberty, and claims it for himself, as we think with entire justice, whether we regard what the Church has had to say, or what the constitutions of the Society prescribe. It is conceivable that a *certain* interpretation of the Thomistic theories may agree profoundly with what modern science has to teach. But that is not the chief thing to look at. The chief thing is to keep in view that we may experiment, inquire, conjecture as much as we choose, provided we respect the reality of matter, and the substantial unity of man as a sensitive and reasoning creature, and are willing to submit our intellect when the Church has anything further to teach on these questions. We should not conclude without remarking, that F. Bottalla gives us a large amount of information on the different views that prevailed in the mediæval universities, and that he has taken the greatest pains to be accurate. The work he has set himself to accomplish is just now, we feel, much required, and will repay him for his conscientious trouble in getting through it.

Quarterly Series. Twenty-fourth Volume. The Sufferings of the Church in Brittany during the Great Revolution. By EDWARD HEALY THOMPSON. Burns & Oates. 1878.

IT is certainly not a little remarkable that the narratives and incidents afforded by the great French Revolution never fail to excite new and fresh interest. Whether invested with the startling features of Carlyle's great epic, or told in stories like Miss Martineau's "Peasant and Prince," and Miss Tytler's "Citoyenne Jacqueline," or in a calm, collected narrative of historical facts, such as Mr. Thompson's, we never weary of the details, and always close our book with the feeling that we have learnt something new about the hundred-times-told tale. In this present case we find ourselves face to face with a large store of new facts, for the sad

tale of the revolution in the French provinces is far less known than that in Paris and its neighbourhood. And, unhappily, when religion has been swept away, and faith uprooted from the mass of any labouring rural population, it is far more difficult to infuse and restore them than it is to act upon the more criminal but better taught and more intelligent class of workmen in large towns. About ten years since, when the writer of this notice was living for some time in Paris, and helping in one or two among the countless good works of that marvellous capital, a respectable woman of the better class of poor from Normandy was dying in one of the hospitals of painful disease. To all suggestions of prayer or petition for the forgiveness of God, she answered that she should not and could not pray, but added at last: "*Mais pourtant j'ai un certain respect pour l'Être Suprême.*" Such an announcement, so strangely bewildering to English ears showed how utterly the revolution had torn up the very foundations of faith; and the volume before us throws an unusually clear light upon the exact steps by which this was done. We do not quite agree with Mr. Thompson's moderate estimate of the evil condition of the superior clergy at that time, for the number of those whose scandalous example had sapped the faith and morals of France was very large. And also, according to the saying of a modern French historical writer, there can be no doubt that when the "philosophers" came to set the house on fire, they found it ready to their hands, crumbling with rottenness and decay. Indeed, it seems to be a law of the history of the Church that when any terrible chastisement occurs, it has been preceded by unusual corruption of the clergy and religious houses. But as a set-off to the prominent examples of apostasy Mr. Thompson's book brings out the courage and faithfulness of a great multitude of French provincial priests, whose sufferings and temptations we shall not fully appreciate till the day of their reward. The very name of Brittany is associated in the mind with fervour of religious faith, and religion in that province altogether seems to have been remarkably flourishing in the latter part of the eighteenth century. "The clergy were a zealous, unassuming, well-instructed body, entirely devoted to their round of sacred duties, and possessing the respect and confidence of their flocks. . . . Christian education flourished; crimes were rare, and the morals of the population remarkable for their purity." The number of wayside crosses may be imagined when it is said that it would have required between £60,000 and £70,000 to restore those destroyed during the Revolution. The first blow to Breton faith came, as usual, through education, by the suppression of the Jesuits in 1773, and very soon afterwards the "new ideas" of so-called philosophic doubt began to creep in. Next, the lower clergy, or great body of curés and their vicaires were deluded under specious pretences into taking part in the representation of the National schismatical Councils. The States-General met in 1789, when the king was drawn into the fair-faced plan of assembling the "Third Estate," a kind of House of Commons, in which the middle classes and lower clergy were to sit. A fresh division of dioceses was then proposed, which in reality was a scheme of Church spoliation denounced by Pope Pius VI. as a work of darkness. Th

deplorable weakness of Louis XVI. was then giving every encouragement to evil-doers in their revolutionary work, and the next step towards schism was the oath of allegiance to the new constitution proposed to the clergy, and which was so framed as to bind them to a new Gallican State Church. This was firmly opposed by Mgr. de la Lurancie, the heroic Bishop of Nantes, who was consequently denounced to the assembly, and imprisoned. Then came the outburst of the storm which was to sift the Church in France as wheat. The King, whose true piety and most loyal love for the Church never for an instant failed, was misled by too easy a belief in his counsellors to side with the Assembly as to the constitutional oath, and many of the Breton clergy were deluded into taking it. The Bishops of Agen and Poitiers, however, nobly made their profession of faith in public, and in all, out of the hundred and forty-four bishops of France, only four fell under temptation and took the oath.

It is well worth recording, that of the admirable Sulpician priests, founded by M. Olier, not one was entrapped into this act of schism. The first schismatical bishop was Expilly, the curé or rector of S. Martin-de-Morlaix, who was forced on Quimper by the Directory in 1790. The Bishop of Rennes having refused to consecrate him, Talleyrand, the notorious bishop of Autun, performed the ceremony. Soon after the general intrusion of schismatical bishops, the veil of hypocritical softness was thrown off, armed bands of National Guards began to attack the faithful Catholic populations of Brittany, and violence and bloodshed were seen on all sides. The brave protesting bishops were hunted up and obliged to fly for their lives, and in this way nine schismatical bishops, some of them of very indifferent character, were forced by degrees upon the nine old sees of faithful Bretagne. Farther evils, of course, then marched on with rapid stride, and when the intruded bishops and curés found their churches empty, and even barricaded by the loyal Catholic flocks, they had immediate recourse to the unfailing violence of hirelings. At Nantes, the abandoned schismatic bishop, Minée, went to the length of ordering the Sisters who served the General Hospital to be flogged, for refusing to assist at the intruded priest's Mass. It can scarcely be believed now that this order was carried out, and that in so brutal a way that one of the Sisters died on the following day. Minée then visited the Carmelite Convent near Nantes, where the nuns having firmly refused to acknowledge him as their bishop, he gave up the house to a troop of National Guards and abandoned women, who dragged the nuns to Nantes and shut them up in the castle, more dead than alive. These outrages and countless other such acts were done while the rulers of France were loudly proclaiming full religious liberty to all manner of men. The King's flight to Varennes having been attributed to a conspiracy of the clergy, then the favourite theory for every occurrence of the revolutionary party, the priests at Nantes were subjected to the most shameful usage, and were imprisoned in the seminary under an apostate Carmelite monk. At Brest the sufferings of the imprisoned clergy were even greater; and the furious and corrupt mob inflicted every kind of outrage upon them. The civic authorities even appealed to Expilly, the schismatic bishop, to remove

them, but he refused. The Breton women showed remarkable courage at that terrible time, and, in spite of the unheard-of cruelties and outrages committed upon them by the National Guard, they would meet the intruded curé's visits with showers of stones; and, in one instance, a number of washerwomen of Rennes treated the bishop's vicaire to a sound beating, and afterwards ducked him in the river. In the year 1792, the Directory ordered the arrest of all the priests throughout the Côtes-du-Nord, and the fortress-prison at Dinan was filled with the aged, sick, and infirm clergy. Some were tied together, others bound back to back and seated on donkeys, others fastened to horses' tails, and dragged along to the sound of blasphemous songs and a scraping violin. At Rennes they were "interned," *i.e.*, forbidden to go beyond the walls, and whenever they were seen in the streets were subjected to every sort of outrage and insult. The next public step was to abolish all the religious congregations, even those for nursing the sick or teaching the poor, and at the same time all special ecclesiastical dress was forbidden. In the Assembly, the schismatic bishops and priests laid down their crosses and took off their *calottes* (caps) and bands, while shouts of applause from the benches greeted these acts. When, in the fatal June of that year, the mob had invaded the Tuileries, bands of savage men roamed through the provinces, beating and laming priests with scourges of plaited ox-tendons, and fired at them while saying Mass. After the King had been taken in August to the Temple, which he was only to leave for the guillotine, the fury of the mob in the Breton towns became more like diabolic possession than any mere human rage. Priests were crowded into abbeys and churches, deprived of food, prevented from sleeping, and pursued with refined cruelties of every kind. At last, "deportation" was insisted on, and before very long four thousand French priests were crowded into Jersey. The priests at Nantes were not allowed to go to England, as they wished to do, but were shipped off to Spain. Those who were too old or too sick to be sent on board the vessels remained in the castle, and were afterwards massacred by Carrier. It is almost impossible for us to picture the sufferings of the faithful Breton country-people when deprived of their clergy. Many were struck down by illness, the sickness literally of a broken-heart, and died; others went out of their minds. Those who could do so travelled miles to hear the Masses that were said by the disguised priests who still remained, hidden in the farms and scattered cottages of these faithful poor; and for ten long years Mass was thus said and heard in secret, and at the peril of death, at all sorts of hours, in Brittany.

It was reserved for Brittany to be the first scene of the "noyades," or wholesale drownings, invented by the infamous Carrier for ridding the province more quickly of the persecuted faithful priests. They were tied together, generally back to back, and embarked on the Loire in vessels in which large holes had been bored, temporarily plugged. Carpenters accompanied the doomed companies, in a smaller boat, to unplug the holes, and leave the sinking vessels to their fate. After awhile, these "noyades" included a vast multitude of loyal Catholics, men, women, and children, who were all stripped, bound, and tied together two and two.

The revolutionary tribunal set up in Brest was one of the very worst in France, being partly in the hands of an apostate monk, who seemed to delight in heaping outrages upon the faithful clergy. No account has hitherto been given of those infamous acts of this tribunal which are now recorded by Mr. Thompson. The details given by him of the ingenuity of torture employed throughout those terrible months show that the fierce spirit then excited against religion in France was thoroughly diabolic. This spirit became by indulgence so fiendish, that in one instance the executioner purposely allowed the guillotine to shave off portions of the head and face of a priest before severing the head from the body. But all other horrors of the time yield to those endured by the priests imprisoned, to the number of between four and five hundred, in the floating hall of an old slave-ship, *Les Deux Associés*, at Rochefort. Their sleeping-place, which was only five feet high, was divided into two tiers, both of which were crammed with bodies, so interlaced that there was not an inch of room anywhere. The unfortunate men were thus confined for fourteen hours throughout the summer heats, with one single opening for air, which was covered with a thick trellis. They were devoured by vermin, and breathed the fetid stench of the sick and dying. It seems almost impossible that any should have survived to tell the heroic tale of confessorship; but we yet learn from them how the pale and wasted faces shone with heavenly light, and how unfailingly they cheered and comforted each other, while, what is almost more miraculous, under the repeated searches of their guards, several of them managed to preserve the Blessed Sacrament about them, as well as the holy oils, with which they anointed the sick, and one relic of the true Cross. There were two other ships used as priests' prisons; but the treatment on board them was not so bad as that recorded of *Les Deux Associés*. Out of seven hundred and sixty priests who were taken on board the floating prisons, two hundred and twenty-three survived, who were carried ashore to the former Convent of Notre Dame, then used as a prison. The scene after this landing was inexpressibly touching, for crowds of people had gathered to minister to the wants of these noble confessors to the faith. Some brought clothes to replace the vermin-covered rags; others bread, wine, meat, and vegetables; others cartloads of wood, as the winter was extremely cold; and ladies were seen carrying mattresses, sheets, and blankets, and spreading them in the various rooms. Doctors and surgeons hurried to give their services, while the very poorest offered to bake and wash the clothing that might yet be made serviceable. We cannot linger over the time when the clouds were clearing away; in 1799, Napoleon Bonaparte proclaimed liberty of worship, and the last priests martyred for their faith were put to death in the latter part of that year or the beginning of 1800. In 1801 the famous concordat was signed under Pius VII., which once more restored the Church to a civil existence in France. It has been shown at length, in a former volume of the "Quarterly Series" (Life of Pope Pius VII.), how the First Napoleon disfigured the restoration of religion by pride and self-will, and notably by choosing fifteen bishops from the "constitutional" ranks of schismatic clergy.

We can only say, in conclusion, that Mr. Healy Thompson has done his work well. His narrative is clear, even, calm, and filled with facts ; and in carrying his readers through the revolutionary history of the most Catholic districts of France, he has enlarged the body of evidence upon the great laws of spiritual rebellion, which, while occupying fresh fields and offering new varieties of evil, leads inevitably to the same disastrous results.

A Compendium of the Philosophy of Ancient History. By the Rev. HENRY FORMBY, Author of "Monotheism the Primitive Religion of Rome," &c. London: Burns & Oates; New York: The Catholic Publication House. 1878.

MR. FORMBY is so constant and powerful a champion of orthodoxy—so full of public spirit—so keenly alive to the needs of English Catholicity—so fruitful in most valuable literary work—that we wish we had more sympathy with the publication before us than we can honestly feel. But we hardly think that the theories with regard to the mission of ancient Rome advocated by Mr. Formby in previous works have obtained such general acceptance as to justify their being set forth in a "compendium," meant for the use of young students of ancient history ; and their publication in such a form has this manifest disadvantage, that only the conclusions can be given, with the briefest outline of the arguments by which they are arrived at. No Catholic critic will dispute the general theory that the thousands of years before the coming of our Lord formed a long period of preparation for the success of His mission, and that ancient Rome bore a most prominent part in this preparation. In this general thesis there is nothing new. But Mr. Formby goes beyond this. He endeavours to show precisely in what way ancient Rome was a great agency in preparing the way for Christianity, and, to our mind, he endeavours to prove too much ; and, at times, in his zeal for what he believes to be the true theory of Roman history, relies on very doubtful arguments. This is not a place to go into a detailed criticism of the theory ; nor, indeed, would it be fair to base such a criticism on the little book before us, seeing that Mr. Formby is the author of a more important work on the alleged monotheism of ancient Rome ; but, to illustrate our meaning, we may briefly note some of the objections which strike us most forcibly. In the first place, we believe that Mr. Formby very much exaggerates the amount of intercourse between the Hebrews and the rest of the ancient world. It seems to us that he argues too much upon *a priori* grounds—"One would expect it was so—it was so," is often the form in which he states his argument, and it is not difficult to glide from such an argument into a vicious circle. He acknowledges that we find surprisingly little allusion to the Hebrew people in ancient writers, and then proceeds to say that this must have been the result not of their ignorance, but of the awe the Hebrew name inspired. This, however, is

as yet a gratuitous assumption, and until Mr. Formby finds some more plausible explanation of the silence of Greek and Roman writers we must hesitate to accept his theory that the Greek philosophy had its actual and immediate source in the schools of Carmel and Sion, and that Numa was an historical personage, who gave to ancient Rome a religion and a code of laws based upon the Mosaic revelation. Really, the Jews were a very isolated people, and their laws were often directed to maintaining this isolation. Their geographical position was a very peculiar one, for though, at first sight, they seem to have been placed in the centre of the civilised world, in full communication with all parts of it as Mr. Formby tries to show,—they really were cut off from it. Philistine and Phœnician held the coast; the best way from Syria to Egypt was by the sea; and the roads from Asia Minor and Europe to the East ran through Syria and by Damascus, without actually entering the hill-country of Palestine. Thus, even the commerce of the Jews was local. Unless we have some real proof of their early communication with the West, we fail to see why we should cease to hold that whatever is morally good in the laws, religion, and philosophy of Greece and Rome comes, not from Jewish schools, but from the conscience and reason of thoughtful men, aided by portions of the old tradition of the days when men were yet of one family and tongue. The tendency towards monotheism observable even in pagan Greece and Rome, is but the result of that partial knowledge of God which is part of man's birthright in all times and countries. There is no need of a Numa to account for this. The length to which Mr. Formby pushes his theory seems to us to somewhat distort his view of the facts. His account of the religion of ancient Rome is far too optimist, and his attempt, on the authority of an earlier English writer, to identify the Capitoline Jove with Jehovah, would not stand the test of modern philology. We might say much more in the way of objection, but this is not the place for a full discussion of the subject; and, apart from the merits or demerits of his theory, we fully think that these two works of Mr. Formby's will have the good effect of attracting increased attention to the Christian view of ancient history.

We trust that, in saying what we have said, Mr. Formby will not think us unmindful of his very great claim on the respect and gratitude of English Catholics. Still his theory is so definite and (as one may say) aggressive, that we do not see how it is possible for us, in noticing it, to assume a neutral position.

The Influence of the Schoolmen upon Modern Literature: a Prize Essay read in the Sheldonian Theatre, Oxford, June 13, 1877. By ROBERT JOCELYN ALEXANDER, B.A. London: John Murray.

THIS is the Essay which obtained the Chancellor's Prize in the University of Oxford for the year 1877, and it is in several respects worthy of notice. Thus, it is significant that the subject of it should have been selected as a theme by the Oxford authorities; and it is indi-

cative of the very considerable change which has of late years come over the public mind, that Mr. Alexander's treatment of that theme should have found favour with the examiners. It is a cheering token of the advancement of true science, that so emphatic a recognition as we here find of the greatness of the mighty masters of Catholic theology and philosophy should once more be possible in that ancient and splendid home of learning where some of the greatest of them lived and worked, and where for so many generations their names have been covered with contempt or, at the best, consigned to oblivion.

The influence of the schoolmen upon modern literature is, of course, too great a topic to be handled in an essay, except in the barest outline; nor is it to be expected that a young Oxford Bachelor of Arts should have mastered more than the rudiments of so vast a subject. But it is evident that Mr. Alexander has, at all events, a certain amount of direct acquaintance with some of the scholastica, and that he has read, or at the least discriminatingly looked into, a good many modern authorities upon them. The task which he proposes to himself is to inquire what the effect of scholasticism has been on the form and on the matter of modern literature, meaning by "matter" the thoughts underlying all form, and by "form," style and method,—the accidents, of which thought is the substance. On the first head of this inquiry he quotes with approval Sir William Hamilton's saying, that "to the schoolmen the vulgar languages are principally indebted for what precision and analytic subtlety they possess;" and the following sentence of Condorcet's, "*La scholastique, qui produisit dans la logique comme dans la morale, et dans une partie de la métaphysique, une subtilité, une précision d'idées, dont l'habitude, inconnue aux anciens, a contribué plus qu'on ne croit au progrès de la bonne philosophie.*" On the second head he traces the effect of medieval thought, in these latter centuries, in psychology, ethica, political and historical ideas, ontology, theology, philosophy in general, and poetry. On the whole he has executed his task very well. There is indeed a great deal very open to criticism; but it would be ungracious to dwell upon that in noticing a performance of this kind, which really contains much good matter carefully put together, and gives promise of better things hereafter. We trust the author will be able and willing to follow out at greater length and with profounder studies the subject he has so well approached in this essay.

The Christian Reformed in Mind and Manners. By BENEDICT ROGACCI, of the Society of Jesus. The Translation Edited by HENRY JAMES COLEBRIDGE, of the same Society. London: Burns & Oates. 1877.

THE "Christian Reformed" of Benedict Rogacci will be very differently estimated by different readers. We suspect it will excite enthusiasm in few. For purposes of retreat, and by thoughtful readers, it will be valued as a course of sensible meditations and instructions, written in a

plain, unpretentious style, and embodying, as the preface points out, "the whole substance and system of the exercises of S. Ignatius, although not precisely in the form in which they lie in the meditations themselves." But it will not coax an unsympathetic reader into a careful perusal. Two hundred years ago the publication of the "Christian Reformed" would have been an event, but now most readers of ascetical works are familiar with the thoughts and manners of meditation found in it, and many will think them commonplace. We doubt, moreover, if the work presents an adequate idea of a retreat given by F. Rogacci. We have the *matter*—clear, thoughtful, copious, and intrinsically powerful, yet not apt to be more effective than, unfortunately, truths of faith usually are. The living voice was something, we are sure, very different. The matter informed by the spirit of the preacher—by the play of voice, the earnestness of delivery, and the adaptation to the hearers—was probably bright, interesting, and extrinsically powerful. We might apply to the work a thought put forward by the author in the preparatory meditation. Truths of faith, such as are the subject-matter of the Meditations, if thoroughly mastered, are sufficient to enable men to become saints; even one eternal maxim might be the beginning of eminent sanctity, as happened to S. Anthony, S. Francis Xavier, and others; and yet such truths, though known and common to all, are barren of all fruit in the greater number.

Judged, however, not as many readers will judge it, but on its own merits, the work is wanting in nothing that would make it useful for any one who takes it up in good earnest. Four Meditations are given for every day of a week's retreat; but a plan is given for three meditations daily, in accordance with the practice of the experienced Father himself. Sixteen considerations for practical self-reformation (*risforme*) are included, and a brief summary precedes each meditation and consideration. The considerations are excellent; indeed, are the best part of the volume. As eloquence is not a characteristic of F. Rogacci's work, a fairer estimate of it will be formed from the plan of one of the discourses than from extracts. The following is a skeleton of the fourth Consideration, which is, "On the most efficacious and proper manner of resisting temptations." 1. The nature and variety of temptations may be discerned—*first*, by marking their productive principle, whether it be human or diabolical; *secondly*, by distinguishing the different objects towards which they tend, or the faculties through which they assail; and thus some are found to be intellectual, others impulses of the irascible appetite, or of the concupiscent; and *thirdly*, by observing the different manner in which they assail, that is, whether they are practical or speculative temptations. 2. Three useful considerations are to be noted—*first*, that temptations are unavoidable, unless by a special grace; *secondly*, that they are very dangerous to the careless, inasmuch as the enemy brings to the attack the keenness of an angelic intellect and the experience of ages; and yet, *thirdly*, that they are of the utmost profit to those who resist them manfully. 3. Although temptations cannot be wholly avoided, their force and frequency can be diminished—*first*, by banishing their ordinary occasions and sources—pride, idleness, familiarity with danger; and, *secondly*, by cultivating

antagonistic dispositions—cheerfulness and peace of mind, mortification of the passions even in lawful things, and a loving thought of God often renewed in the course of the day. 4. Against temptations that cannot be avoided, for some there will be, there are ten useful helps from which the soul may choose, as it sees best—prompt resistance; occupation of mind; recourse to the angels and saints; acts of virtue contrary to the suggestions; thoughts on the contrast between the transitory satisfaction, bitter repentance, and keen remorse which follow sin, and the peace and joy which spring from temptation overcome; the danger of sudden death while in a state of sin; reproaches against the spirits of evil for their fall and their malice; a calm rational dissection of the sin suggested; acts of faith; inviolable confidence (pp. 317—328).

Such an instruction thoroughly mastered means the knowledge of an important chapter of ascetic theology; and our summary, brief as it is, will show how thorough in exposition and full in details are the meditations and instructions of the "Christian Reformed."

Select Works of the Venerable Father Nicholas Lancicius, S.J. Translated from the Latin. Vol. I. *The Yearly Eight Days' Retreat, and How to Profit by it.* With a Preface by FATHER GALLWEY, S.J. London: Burns & Oates. 1878.

F. LANCICIUS wrote his treatise on the Eight Days' Retreat for members of the Society of Jesus, and to them and to all religious it is especially addressed. Still, it is not exclusively meant for them, as the venerable author says in his preface, written four years after its composition, "I have hopes that it may prove of service even to those living in the world, who, without going into retreat, devote a portion of each day to meditating on heavenly things, and who are desirous of becoming perfect, and friends of God." The chapters are devoted to setting forth clearly the objects to be held in view in a retreat, the fruits to be derived from it, and the manner of preserving its benefits in the soul. In the end, the points for meditation are added as an appendix. The preface by F. Gallwey gives a sketch of the life of F. Lancicius, and an intimate view of the hidden life of his soul, taken from one of his letters to the Father Provincial of Naples. Lancicius was born of Calvinist parents. When only five years of age, he was taken by chance into a Catholic church, and there, at the moment of the Elevation, seeing a vision of our Lord in the Host, he fell prostrate to adore Him. This he always regarded as his first act after attaining the use of reason. Being sent in his youth to the college of the Jesuits at Wilna, he embraced the Faith and entered the noviciate. The direction of souls was his great work, and he kept written down the names of his thousands of penitents, that he might the better remember to pray for them. One of his greatest characteristics was his thirst for suffering, and his constant prayer for more and yet more of the cross was answered in life by many bitter trials and calumnies, and in death by the affliction

of a body covered with incurable wounds. Such was he who, following closely the Master's footsteps, could well make known His ways to others. The author of the sketch of his life, in the preface, believes that the treatise here printed as the first of the series of his works "will prove of very great value both to religious communities, and to priests, and to the laity of both sexes, who have adopted the pious practice of giving every year some days to holy retirement and spiritual exercises."

Possibly it might have been of advantage if one or two explanatory foot-notes had been added. For instance, at p. 227, the list of questions that might be proposed at a community recreation requires the reader to recollect that they relate to the science of two hundred years ago.

Conferences for Ecclesiastical Students and Religious. By M. TRONSON. Translated by Sister M. F. CLARE, Author of the "Spouse of Christ," &c. &c. London: Burns & Co. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1878.

THE translation of M. Tronson's *Conferences* is not the least valuable of the works with which Sister M. F. Clare has enriched our Catholic English literature; and though we may not assign her as much merit for it as for one of her original works, we must highly estimate her wisdom in choosing and her ability in translating it. The learned and hard-working nun has accomplished her task so well, that the best evidence of its being a translation is to be found on the title-page and in the preface. The only fault we see is the questionable translation of a word here and there in the quotations, and misprints in the Latin, especially in the latter half of the volume. It is likely that these blemishes have forced themselves on the attention of the author, yet it may be wiser for us to point out the pages in which we have noticed them than to state the fact vaguely—(pp. x., 234, 364, 373, 396, 397).

We expected to find in the *Conferences* some signs, at least, of an ultra-rigorous asceticism. Rightly or wrongly, such a spirit is said to be at home in the Sulpician school; but certainly it has not found its way into the *Conferences* of M. Tronson. The eighth and ninth, on Mass and Holy Communion, might tempt us to qualify our judgment, only that we remember "the translation was undertaken at the request of the president of a college for ecclesiastical students," and is offered to "ecclesiastical students and religious." That circumstance defends the somewhat severe spirit of the *Conferences* named. For the rest we see nothing out of harmony with the teaching of the best and safest masters of the spiritual life. The disciple of M. Olier had inherited a sublime consciousness of the dignity of the priestly office.—"The priest should be perfect, because he is the representative of the All-perfect; because the functions which he exercises, the Sacraments which he administers, are perfect" (Preface). That faith in the dignity of the priesthood and the perfection it exacted, gave importance in his eyes to the least action pertaining to it, and an obligation of care and fidelity in the minutest details. S. Gregory's maxim

expresses his thoughts : "quod minimum est minimum, sed in minimo fidelem fuisse; maximum."

We have before us a skeleton we have made of the eighth Conference. It is an interesting study, as showing the elaborate—the almost too elaborate—design of the discourses. The author veils his subject like a leaf, and but for his orderly arrangement would be not easily followed. Each point, however, is amply treated; the Holy Scriptures are copiously and happily used; the right quotation from a Father or Spiritual writer drops in at the proper place; and, indeed, the sum of our thoughts on the volume is that we have the wisdom and experience of a great master in the art of training ecclesiastics.

We observe with satisfaction that a second volume of the Conferences is promised.

Daily Meditations on the Mysteries of our Holy Faith, and on the Lives of Our Lord Jesus Christ and of the Saints. Second Part. Translated from the Spanish of Rev. Father Alonso de Andrade, S.J. London: Burns & Oates. 1878.

THIS second part of the meditations of F. Andrade contains the course from Septuagesima Sunday to Holy Saturday, inclusive. In Lent there are two meditations for each day,—one upon the Gospel, marked by a searching minuteness and insight into its meaning; the other following in sequence the events of the Passion. The matter of the work, with its deep wisdom and its direct simplicity, is above our commendation; in form it has been well brought out, admirably translated, and makes a second little volume of very portable size.

A Novena of Meditations in honour of Saint Joseph, according to the method of Saint Ignatius; preceded by a new Exercise for hearing Mass according to the Intentions of the Souls in Purgatory. Translated from the French. London: R. Washbourne. 1874.

TRANSLATIONS from the French form a great part of our devotional literature; but there are not many of the smaller works which have the solidity of these few pages of meditations. They seek by a practical method to attain a practical end,—the honour of the saint by the contemplation, and the consequent imitation of his virtues. The method of hearing mass is new and valuable, and the translation is good throughout,—a strong point for any book, little or great, since there are only too many in which the process has been mere transference into intelligible English with literal translation of words, offending the ear, and weakening if not changing the sense.

The Precious Pearl of Hope in the Mercy of God. Translated from the Italian by K. G. With a Preface by Father Gallwey, S.J. London: Burns & Oates. 1878.

THE second part of the *Tesori di confidenza in Dio* is given here, with its innumerable answers to difficulties against hope, explaining, with the help of Saints and Fathers of the Church, those texts of Scripture which inspire doubt and fear. As St. Thomas teaches, confidence (grace being pre-supposed) leads to fervour and energy.—“It is the characteristic of hope to work out its own object.” Therefore, if still further activity in labouring for God is to follow the increase of hope, the exposition of His mercy given here recommends itself to those already hopeful and at peace; while to those tempted to doubt, discouragement and despair, it will prove invaluable. “Its chief aim,” says the author, “is to facilitate the speedy conversion of sinners by removing from their minds the great obstacles of despair and despondency, which arise from exaggerated ideas of the difficulty of obtaining salvation.”

Golden Grains: a Collection of Little Counsels for the Sanctification and Happiness of Every-day Life. Translated from the French. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son, 50, Upper Sackville-street. 1878.

A SPIRITUAL book is always the better for bearing its author's name upon its title-page. “Golden Grains” bears the best substitute for its absence—a statement that the original was approved of by three continental and one American Bishop. The book, which appears in small but beautiful form, contains a great deal of wisdom. Few will open it without finding some useful hint or some new light let into their thoughts, suiting the time and their own state of life. It is not a book for reading, but a crowded note-book for reference. There are a few, a very few, slips of translation; we hope that to some such cause may be attributed the rather exaggerated advice on p. 272: “Be good and kind; preserve a smile on your lips even when you are alone.” This is out of character with the common sense of the rest of the book. When, taken on the good old system of a little at a time, many of the sayings will be found to be truly golden. It is a book which will aid well with a word now and then; but, taken in the manner in which it was not meant to be read, steadily, page after page, it would probably lead to the same result which would have been produced upon Christian in the quaint old allegory, had one of the cartloads of good advice, instead of being thrown on the Slough of Despond, been emptied mercilessly upon himself.

Life of S. Winfrid or Bonifacius, Martyr, Archbishop of Mentz and Apostle of Germany. By the Author of "S. Willibrord." London: Burns & Oates. 1878.

THE appearance of the "Life of S. Winfrid," following that of S. Willibrord, seems to promise us a series of popular lives of the Saxon saints. We can accord to this all the welcome that we gave to the former work; for each, though a light and small work, is a solid addition to our literature, and it is quite wonderful to see how these remote lives can be invested at every page with detail and interest, making the labours of these great apostles be read with that peculiar charm which attaches to a story that is not only bright but true. We see the half-British half-Saxon boy leaving his home in Devonshire to devote himself to God, when he is only a child of five years old. We see him afterwards studying at Netley, the first old monastery, on the site of which rose the second, now the gray-arched ruin by Southampton Water. Later yet, as a priest, it was from Netley he journeys to London to make his first unsuccessful mission to Friesland, and that afterwards he set out for Rome, whence, with the blessing of the Pontiff, he entered Germany again, this time to preach the Gospel and to reform abuses, with the marvellous success of one whose work is done by God's right hand, until he had spread and revived the pure faith of Rome, northward in Westphalia and Holland; southward through Bavaria and the Tyrol; eastward to the frontier of Austria; while, in the West, he had France under his care, and the archdioceses of Rheims, Rouen, and Sens. Some of his letters, quoted in his life, are of special interest, the whole collection of the letters of S. Boniface, and his profession of faith and allegiance to the See of Peter being well known to form some of the most precious literary relics of the bygone age when England's son from Netley Abbey evangelized Germany, changing his name at the feet of Peter from Winfrid to Boniface. He belonged to one of those noble Saxon families whose members, differing as star from star in brightness, formed, as it were, a constellation of saints. The time of his preaching was contemporary with the wars of Charles Martel, and it was he that placed the crown on the head of Pepin. His life is of additional interest, as its chief details were written soon after his death by his nephew S. Willibald. Willibald, who shared as bishop in the apostolate of Germany, had come from Monte Casino wearing the Benedictine habit; and we read here that at Monte Casino dwelt, as the humble shepherd of the monastery, Carloman, the brother of Pepin, who had come to Rome, and thence in disguise to the mountain of S. Benedict, weary of the world whose war and contention he had shared, as well as its riches and power.

The Beginning of the Middle Ages. By R. W. CHURCH, Dean of S. Paul's, Honorary Fellow of Oriel. London: Longmans, Green, & Co.

ANYTHING which Mr. Church writes,—and we could well wish that his published writings were more numerous,—is sure to engage our interest, even when it fails to harmonize with our convictions. This little volume, intended to serve as an introduction to the series published by

Messrs. Longmans under the title of "Epochs of Modern History," will be of value to a far more advanced class of students than that for which it is, in fact, designed.

"My aim" (Mr. Church says in his Preface) "has been little more than to disengage the leading lines in the history of five most important and most confused centuries, and to mark the influences which most asserted themselves, and which seem to have most governed the results, as we see them in subsequent history."

Those five centuries extend from the end of the fifth to the end of the tenth, and their history is, in effect, the history of the transition period between the Roman Empire and the Middle Ages ; or, as Mr. Church puts it :—

"The history of the efforts of the new nations of the West after organization, improvement, and power." During this period," Mr. Church continues, "the Teutonic races found themselves under entirely new conditions. It had not been new to them to conquer, or to meet other races. They had already, in what we call their barbarous state, definite social usages, and a kind of political organization. But for the first time they found themselves in close and permanent contact with an older and more perfect civil order, and a new religion. They found themselves, in their ignorance and inexperience, in their eager curiosity and vigorous freshness of life, in contact with Roman learning and Roman art, in some parts with Roman institutions and Roman laws. And they found themselves under the spell of the mightiest, the tenderest, and most wonderful of religions. Thus, all that had been the familiar course of life during centuries of wandering, was changed. Wild as they still were, they settled, they became lords of lands and houses, they began to learn and to know, they began to feel themselves becoming a commonwealth and a state. And by the end of the tenth century the process, in its broad and essential points, was accomplished. The outlines of the New World that was to be had become distinctly and permanently laid down" (p. 205).

This extract may serve to show the masterly conception entertained by Mr. Church of the task to which he has set himself in the little volume before us. And in every page of it we trace the master hand. Of course, the author's point of view differs in very essential respects from ours, and here and there we find ourselves at issue with him on very important matters. But, on the whole, the book is as fair and candid as it is learned and thoughtful, and we cannot but reckon it a valuable addition to our historical literature.

Les Jésuites Martyrs du Canada. Montréal, Compagnie d'Imprimerie Canadienne, 222, Rue Notre Dame. 1877.

ABOUT the middle of the seventeenth century one of the missionaries among the Indians in Canada was F. Francis Joseph Bressani. He laboured for years among the Hurons, endured much suffering at the hands of the Iroquois, who put several of his brethren to death, and who were constantly at war with the Huron tribe ; and finally, he returned to Italy, and published "A short narrative of some of the missions of the Fathers of the Company of Jesus in New France." It is this work which now lies before us, the remainder of the book being made up of an appendix

containing notices of the Jesuit missionaries who laid down their lives in Canada after the time of Padre Bressani.

The work of the Italian apostle of the Hurons is divided into three parts—Nature, Grace, Glory. The first describes the country and the habits of the people with most interesting minuteness; the second tells of the difficulties encountered by the missionaries, and their manner of preaching and winning a strange people with a strange tongue out of idolatry, ignorance, and sin; the third part, which the heart of a true apostle prompted him to call "Glory," is the account of the labour and sufferings of those who were chosen to give for their Master's sake the final sacrifice of life. Some letters of the missionaries are included, and it is most touching to read that of the Père Jogues, who was himself afterwards put to death by the Iroquois. His account of the death of René Goupil is one of those gems which abound in all histories of dangerous missions, but it is doubly beautiful, coming as it does here in the letter written by one destined for the same glorious fate. René, called here familiarly by his first name, had been for some months in the noviciate of the society at Rouen, but his ill-health compelling him to leave it, he devoted himself to the study of medicine. This knowledge was of value to him when he accompanied the Père Jogues on his mission to Canada. A few days before his death, being already on his way to the place where he was to suffer, he was allowed to fulfil his life-long desire and take the vows of religion. "It was on the 29th of September, 1642," writes the Père Jogues, "that this angel of innocence, this martyr of Jesus Christ, was immolated at the age of thirty-five years, for Him who had given His life to redeem him. He had consecrated his heart and soul to God, his right hand, his existence to the service of the poor savages." There are many other narratives and letters which tell the touching story of sacrifice with the freshness of voices called on to speak again after two centuries. We unite with the writer of the preface in hoping that ere long a far higher veneration will be publicly given to these servants of God. And just as we cannot spread such fame as theirs too far, we cannot too much praise a book which is their story told by one who shared their labours.

The Book of Psalms, translated from the Latin Vulgate: being a revised edition of the Douay Version. London: Burns & Oates. 1878.

THREE things give value to this little manual of the Psalms. It is a revised edition; there are numerous notes, admirably explaining the text in obscure passages; and in the beginning there is a classification of the Psalms, indicating their purpose, and the movements of the soul to which they give expression, pointing out those most suitable for the different seasons of the ecclesiastical year, and those which contain reference to our Lord, the Blessed Virgin, the Holy Angels, and the Church. In the few words with which the Cardinal-Archbishop prefaces this revision, we are told that at least half of it may be regarded as one more of the many gifts bequeathed to us by his predecessor.

Chaucer: the Prioress Tale, &c. Edited by W. W. SKEAT, M.A. Macmillan. Clarendon Press Series.

Chaucer. The Man of Lawes Tale, &c. Edited by W. W. SKEAT, M.A. Macmillan. Clarendon Press Series.

THESE two little books, forming part of the Clarendon Press Series, apparently complete the selections from Chaucer, the first volume of which was published nearly ten years ago by Dr. Morris. Mr. Skeat, we think, falls short of the standard of editorial excellence attained by his predecessor, but he has done his work well, according to his lights. Pains-taking, accurate, and a good linguistic scholar, he has, in one or two instances, successfully cleared up difficulties which have hitherto puzzled critics, and thrown light upon passages deemed hopelessly obscure. Thus, for example, in the Pardoner's Prologue, the lines occur:—

"I rekke neuer, whan that they ben beryed
Though that her soules goon a blackberied."

It is of course clear, that the second line here means, "though their souls go a blackberrying," but the combination of the verb "go" with what appears to be the past participle "blackberied," has been looked upon as a hopeless crux. Mr. Skeat, however, after adducing several examples of this construction—among others, a line from *Piers Plowman*, in which we read of "folk that gon a begged," i.e. go a begging,—observes "The explanation," I take to be this; the "ed" was not really a sign of the past participle, but a corruption of the ending *eth* (A.-S. *æð*), which is sometimes found at the end of a verbal substantive. Hence it is that, in the passage from *Piers Plowman* above quoted, one of the best and earliest MSS. actually reads "folk that gon a-beggeth." And again, in another passage (P. Pl. c. ix. 246) is the phrase "gone abryeth," or in some MSS., "gone abrybed," i.e. go a-bribing or go a-thieving, since Mid. Eng. *briben* often means to rob. This form is clearly an imitation of the form *a-hunteth* in the old phrase *gon a-hunteth*, or *riden an hunteth*, used by Robert of Gloucester (*Specimens of English*, ed. Morris and Skeat, p. 14, l. 387). "As he *rod an hunteth*, and par-auntre (h)is hors spurnde." Now this *hunteth* is the dat. case of a substantive, viz., of the A.-S. *huntað* or *huntoð*. This substantive would easily be taken for a part of a verb, and, particularly, for the past participle of a verb; just as many people at this day are quite unable to distinguish between the true verbal substantive and the present participle in *-ing*. This mistake once established, the ending *-ed* would be freely used after the verbs *go* or *ride*. The result is that the present phrase, hitherto so puzzling, is a mere variation for "gon a blake-berying," i.e. "go a gathering blackberries," a humorous expression for "wander wherever they please." A not very dissimilar expression occurs in the proverbial saying—"his wits are gone a-weal-gathering" (p. 146).

This is a specimen of Mr. Skeat's best work. His worst is undoubtedly to be found when he leaves the region of verbal and grammatical scholar-

ship to draw lessons from the subject-matter of his author. We do not for one moment believe that Mr. Skeat is deliberately or consciously unfair. But correctly to appreciate the historical value of Chaucer, and of the other English pre-Reformation poets, requires a great deal which is not dreamt of in Mr. Skeat's philosophy. And here we may point out a great underlying error which vitiates the work, not only of Mr. Skeat, but of many other distinguished scholars of the same school; namely, the notion with which they are possessed, that Chaucer was by way of being a religious reformer. Thus Mr. Marsh writes, "The exposure of the corruptions of the Church was doubtless a leading aim with the poet."* Surely a little reflection would have been enough to suggest a doubt whether a writer so licentious as Chaucer not unfrequently is, was very likely to be particularly zealous for ecclesiastical purity. The truth is, as, quoting from Gray, we pointed out in this REVIEW a year ago, that "it was the custom of those times for satire and irony to fall upon the women and the clergy." The false relics of the dissolute "pardonere," the jingling bells of the hunting abbot, the infidelity of "fresshe faire May" to aged January, the surprising achievements of the wife of Bath, the scandals given by licentious religious, presented themselves to Chaucer as apt subjects for his wit, and he used them unsparingly,—used, or rather abused, as he himself sadly confesses in his Retraction, where with "many a song and many a lecherous lay" he also mentions "thilke tales of Canterbury that sounen unto sin."

So much we may set down at present upon this point. The general question of the value and accuracy of Chaucer's picture of the society of his age is too large to be entered upon here. That his literary value is exceedingly great, every competent critic from his time to ours, has acknowledged. There is a freshness, a vividness, and charming naturalness about his, which has never been surpassed, and seldom, if ever, equalled in English poetry. And students owe a great debt of gratitude to Mr. Skeat for the two present little volumes and to Dr. Morris for the volume which preceded them. These three unpretending and inexpensive books explaining as they do verbal, grammatical, and metrical difficulties, carefully and intelligently, and giving a vast amount of miscellaneous information, which, although open to the criticism we have indicated, is, upon the whole, very useful, form an excellent introduction to this great national author—"the father of English poetry," as Dryden writes, "whom I hold in the same degree of veneration as the Grecians held Homer."

Authority and Anarchy; or, the Bible on the Church. Second edition. Burns & Oates: 1878.

THIS well-reasoned pamphlet deserves to be placed in the hands of those who are earnestly seeking for the truth. The author takes up the Anglican authorized version, and from its text proves the perpetuity and visibility of the Church. He then proceeds to show how the Old and

* "Origin and History of the English Language," p. 118.

New Testament bear witness to the unity, universality, and apostolicity of that communion, *which has Rome for its centre and the ends of the earth for its circumference* (p. 34).

The third chapter treats of the principle of *Church authority* and that of *private judgment*. Here we find the most telling of the author's arguments and the most weighty of his Scriptural quotations. The subject, which he has handled with most ability and force, is that of the canon of Scripture both under the Mosaic dispensation and in the Christian Church. It is evident that the writer is one well versed in Biblical knowledge, and that he has given much prayerful thought to that which he has read in Holy Writ.

In page 44 we have a remarkably clear exposition of the real import of those dogmatic definitions in which, as the author remarks, doctrines hitherto held in solution have been, so to speak, crystallized; that is, *formulated in the exact language of theological science*.

Some very practical advice is given in the concluding chapter to all who find it difficult to remove early prejudices. It is evident that the author has himself practised what he preaches. Like so many others who have humbly submitted to the living authority of the Catholic Church, he stretches out a helping hand to the tempest-tossed, in hopes of securing for them the happiness of reaching and entering the bark of S. Peter.

Our Sunday Fireside; or, Meditations for Children. By RORY OF THE HILL. London: Burns & Oates. 1878.

IT is an ungraceful act entirely to dispraise a book which has been written with a good purpose; so let the two merits of this one have their due: it has been written with the best intentions, and the tasteful binding is worthy to carry off more valuable pages. But, unfortunately, the best intentions do not mean the best work, and in the present instance they have led the author to imagine that it is an easy thing to write stories of a religious tendency for children. The book is divided into two parts, the first told by precocious girls and boys, who can bring into their stories such topics as Liberalism and "the revolutionary propaganda," and such sentences as "They were at Rome, living in one of the gorgeous old palazzi which belonged to those great nobles, whose internecine feuds, at one period, used to drench the Italian fields with blood, and fill her towns with widows and wail; and whose splendour at another period made Italy the cynosure of neighbouring nations." Doubtless "Papa's" stories in the second part would be readily understood, appreciated, and not considered dry, by such an intelligent audience. Doubtless, also, Maysey, Monty, Mimi, Bernie, and Besso would at once see why their own stories and these might be called Meditations; and in this case the writer's desire would be fulfilled, the moral fruit at once appropriated and "embedded for ever in the child's mind." But unfortunately this species of precocious children is confined to this fireside; and in the world in general there exists

an ignorant class of young simpletons, who are improved by a good laugh at "Alice in Wonderland," and who might be pert enough to call its faint shadow in "Maysey's Story," "stuff"; and who like much better to be told about the prodigal son arising and going to his father, than to follow the slender thread of the unchildish fancy called "Forgiveness" here. Again, why in a book for the young do we find a scandal-monger hoping that a marriage will end in a divorce? Why do we have so much mention even of that word "scandal"? The young do not understand it in all the fulness which the world teaches older heads. There is something of a blank in it. It cannot embellish their tales. Indeed, they are much happier so long as their ideas thereon are something like those feebly expressed by the puzzled child to the school-inspector—"What is scandal? "Oh, I know, sir; it's when nobody does nothing, and everybody talks about it everywhere."

It is no easy task to write for children, and those who would do it must stoop low, and study what the young see of the world, and how the prospect appears from their lower point of view. Bearing this in mind, the teller of the fireside stories might speak more simply of more ordinary things, and thus tell in another volume far better tales for those whose good he has taken to heart.

A Handbook to the Picture-Galleries of Europe. By KATE THOMPSON.
London: Macmillan.

IT was a happy thought of Miss Thompson to put together this Handbook to the Picture-Galleries of Europe, and the thought has been well carried out. What the authoress proposed to herself was to point out the principal and most interesting works in the several collections, giving at the same time such information about them as would enable the intelligent traveller to look at them with real profit. Two hundred pages of the book are taken up by what we may term the essence of the official catalogues. The rest—some two hundred and fifty pages more—is devoted to an account of the rise and progress of painting in the different countries of Europe. This little volume is compiled with care and skill; it is convenient in size and shape and well printed; and—not the least of its merits—it is equipped with a pretty complete index.

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